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After the Reduction

Re-structuring Norman Political Society

and the *Bien Public*, 1450-65

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Abstract

This thesis describes the political establishment in Normandy after its reduction to the obedience of Charles VII in 1449-50.

The consequences of the edict of Compiègne for landholders are illustrated, whether they were Valois partisans being restored under its terms or native Normans who had remained in the Lancastrian obedience. Compiègne was more rigorously applied than has been supposed and was an essential justifying pillar of the provincial regime. The dilapidation of the seigneurial economy in consequence of war and depopulation caused acute problems. In combination with the practicalities of implementation of Compiègne, this advantaged the personnel of the provincial political establishment.

The institutional basis of the regime is outlined, with the *Echiquier* and the *grande sénéchaussée* discussed in detail. Royal government was articulated through informal structures and substantial advantages accrued to courtier magnates with influence over royal institutions. The role of patronage is highlighted.

The provincial garrison is central to the investigation of clientage within the nobility. The *ordonnance* companies of several magnates are discussed and examples given of the uses to which the crown might put magnate and princely influence. A detailed account of the retinue of *grand sénéchal* Pierre de Brézé shows how affinity complemented office in rooting him in Normandy.

The demolition of Charles VII's Norman regime on the accession of Louis XI contributed to }d the slide into the *Bien Public*. The onset of the crisis is discussed in terms of the political choices of Norman magnates, provincial particularism and abortive royal tax reform. The Norman apanage regime of 1465-66 was too incoherent to stabilise a relationship with Norman political society. The *Bien Public* ruined the medium term prospects for the re-establishment of stability among the cadres of royal power.

The Norman *ordonnance* companies are tabulated and identifications of their *hommes d'armes* attempted. Some four hundred biographical notices on Norman officers and *gens d'armes* are appended.

In Memoriam

Kenneth Lee Prosser

(1930-1992)

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Preface

Capitalization has been kept to a minimum: in principle only major institutions like *Echiquier*, *Parlement* etc. have been given in upper case. Places are not italicised but institutions are: hence Conciergerie but *Parlement*. Offices are italicised but titles of nobility or seignury are not: hence *vicomté* of Arques but vicomté de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte. Where individuals are identified by patronym and toponym, no punctuation separates these elements: hence Pierre de Brézé count of Maulévrier; Guillaume le Tellier *écuyer* seigneur de la Varablière.

All dates are new style, but *tabellionage* references are given in both pascal and julian form: 2 Feb 1453/54. This is particularly important for the unpaginated Rouen *tabellionage*. Months are given in full in the text and in abbreviated form in the notes. Citations of secondary sources are usually by author and publication date: full details can be found in the bibliography.

Norman musters are not annotated: appendix 1 tabulates, by company, *hommes d'armes* in Norman companies 1450-61 and gives the sources by date. Short sourced biographies of officers and some *hommes d'armes* are given in appendix 3. This is not a biographical dictionary of every person of substance on the Norman scene in the twenty years after 1449. Major figures who properly deserve a major treatment are excluded. The intention is that the reader should be able to consult these biographies as relatively obscure individuals are mentioned in the text: few biographies are therefore given in footnotes. All tables and biographical notices are organised alphabetically by patronym, after the fashion of Dupont-Ferrier's various alphabetical listings of officers, *ie* disregarding the articles de la, du, le etc.. Patronyms are given in the text in the form in which they appear in Arnaud's *Répertoire*, except where identification is uncertain, when they appear in an arbitrarily chosen original orthography.

Sums in *livres tournois* are prefaced with *L*. There were 20 *sous* to the *livre*. The more valuable *livre parisis* was only very occasionally used in Normandy. *Ecus* and *saluts* are given in full. In the 1450s the *écu* was worth 30 *sous tournois*, or 1½ *livres*. In the 1460s the *écu* depreciated to 32½ *sous* and later went as low as 36 *sous*.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

NB: this is not the full bibliography of works cited, which is to be found at the end of the volume.

ACR	Archives Communales de Rouen
ADC	Archives Departementales de Calvados
ADSM	Archives Departementales de Seine-Maritime
Allmand/Armstrong 1982	Allmand, C.T., and Armstrong, C.A.J., <i>English Suits before the Parlement of Paris</i> (Camden 4th series n°26, London 1982)
AN	Archives Nationales
<i>Auvergne</i>	Auvergne, Martial d', <i>Vigilles de ... Charles VII</i> (ed. Molinier, <i>Sources d'Histoire de France</i> IV)
<i>Avocats</i>	Dupont-Ferrier, G., 'Les avocats à la Cour du Trésor de 1401 à 1515' in <i>BEC</i> XCVII (1936) and XCVIII (1937)
<i>Bastard d'Etang</i>	Delisle, L., <i>Les Collections Bastard d'Etang à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue Analytique</i> (Nogent-le-Rotrou 1885)
Beaurepaire 1868	Beaurepaire, C. de Robillard de, <i>Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Départementales de la Seine Inférieure, Séries G</i> (Paris 1868), I
Beaurepaire 1966	Beaurepaire, F. de, <i>Sources médiévales de l'histoire de Normandie dans les bibliothèques de Bayeux</i> (Saint-Lô 1966)
<i>BEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes</i>
<i>Blondel</i>	Blondel, R., <i>Œuvres</i> , ed. Heron (Rouen 1893)
BN	Bibliothèque National
<i>Bouchart</i>	Alain Bouchart, <i>Grandes Croniques de Bretagne</i> , ed. Auger/Jeanneau (Paris 1986)
BSAN	<i>Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires</i>
<i>Caen</i>	ADC 7E (register), the Caen <i>tabellionage</i>
<i>Caux 1470</i>	'Monstre generale des bailliages de Caux et Gisors, 31 Dec 1470', Viton de Saint Allais, ed., in <i>Nobiliaire Universel de France</i> VI (Paris 1873-74), p289-328
<i>Caux 1503</i>	<i>Registre des fiefs du bailliage de Caux en 1503</i> , ed. Beaucousin, A. (Rouen 1891)
CD	Chenaye-Desbois, <i>Dictionnaire de la noblesse</i>
<i>Chastellain</i>	Chastellain, Georges, <i>Œuvres</i> , ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels 1863-66)
<i>Chronique de Rouen</i>	'Chronique de Rouen des origines jusqu'à 1544' in <i>Deux Chroniques de Rouen</i> ed. Héron, A. (Rouen/Paris 1900)
CMSM	<i>Chronique de Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , ed. Luce (Paris 1879), I-II
<i>Commynes</i>	<i>Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes</i> , ed. Mandrot (Paris 1901)
DBF	<i>Dictionnaire de biographie française</i> , Balteau etc., eds. (Paris 1956-)
<i>Dictionnaire ecclésiastique</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i> , ed. Aubert, R.

	(Paris 1949-)
DLN	AN 104Mi, the <i>Collection Dom le Noir</i> on microfilm at the Archives Nationales
Echiquier	ADSM 1B (register), <i>Echiquier</i> registers at the Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime
Esneval	Fiquet, A., 'Aveux et dénombrements de la baronnie d'Esneval aux XVe, XVIe et XVIIe siècles' in <i>Mélanges de la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie</i> 7e série (Rouen/Paris 1907)
Eu	Vacandard, J., 'Déclaration générale de la Terre et Seigneurie du Comté d'Eu et de tout ce qui en despend (1508)' in <i>Mélanges de la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie</i> 12e série (Rouen/Paris 1907)
Evreux 1470	Bonnin, T., <i>Monstres générales de la noblesse du bailliage d'Evreux</i> (Paris/Rouen 1853)
GC	<i>Gallia Christiana</i>
GES	Contamine, P., <i>Guerre, état et société</i> (Paris 1981) ⁷²
GR	<i>Gallia Regia</i>
Grand Armorial	Joula de Morenas, H., <i>Grand Armorial</i> (Paris, 1934-49)
Gruel	Guillaume Gruel, <i>Chroniques d'Arthur de Richemont</i> , ed. le Vavasseur (Paris 1890)
Guérin	'Recueil des documents concernant le Poitou contenus dans les registres de la chancellerie de France' VIII (1431-1447), IX (1447-1456), X (1456-65), XI (1465-74) ed. Guérin, P., in <i>Archives Historiques du Poitou</i> 29, 32, 35, 38 (Poitiers 1898, 1903, 1906, 1909)
Harcourt	La Roque, <i>Histoire Généalogique de la Maison d'Harcourt</i> , I-IV (Paris 1662)
Harcourt Aveu	Dardel, P., 'Aveu et dénombrement du comté d'Harcourt (châtellenies de Brionne, Lillebonne, Boissy-le-Châtel, Elbeuf-sur-Seine et Gravenchon) vers 1380' in <i>Mélanges de la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie</i> 15e série (Rouen/Paris 19NN)
Héraut Berry	<i>Chroniques du Roi Charles VII par Gilles le Bouvier dit le Héraut Berry</i> ed. Courteault et al. (Paris 1979)
Le Cacheux 1935	Le Cacheux, P., <i>Correspondance de la famille d'Estouteville</i> (1460-1525) (Paris and Rouen 1935)
Lenglet-Dufresnoy 1747	Lenglet-Dufresnoy, <i>Mémoires de messire Philippes de Comines ...</i> (London/Paris 1747)
Leseur	Leseur, <i>Histoire de Gaston de Foix</i> , ed Courteault, (Paris 1883)
Lettres	Vaesen, J. and Charavay, E., <i>Lettres de Louis XI</i> (Paris 1885) t.I-X
LMIQ	'Lettres, mémoires, instructions et autres documents relatifs à la guerre du Bien Public en l'année 1465', ed. Quicherat, J., in <i>Documents historiques inédits</i> , ed. Champollion-Figeac, J., II (139 pièces)

<i>Louis XI</i>	Basin, Thomas, <i>Histoire de Louis XI</i> , ed. Samaran, C., (Paris 1963)
<i>Mancel</i>	Sauvage, R.N., <i>Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Collection Mancel à Caen</i>
<i>Matignon</i>	<i>Correspondance de Joachim de Matignon</i> , ed. Labande (Monaco/Paris 1914)
<i>Maupoint</i>	Maupoint, Jean, ed. Fagniez, <i>Memoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris IV</i>
<i>Merlet 1886</i>	Merlet, Lucien; <i>Registres et Minutes des Notaires du Comté de Dunois, Inventaire Sommaire</i> (Chartres 1886)
<i>Milanaïs</i>	<i>Dépêches des ambassadeurs milanais</i> ed. Mandrot (Paris 1919), I-IV
<i>Monfaut</i>	'Recherche de Monfaut contenant les noms de ceux qu'il trouva nobles et de ceux qu'il imposa à la taille quoiqu'ils se prétindissent nobles suivant la commission du Roy en 1463' ed. Bouton, V., in <i>Le Héraut d'armes</i> (Paris 1863-77) II
<i>Monstrelet</i>	<i>La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet</i> , ed. Douët-d'Arcq, L., I-VI (Paris 1861)
<i>MSAN</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie</i>
<i>Ms fr</i>	Manuscrits français
<i>NAF</i>	Nouvelle acquisition ^s français ^e
<i>Neufchâtel</i>	Milet, A., 'Comptabilité publique sous la domination anglaise, au XVe siècle (Comptes de la vicomté de Neufchâtel, 1443 et 1456)' in <i>Mélanges de la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie 7e série</i> (Rouen/Paris 1907)
<i>Ordonnances</i>	<i>Ordonnances des Rois de France</i>
<i>Personnel</i>	Dupont-Ferrier, G., 'Le Personnel de la cour du trésor', part II in <i>Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France LXXIII</i> (1936-37)
<i>Pilot</i>	Pilot du Thorey, E., <i>Catalogue des Actes du Dauphin Louis II</i> (Grenoble 1899)
<i>P.J.</i>	pièce justificative ^{ti}
<i>Pont-Audemer</i>	Béranger, J., 'Etat des fiefs de la vicomté de Pont-Audemer au commencement du XVIe siècle' in <i>Mélanges de la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie 7e série</i> (Rouen/Paris 1907)
<i>Positions</i>	<i>Ecole Nationale des Chartes. Positions des Thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion (year).</i>
<i>Preuves d'Escouchy</i>	<i>Preuves de Mathieu d'Escouchy</i> , ed. Gaston du Fresne de Beaucourt
<i>Rehabilitation</i>	<i>Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc</i> , t.III, trans. Pierre du Parc (Paris 1983)
<i>Roquelet 1984</i>	Chartres, Hector de, <i>La vie de la forêt normande à la fin du moyen age</i> , ed. Roquelet (Rouen 1984)
<i>Rouen</i>	ADSM 2E 1/(register), the Rouen tabellionage
<i>Roye</i>	<i>Journal de Jean de Roye connu sous le nom de Chronique Scandaleuse</i> , ed. Mandrot (Paris 1894)
<i>Saint-Pierre-de-la-Cour</i>	'Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-la-Cour', ed. Menjot d'Elbenne and Denis, in <i>Archives historiques du Maine</i> (Le Mans 1910) X

<i>Secrétaires</i>	Lapeyre, A. and Scheurer, R., <i>Les notaires et secrétaires du roi sous les règnes de Louis XI, Charles VIII et Louis XII</i> (Paris 1978)
<i>Soudet 1929</i>	<i>Ordonnances de l'Echiquier de Normandie au XIVe et XVe siècles</i> , ed. Soudet, F. (Rouen/Paris 1929)
VSA	Viton de Saint-Allais, ed., <i>Nobiliaire Universel de France</i> (Paris 1867-)

After the Reduction
Restructuring Norman Political Society
and the *Bien Public*, 1450-1465

NORMANDY BETWEEN THE *REDUCTION* AND THE *BIEN PUBLIC*, 1450-65

This thesis describes the Norman political establishment in the mid-fifteenth century, beginning with the reconquest of the province by the French in 1449-50, ending with its descent into political incoherence amid civil war fifteen years later. Although all its members of any significance had court links, these have been taken somewhat for granted: no detailed investigation of such ties to the centre has been attempted. Rather, it is an attempt to take a snapshot of a provincial regime by interrogating Parisian evidence – in particular the surviving rump of *Chambre des Comptes* material – with Rouen and Caen legal and notarial records. The project began life as an investigation into Normandy's place in the War of the Public Weal of 1465. Although as it now stands it is less contingent upon the civil war, its germ was the view that a provincial approach would shed the maximum light on the Public Weal for a reasonable research input. Normandy was the obvious choice of subject: it was of importance initially as a source of money and troops, then as an arena of struggle and a strategic objective. It was the only province to fall into the hands of the *ligue*. Had Charles de France consolidated an apanage duchy this would certainly have been the principle result of the war, a way-station *en route* to Louis XI's emasculation. Such an outcome would have determined Louis's reputation as that of a uniquely inept French king: its prevention in 1465-66 was therefore an important royal achievement.

Normandy's definition makes it particularly suitable for study. Its legal identity was more secure and particular than that of any other northern province in royal hands. In the *Echiquier* it had a central court which was already the dominant focus of the provincial legal system, was establishing jurisdictional sovereignty in the 1450s, and was enhancing institutional coherence in the 1460s. Normandy was a vital resource for the monarchy, supplying a disproportionate volume of tax receipts and quartering a disproportionate number of *ordonnance* companies.¹

The aftermath of the *Reduction* of Normandy to Valois obedience in 1449-50 has attracted attention largely focussed on the economy and on local reaction.² Its political consequences were many, and one was the stabilisation of Charles VII's regime, hitherto rather rocky. This resulted not only from the prestige of victory, but also from the fact that a considerable volume of patronage accreted to the crown, for the province's administration was more developed and sophisticated than the norm. The fact that the king proceeded to construct a provincial establishment without

¹For a general consideration of Normandy's importance within the French monarchy, Strayer 1969.

²Allmand 1983, chapter VII; Allmand 1976.

reference to his exiled eldest son opened the prospect of exploring an issue at the heart of the Public Weal: the collective identity of the servants of the old king, dismissed on Louis's accession.

When, in 1449-50 royal armies poured into Normandy, refugees, claimants and carpet-baggers followed them in.³ Reconstruction was a natural point of departure for the post-war Norman economy and for a research strategy focussed on the Caroline establishment. Norman landed society faced a threefold task: resumption of lands lost to the English or others, stabilising title and physical restoration. The last has attracted most attention, and for this reason has received summary treatment in this thesis.

The three substantial students of Normandy after the Reduction are Michel Mollat, Christopher Allmand and Guy Bois. Mollat's focus was on the evolution of the Norman maritime economy over the long term, and the *après-guerre* was but one stage in the development he traced. Allmand's main interest was in the English occupation itself, so he approached post-war Normandy in terms of the aftermath of war and the Lancastrian legacy. War damage and a mire of disputed title figure in his account of the search for 'social peace'. Bois's analysis of Norman demography and seigneurial economy extends over three centuries, and derives from a union of *Annales* and Marxist traditions. His primary interest was in the relationship between demography and the efficiency of the peasant mode of production. His exploration of the post-war generation stemmed from his search for the causes of recovery: he attributed it to the rapid achievement of population levels which optimised the productivity of the peasant family.⁴

Allmand stressed the problems of returning Norman exiles in resuming and exploiting their lands. He recognised the edict of Compiègne as central to the recovery of property by exiles, but regarded it as flawed in securing their rights, and as having been implemented only half-heartedly. Some of his illustrations actually show the reverse, however. Detailed analysis of legal records shows that the edict afforded great advantages for those who were capable under its terms. Arbitrary resumption in the year of the Reduction afforded them legal title to the property they claimed. They were relatively sheltered from legal counter-attack. Legal delays advantaged the possessor of disputed property, who after 1450 would usually be the Valois claimant rather than

³In the first two chapters the term claimant is used to mean one with a claim arising in or before the occupation. Similarly, *détenteur* refers to one who during the occupation held property which subsequently became subject to dispute with such a claimant. This is done to keep the issue of allegiance in clear view, but any correspondence with the sense in Norman custom is accidental: technically, a *clamant* was anyone raising a *clameur*; a *détenteur* was an illegitimate possessor.

⁴Mollat 1952; Allmand 1976; Allmand 1983; Bois 1976. See also Léost 1986 and 1993.

the *détenteur*. They were able to force reversal of even legitimate transports of property to which they had claim and had the upper hand in bargaining over payment.

This does not mean that Valois claimants had no problems after the Reduction. Difficulties were generated by any hiatus in feudal and family processes, and could be serious where a lineage had divided its allegiance. Most difficulties were general to Norman landed society, however, and relatively speaking Valois partisans were in an advantaged position. Chapter 1 is concerned with the delineation of these problems, and of their impact on Valois partisans and others.

The main source of difficulties for Norman landed society in the 1450s and 1460s was economic rather than related to title. The province was exhausted by warfare and the seigneurial economy was badly damaged. Royal legislation was of little relevance here. 'Although the material effects of the reconquest of Normandy were not always detrimental, the cumulative effects of occupation, usually adverse, had to be faced and paid for (the problem was, out of what?)'.⁵ Lords needed money for physical reconstruction and to fight lawsuits necessary to preserve title. They had to face the problem of how to meet cash calls on the resources of a seigneurie when its banal infrastructure was damaged and rents and *fermes* depressed. Two urgent but sometimes contradictory necessities arose from the situation. Cash rents drawn on the property in question had to be redeemed or deferred, and the funds needed to pay for reconstruction had to be secured, often by further assignments on returns from property. Chapter 2 is much concerned with what the Rouen *tabellionage* can tell us about the consequences of resort to the rent markets as a source of funds.

Estates suffered either because funds for reconstruction and other calls upon seigneurial resources could be raised only through permanent alienation, or because the charges with which lords burdened their lands overbalanced them into foreclosure for debt. A returning exile lacking other income or intact links with a local kinship network faced acute problems. Sustaining cases of disputed title through the courts depended on cash and influence, and this narrowed the range of those capable of prosecuting claims through to reintegration. The attrition of seigneurial complexes by these processes opened Normandy to the action of the affluent and well-connected. In practice these opportunities fell to the *ordonnance* and office hierarchies of the 1450s.

Royal office enhanced and was emblematic of access to the provincial political establishment. Material reconstruction, the re-affirmation of title and the re-establishment of social peace were all intimately linked to power. Normandy is a specific instance of how northern France

⁵Allmand 1983 p292.

in the middle generation of the fifteenth century afforded rich pickings to those who had made it into the circle of royal *largesse*. In this sense there is a political economy of convalescence; strongly present in the 1450s, with diminishing echoes in the 1460s, swamped by the stronger tides of post-1470 recovery.

The personnel and structure of provincial government is outlined in chapter 3. The government of the province was in the hands of the count of Dunois and constable de Richemont. Pierre de Brézé and Louis d'Harcourt Patriarch of Jerusalem had important subsidiary roles. Others were also prominent, for it was a broad-based regime grounded in personal and war service to Charles VII. There are few signs of tension between its members, and some evidence that the entourages of its main figures over-lapped. The importance of patronage in the articulation of royal government is stressed, and the role of maintenance in the administration of justice is illustrated. The uses to which the crown might put magnate and princely power within a given sphere are shown with reference to the Montforts' penetration of Lower Normandy.

The regime which held power in Normandy after the Reduction possessed a justifying ideology of the normative past. Charles VII was set upon restoring men in their legitimate rights, as he had been restored. In terms of property, this is why the edict of Compiègne was crucial. By its very nature, the regime could never treat Normandy as *tabula rasa*. Social peace was restored on the basis of the re-rooting of an exiled and partisan nobility rather than in spite of it. Yet this did not result in a perfect match between lordship and leadership. In 1450 ex-Lancastrian Normandy had to accommodate itself to a high political establishment bonded by the shared experience of service to Charles VII rather than grown together in local rule or worked out over time by the interplay of king and great local magnates.⁶

The edict of Compiègne was a part of this picture, but it was not an instrument of 'social peace' conceived of in terms of reconciliation between conqueror and *demeurant*. It was the personnel of the Caroline regime that was a compromise between the need to reward past service and to buy present co-operation. In other words, the compromise was couched in terms of service and affinity. The entourage of Pierre de Brézé is an excellent example of how a following constructed in the context of the frontier warfare of the 1440s was modified by the needs and opportunities of the peace. It is examined in chapter 4. One characteristic of Brézé's affinity

⁶This is one reason why the treason of the greatest Norman lord, Jean duke of Alençon, had such meagre political impact in the province. The cycle of treasons and rehabilitations of Jean duke of Alençon and his son René count of Perche need a substantial treatment for which space was not available in this thesis. Alençon's exclusion from the Norman political establishment was comprehensive, and deserves consideration as one of the roots of his treason, but that very exclusion separates him from the principal themes dealt with here. The reader will find him conspicuous by his absence.

deserves to be highlighted: his service was a means for the rehabilitation of an unusually large concentration of former Lancastrians. More conventionally, his entourage was also an environment in which marriages were brokered, maintenance deployed, credit sought and obtained, fellowship metamorphosed into pledge and procuration.

The importance of Dunois and Richemont, of the *grand sénéchal* Brézé and the Patriarch as *président* of the *Echiquier*, of *ordonnance* captains, the admiral, the *baillis* and others derived from delegations of royal powers. But their local usefulness to the crown was partly dependent upon their landed wealth and local credit, and what this implied about their capacity to mobilise men at any level appropriate to the action required. These men needed to be able to influence the centre and to exercise lordship in the locality. However, as Mark Greengrass laments, the existence of patronage is easier to prove than its function at any given moment. A recent monograph has even argued that the clientage model accounts poorly for the political *behaviour* of sixteenth century noblemen. The debate on clientage in the period after 1500 is built on longer historiographical interest and a far better documentary base than a fifteenth century historian can look to. Its horizons have expanded correspondingly.⁷ By comparison, the aim here is a modest one: to establish the political importance of clientage networks in the French fifteenth century.

If this is accepted, the debate on the later period will be modified insofar as the clientage model emerged in contrast with a 'medieval' situation in which the relationship between crown and nobility was supposedly mediated through independent landed power. Focus on the fifteenth century's provincial princely 'states' itself emerged as an alternative to the teleology of royal state-building. Perroy may stand representative for this alternative.⁸ Yet the notion of the state is dependent upon a binary opposition public-private which had not mastered, let alone monopolised, contemporary political culture. The attraction of focus on affinity, patronage, clientage and service is that it reconciles noble culture with royal and princely institutionalisation.

The relationship of affinity to political contingency remains a problem, best approached through moments of crisis. The Norman establishment suffered a severe shock when Louis XI dispensed with the service of many of its most important personalities, or relegated them to unspecific or obscure roles. The king also experimented in the administration of taxation. In imposing a new establishment in the province Louis took little account of existing patron-client networks. Two figures emerged as of major importance: admiral de Montauban and Louis d'Estouteville. The former was the agent of the demolition of Breton ducal patronage in Lower

⁷Greengrass 1986. Neuschel 1989, chapter 1. The most recent review is Potter 1995 p187-206.

⁸Perroy 1943-45. See also Lewis 1981.

Normandy. This was one factor in the complex of issues which made him the incarnation of tension between Brittany and the king. Normandy felt the effects as the threat of crisis became more real across 1464. By the autumn Breton elements of the Norman *ordonnance* were disintegrating and in the winter the most important provincial magnates, Dunois and Jean de Lorraine count of Harcourt, moved into open opposition. Evidence is patchy, but royal defensive measures in the province appear to have been considerable. Nonetheless, if the outbreak of war in 1465 had slight immediate impact on the province, this was essentially a consequence of the strategic choices made by rebel princes and their supporters.

Lack of commitment to the king's cause may be discerned in the poor performance of Norman companies at Montlhéry, and their vulnerability to blandishments, influence and pressure in the summer of 1465. Yet Louis XI was able to deploy Norman resources in the defence of Paris to great, perhaps decisive, effect. There was little warning of the defection of the Brézé affinity from the king's cause, which broke Louis's grip on Rouen and the province, and triggered the collapse of his negotiating position in the peace talks which brought the Public Weal to an end in October.

Chronologically the Public Weal may be conveniently situated between the decisive triumph of Charles VII over the Lancastrians and Louis's own later dismemberment of the Burgundian complex. Like other princely revolts it has tended to be discussed in terms of national aggregation. This view has little competition in current historiography, a consequence of the lack of interest taken in the reign of Louis XI by French historians this century. This is the more surprising when one considers that for Louis XI there is no great body of work from the nineteenth century. Certainly there is no counterpart to the great six-volume masterwork on Charles VII by Gaston du Fresne de Beaucourt. There is still no substantial study of the reign, and the detailed archival work which would permit one has yet to gather momentum.

Louis XI is unusual, perhaps fortunate, in surviving in French culture as a personality, however lugubrious, rather than as a subject of continuing research. As Gaussin pointed out in the most recent survey of the reign, the legend of the king has outrun the historiography. For the student of the Public Weal this compounds the fact that we are more poorly served by documentary survival from this period of the reign than from the triumphal 1470s.⁹ In turn, Louis's historians have perforce to treat the 1465 crisis more summarily than a potential deposition should warrant.

⁹ For a recent run through of the emergence of the legend see Gaussin 1976 pp12-21. The early 1460s was for Bittman 'un moment où les autres renseignements nous sont parvenus plus parcimonieusement que pour toutes les époques suivantes du règne': Bittman 1944-48 p80.

This disinterest has one exception, in the important study of Henri Stein, *conservateur* at the Archives Nationales. His biography of Charles de France appeared in 1919. Through the corpus of documents he published amongst his *pièces originales* he made the entourage of the young duke accessible. Although he did not address himself to the task, it is possible to trace its mutation from the small household of the early 1460s through to the oppositionist party of the Breton exile of 1466-9, and then the full princely following (a royal regime in waiting even) of 1469-72.

Stein's is the only serious scholarly treatment of the war – indeed, of the first half of Louis's reign. His analysis of the causes of the outbreak of revolt is worth reviewing briefly. Stein placed the Public Weal in a broad context of economic depression, continuing war taxation and the depredations of a rapacious soldiery. To this context he attributed isolated disturbances at the beginning of the reign, and strong anti-tax sentiment thereafter. Against this background, tensions with various princes remained or became serious. Charolais was in the process of assuming the reins in Burgundy, and he was unpredictable – the 'hereditary enemy'. François II of Brittany was disaffected and in touch with the English. Jean duke of Bourbon was ambitious and discontented, and linked to Charolais. Gaston IV de Foix was not trusted by the king. Louis lived in the midst of the hatreds he had provoked among the entourage of his father; the fury of the servant scorned.¹⁰

Stein considered that the atmosphere of tension was gathering a momentum of its own by 1464. He believed the king isolated from his greatest magnates by a propensity to despotic brutality. Thus Louis looked outside the realm for support, notably to Milan. Intrigues began to gather pace. In December the discontented held a large assembly, under the banner of reform and in the livery of the silk *aiguillette*, at Notre Dame in Paris. From this point on significant magnates were declaring themselves for the Public Weal. In March the fuse was lit with Berry's *partement*. The first explosion was that of propaganda; both the princes and the king bombarded the towns and other lords with manifestos and letters. The move to war was now unstoppable.

Stein's narrative of the war is detailed up to the rebel move into Normandy. Thereafter it becomes a travelogue in the company of Charles de France himself. Problems of evidence meant that, within his general approach, he could do little more: very few Norman remissions survive, probably because few were ever granted to individuals.¹¹ By focussing on its nominal leader, Stein

¹⁰Stein 1919 p46-49.

¹¹Remissions for the middle 1460s are contained in AN JJ 194, 195, 197, 199 and 200. Tantalisingly, damage to AN JJ 202 has rendered several illegible, and this register may have contained a higher proportion of Norman pieces of the relevant date: among the names which occur on the semi-legible title page are le Cordier and Chisenal, on whom see appendix 1(c), (f) and 3. The decisive reason for the absence of remissions is the terms of the various settlements between crown and princes, especially

came as close as biography permits to providing a comprehensible account of the Public Weal. This obviates repetition in this thesis. Ultimately, however, his focus is too narrow.

Biography treats the civil war in an episodic way, as a crisis exogenous to the career of the subject. The most significant fact about the war is that it was barren of result in the medium term. Given this fact, focus on a great prince will likely lead to unsatisfyingly negative conclusions. A look at some courtier magnate will treat the war as a great upheaval, breaking or re-making a career, but will be unable to focus on the wider picture. It elides certain historiographical problems, notably the interplay of relations between the actors. Despite a valuable overview of Charles's own entourage, and with the partial exception of Charles's host and protector François II of Brittany, princes and their suites enter Stein's sights only episodically. The interaction between the entourages of the princes, the royal train, and the regional affinities of what is coming to be called the *noblesse seconde*, remains the *terra incognita* of the mid-1460s.

The narrative of the war which results is denatured, for one can present in only the crudest terms that political logic which determined the options and choices of the players. This is the logic of affinity: service, retinue, and connection. Where this has been examined for the reign of Louis XI, it is in quasi-diplomatic terms. In Werner Paravicini's hands, this is an approach sensitive to political culture below the level of alliance between princes.¹² What the present historiography lacks are the fundamental units of political action themselves. These are the clientèles of the men who ruled in the provinces and made up the entourages of princes.

To take the broader approach which would make up these gaps, only a full synthesis would be appropriate, but the difficulties are formidable. Few elements have been adequately studied. The eddies within the Paris legal scene have received attention lately. It is also true that the nuances of the diplomatic relations in which the war was inscribed – the Aragonese, Italian and English dimensions – started to be tackled in the nineteenth century.¹³ Even on a banal level, this is important. Louis enjoyed strong military support from Savoy and Milan. English truces were directly connected to the breakdown of relations between the crown and Brittany. Matters Italian and Aragonese were relevant to the line taken by Jean d'Anjou duke of Calabria and Lorraine.

François II's reduction to the king's grace in December 1465, which specified a general pardon for offences committed in the service of the princes up to that point. Louis confirmed this in August 1466, eliminating the need for erstwhile rebels to seek further pardons: AN JJ 202 p45 n°LXXI. Again, few remissions survive for the early 1470s, the period in which the followers of Charles de France might have been suing for them after the duke's death.

¹²Paravicini 1985.

¹³Stocker 1975. Calmette 1903. Calmette/Périnelle 1930. Combet 1903.

In other respects though, princely houses are poorly served by historiography this century. The Montforts have been studied most. Jean Kerhervé's analysis of Breton administration is profound, and Michael Jones's fourteenth century emphasis has not precluded forays into the fifteenth century. André Leguai published work on the Bourbons, and the house of Armagnac has also attracted attention.¹⁴ The two most important Valois cadet lines however, Burgundy and Anjou, are both severely under-studied. Below the level of the prince, there is a dearth of modern accounts on fifteenth century magnate houses. We are slightly better served by accounts of individual towns, though these tend not to be in the areas of strategic significance for the Public Weal. Few of the building blocks out of which a synthesis of the Public Weal would have to be constructed yet exist.

Stein was primarily interested in the military effort to occupy Normandy, rather than in the composition of the regime which exercised power in the name of Charles de France as duke of Normandy in October and November 1465. This was a coalition of committed *ligueurs* and last-minute rebels. Captains in Breton and Bourbon service overran the province, occupying some places and securing the formal submission of others. The repository of effective authority and central leadership was a council at Rouen including Harcourt and members of the old Brézé circle. Charles de France remained before Paris with his own personal following, in discussions with the king and his own princely allies. This situation could only be provisional, and the apanage grant which regularised what the rebellion had achieved remained to be given concrete form. In December the young duke arrived in Rouen to begin the aggregation of these distinct military, consiliar and personal foci of power. The last chapter examines these processes and the duke's failure.

The motor of the developing crisis was deteriorating relations between Louis XI and François II in the early 1460s. The interaction of several issues meant that once begun, this deterioration could not be halted short of conflict. Vital Breton interests were at stake in three areas. The first was the competition between king and duke over regalian rights in the Breton sees. Second was the patronage extended by the king to the duke's enemies. The third was Louis's complaisance as to how the conduct of his English policy would affect the duke's subjects. These issues drove duke and king into conflict, and the conflict would largely resolve them. Yet once that conflict had begun, they did little to determine its trajectory.

The shape of the War of the Public Weal was determined by the strain at the Burgundian court over the succession to Philip the Good of Burgundy. One can put it more strongly: the Public

¹⁴Leguai 1944. Mandrot 1890.

Weal amounts to the resolution of the crisis in Burgundian politics. Tension increased in tandem in France and Burgundy in 1464: the spring crisis of 1465 paralysed the king just as the situation in Burgundy became critical. Louis was unable to materially assist his allies the Cröy or the count of Nevers. But his earlier meddling in Burgundian court infighting wrongfooted him as Charolais took power in the spring of 1465. The failure of Louis's Burgundian strategy was what rendered him so vulnerable to the onslaught of his other vassals.

Focus on Normandy is therefore problematical for analysis of the wider war. An outline account of the origins of the crisis would focus not on Normandy, but on relations between the king and his vassals of Brittany and Burgundy. Not coincidentally, these were the two powers that had emerged from the Hundred Years' War as the most free-standing of the princely complexes. The breach between them and the king gave political importance to the alienation of other princes, especially Bourbon. Similarly, although Normandy remained a locus of conflict into 1468, the central political issues were decided outside the province. For these reasons this account of the Norman scene in the years running up to the Public Weal is not a substitute for the full study of the war, the need for which remains urgent.

COMPIEGNE AND THE RETURN OF THE EXILES

In February 1452, Robert des Préaux *écuyer* and his wife Jeanne de la Fontaine appeared before a Granville notary to draw up a procuration and testament. They presented an account of their situation in rather touching terms. Both were elderly: they had been married for 48 years. Their children were dead, and they had no other close blood kin with whom they might seek comfort. 'Pour fuir aux anglois' they said, they had 'delaissee leurs pais parens et richesses et habitoy en lieux villes et quartiers estraunges en soustenant moult de grans peines perilz et necessites ...'. Only recently, on the Reduction of Normandy by the king, had they been 'repatries petitement logies chargies de grans debtes cheux en decrepite fieblesse'.

What had happened to their possessions? As refugees from the Lancastrians and hence Valois partisans, were they not entitled to receive it back? Undoubtedly they had recovered some, for they made bequests of urban, noble and *roturier* property. Its condition is unspecified: even if undamaged by the war it was not unaffected by the convalescent state of the post-war economy. But they had other difficulties.

In December 1452 Robert concluded an agreement with Roger de la Valette. The two men were in dispute over the seignury of Troismonts, south-west of Caen. Des Preaux had advanced the claims of his wife, daughter of the late Raoul de la Fontaine. He had been unable to secure any part of the fief however, since la Valette had purchased the rights of Raoul's grand-daughter Robine, whose mother Girette was Raoul's elder daughter. In her right, la Valette could legally enjoy Troismonts *par droit d'ainesse*, pending partition of the lands. The couple could convoke him before a royal judge to begin this process, but the case had yet to come to court, two and a half years after the fall of Caen to the French. Alternatively, they could try to annul the original sale of Robine's rights, but they would have had to compensate la Valette for the full purchase price. 'Charged with great debts', they were unable to raise the money.

The conclusion was inevitable: the couple allowed themselves to be bought out of their rights for L180 and a quantity of cloth by a man who had been continuously resident in Lancastrian Caen, a *demeurant*. Practical and legal obstacles thus imposed a solution upon Robert and Jeanne, in spite of the king's best efforts to assist his partisans in the recovery of their lands and rights. The impoverishment of the couple is revealing of the situation of Norman refugees to humble to

enter the magic circle of royal patronage during the lean years.¹ But their predicament is of wider interest. How commonly did returning exiles find themselves in such situations, and what consequences stemmed from the confusion of title arising out of the Lancastrian occupation?

Any confrontation between exile and *demeurant* over title is squarely in the frame of 'social peace', the heading under which Bossuat, in the aftermath of the *règlement des comptes* of 1944-45, wished to discuss the pacification of northern France under Charles VII. Allmand too saw the Norman scene after 1450 in this context: for him, 'the legal re-establishment of land-ownership would be a major social problem in the aftermath of war'. Both identified the edict of Compiègne as Charles VII's principal policy instrument in the reconciliation of competing claims, and for both reconciliation was key to pacification.²

The edict of Compiègne posited a series of evils grieving the king's loyal subjects of Paris and elsewhere who, since May 1418 'en acquittant leurs loyaultez envers nous', had abandoned their properties and inheritances in flight to 'pais a nous obeissans'. In a general manner the returning exiles were declared 'francs et quictes' of these evils, some of which were recapitulated more specifically. The edict quit the king's partisans of their obligations towards 'desobeissans et rebelles'. It granted them not just seisin and succession in their lands, but also all arrears of grain and cash due on these, and any debts due by them to the rebels. They were entitled to enter into their inheritances 'nonobstant quelxconques contractz, vendicions, donacions, transpors, testamens, dispositions et ordonances faiz ...' by their kinsfolk or any other *détenteur* in their absence. Rights of inheritance into which they had been unable to enter owing to their absence were confirmed to them. The edict nullified penalties of any kind incurred towards 'tenans du parti à nous contraire', whether through default at law or judgement because of the exiles' absence. No suit could be mounted arising out of the exiles' absence. Returning exiles were empowered to retract all sales or exchanges entered into from a year and a day previous to their flight. This applied to rents and benefices as well as land. All prejudicial novelties and encroachments on their rights since their flight were to be actionable up to a year and a day after their return.³

¹*Caen* 17 Dec 1452, p105v°. Robert was now 70 years old, and Jeanne was 65. The lament for their reduced circumstances justifies the sweeping nature of the community of goods they were drawing up, and there is no reason to think it exaggerated for the purposes of supplication. La Valette was a Caen notable whose family was in the process of breaking into local landholding. Troismonts was to become part of their surname (la Valette de Troismonts): Cahaignes 1880. See appendix 3 for more on Roger.

²Bossuat's 1954 article grew from a paper delivered to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres on 3 Jan 1947: Bossuat 1947 p14-16; same author 1954 p137-38; Allmand 1976 p344-46. The text of the edict is in *Ordonnances* XIV pp102-106.

³*Ordonnances* XIV pp102-4. Bossuat 1954 p146-47. Allmand 1976 p346.

Although the text of the edict survives only in the form in which it was re-issued at Montbazon in October 1450, Allmand pointed out that its genesis lay in the circumstances of 1429. In conception it applied to the areas submitting to Charles in the coronation campaign, or which were expected to fall shortly. It was designed to sweep aside resistance to the reintegration of exiles in their lands from *demeurants*, those who had remained in the Lancastrian obedience. Grants by the Burgundian regime prior to the treaty of Troyes, and the Lancastrians thereafter, were of course set aside. But most of the text is concerned with resistance in the courts based on legally enforceable obligation incurred in the absence of loyalists since Charles assumed the regency in the spring of 1418.⁴

Bossuat was principally interested in the emergence of a jurisprudence covering the implementation of the edict over the period following the recovery of Champagne, or after the fall of Paris in 1436. Allmand sought to use the enforcement of Charles VII's legislation in Normandy and in Gascony to test Bossuat's views on the tenurial jurisprudence of the period after 1429.⁵ He did not set out to discover whether or not, on the eve of the collapse of the truce in 1449, French judicial practice matched what would be evolved in Normandy after the Reduction. Subsequent interpretation in Normandy certainly owed something to Paris, if only because of the *parlementaire* backgrounds of many *Echiquier* counsellors, but these men were also concerned to minimise the violence done to Norman custom. There is as yet no basis on which to assess the balance struck.

Even if, as Bossuat suspected, the jurisprudence of the *Parlement* had diverged from the intentions of the edict's draughtsmen, the 1449 confirmation at Montbazon renewed the original terms in the strongest possible language: because the edict had not yet been registered by the *Parlement*, attempts had been made to cast doubt on its validity 'en grant irreverence de nous, foule et dommaige de nos subgiez qui tousjours ont tenu nostre loyal parti.' Desiring to 'tenir et garder bonne paix et union entre nos subgetz, sans ce qu'ilz aient cause de remembrer les ungs contre les autres les maux et inconveniens faiz et perpetrez durant les guerres et divisions', Charles ordered that the edict be 'tenuz, gardez et observez par tout nostre Royaume perpetuellement et inviolablement ...'. So for the king the restoration of his partisans in their legitimate right was an absolute prerequisite of 'bonne paix et union'.⁶

⁴Bossuat 1947 p12-13; same author 1954 p147-49; Allmand 1976 p345-47.

⁵Bossuat 1954 p151ff; Allmand 1976 p348ff.

⁶Bossuat 1947 p15; *Ordonnances* XIV p105.

Resumption

At first sight, the clause in the edict dealing with the actual procedure of reintegration is prominent by its absence. In fact, however, it is the absence of formal procedure which is stipulated. Returning exiles 'se puissent bouter et entrer plainement, réaulment et de fait, *de leur propre autorité* èsdictes maisons heritages et possessions ...'. Unfortunately, it is in the nature of arbitrary resumption (especially of property rights which were non-material, as in rents) that it has left little evidence relating to the actual re-entries of particular exiles. Evidence of reintegrations effected without the agency of royal officials is implicit or indirect. That is, it arises from either the fact of subsequent possession or from special circumstances of the reintegration.

We have direct evidence of entry into possession only where the exile subsequently ran into problems. The legal records refer to re-entries, but in formulaic language. A claimant has taken possession and seisin of such and such a property by virtue of the edicts, or in consequence of the Reduction, or since the fall of a given place. Such accounts are typically bare of detail, save comment on the right in which re-entry was made. They are rarely more than preambles to accounts of opposition being mounted by supposed *détenteurs*. In the great majority of contracts making reference to the recovery of lands by exiles or under Compiègne, the returning exile is stated to be already seised of the property in question.⁷

Such statements are occasionally nuanced: a claimant has *tried* to enter a property, or has *wished* to take possession. The context generally indicates no more than that agreement was reached between the parties prior to the taking of possession. Such instances may give rise to the objection that more definite formulae conceal fictive possession entered into for the purposes of bringing legal proceedings. There may be a hint of this in the distinction sometimes drawn

⁷'Depuis la Reducion de la ville de Caen faite en l'obbeissance du Roy n.s. ... (Laurens Denis) en soy aidant de l'edit faicte par icelluy seigneur a ses vraiz et loyaulx subjects par laquelle il les avoit restitue en les heritages dont ilz ou leurs predecesseurs joissans au temps de la descente des Anglois eust comme vray et prouchain heritier de (son pere) Jean Denis trespasse en l'obeissance du Roy n.d. seigneur prins possession et saisine d'une maison assise en la paroisse Notre Dame de Caen, en la rue de Cattehoule': *Caen* 6 Jan 1450/51, p167v°. Laurens de Boissay 'eust depuis la Reducion de ce pais de Normandie par vertu de ces editz et ordonnances du Roy nostre souverain seigneur ... et mesmes a tiltre d'oïrrie ... prins et apprehende la saisine et possession des terres, seigneuries, rentes et revenues' which had belonged to his grandfather: *Rouen* 29 Jun 1454. 'Après la Reducion (the exile) en soy aidant de l'edit de Compiengne estoit entre a la possession et saisine de la sergenterie d'Estrepagny': *Echiquier* 1456 p258. Jean Gosset 'après la Reducion du pais et au droit des edis et concessions du Roy n.s. se fust venu mettre en possession' of a collection of rents: *Rouen* 17 May 1454. The claimant 'certain temps aprez la Reducion du pais ... se soit mis en la possession et saisine desdis heritages': *Rouen* 2 Jan 1454/55. In royal letters delaying homage, *aveu et denombrement* claimants are also said to be already seised; Jean de Rupierre *écuyer* abandoned his Norman lands to serve the king, since when 'il n'en a aucunement jouy jusqu'a la conquete faite de present d'icellui pays au moyen de laquelle ledit escuyer a recouvert sesdis terres et seigneuries ou les aucunes d'icelles ...': *DLN/75* p47.

between possession and enjoyment. However, in more conventional situations of fictive possession, the most obvious being the drawing up of lots prior to *partage*, *saisine* was expressly qualified as *verbal*. Usufructuary transports such as *fieffes* and *fermes* necessitated a distinction between possession and enjoyment, and given the stress in the edict on entry being ‘plainement et de fait’, we should explain qualified language by reference to such ordinary situations.⁸

When claimants under the edict subsequently withdrew, lost suits or were bought out, they sought quittance of any obligations arising out of fruits taken and contracts made in the property. Withdrawals from part of an estate gave leverage to secure recognition of claimants’ rights in the remainder. Royal accounts and private contracts refer to the loss of rents and revenues assigned on lands during the occupation, but since resumed. Indeed, most references to the edict in the *tabellionage* are accords arising from legal action begun by *détenteurs* reacting to such loss. Broadly speaking, properties resumed under Compiègne would be enjoyed *de facto* as well as *de jure* by the claimant: his or her seisin was real.⁹

We can find other things happening around the time of the Reduction which may add colour to this picture of arbitrary and unregulated resumption. So far as we can tell, in the weeks before Caen fell, the title of Lancastrian partisans to local property became completely worthless if it derived from confiscation and re-grant. The spate of transports by Englishmen in 1449-50, the last of them on the very day that ‘ceste ville de Caen fut reduite en lobeissance du Roy nostre sire et en furent les anglois mis hors’, was succeeded by a parallel but contrasting phenomenon. The

⁸Claimants ‘en eulx aidant ... de l’edit fait par le Roy n.s. avoient prins ou s’estoient efforcez de prendre possession et saisine de certaines heritaiges, rentes et revenues ...’. ‘Après la Reducion du pais (the claimants) avoient voulu prendre la saisine et possession de certains heritaiges’ near Saint-Lô: *Rouen* 23 Jun 1452, 23 May 1462. A Cotentin noble ‘avoit prins la possession et voulu avoir le jouissement’ of a seignury: *Echiquier* 1456 p212. In another case, a claimant took possession of a parcel of land by virtue of the *reduction générale* but enjoyment was adjudged to him at the local pleas, pending settlement of the principal of the case. This did not necessarily mean that he had not been enjoying the land after his re-entry: the principal concerned the claims of a *demeurant* to have good title by virtue of foreclosure for legitimate debt, and the exile subsequently allowed himself to be bought out after his rival appealed to the assises of Evrecy over the issue of the *jouissance*: *Caen* 1 Jun 1452, p39v°.

⁹Quittance of obligation arising in enjoyment of property under Compiègne: *Caen* 6 Jan 1450/51, p167v°-68; 19 May 1452, p31v°; 3 Feb 1453/54, p214v°. *Rouen* 4 Mar 1454/55, 23 May 1462, 20 May 1464, 27 Oct 1474. Withdrawal as leverage: *Caen* 22 May 1451, p203v°. References to revenues lost because property has been resumed are extremely common: *Rouen* 26 Aug 1458, 19 May 1463; 19 May 1464. The Coutances viscomital *comptes* gave details of lands resumed by partisans of the king after 1449-50 in justification of the loss of royal rents and revenues which appeared in the previous (English) *comptes*. For example, 50 *sous* of rent due from the holder of the wardship of the children of the late Thomas de Thiboutot *chevalier* seigneur de Marigny was no longer flowing to the *recette*, ‘pourceque le seigneur de Montauban au temps de la Reducion de ladite Vicomté a pris saisine et possession de la terre de Marigny comme a luy appartenant par raison de son heritage ... et de laquelle terre il a fait et rendu son homage au roi n.s.’. The children had no right to any other lands save by Lancastrian gift: BM *Caen* 77 in f°51 pp43-44.

notaries rapidly evolved a stereotypical language for sales by returning exiles who simply wished to cash their claims in and (presumably) return to wherever they had found refuge.¹⁰

One legal instrument permits glimpses of the resistance offered by *demeurants* to the sudden loss of their property. The *haro* was the French hue and cry, summoning neighbours to the aid of the victim of crime. There were financial penalties for misuse and for failure to respond by summoning a sergeant or rallying to the cry. The Norman *haro* gradually transformed itself in the early modern period into a means of placing disputed property under royal *mainmise* until a court could judge the issue. Although still a feature of criminal and public order cases, when property was involved it was already regarded as implying, by its very nature, sequestration. Because it enabled an arbitrary resumption to be obstructed through summary sequestration, *haro* became of concern to claimants.¹¹

A snapshot of re-entry concerns the hôtel de la Barge in the Rouen parish of Sainte-Croix de Saint-Ouen, on the Eau de Robec. Jean des Hayes, thirty-five years a partisan of Charles VII, was the grandson of the owner in the 1420s. He returned after the Reduction and resumed possession and enjoyment *corporeal* and *actuale* of the hôtel in the right and title afforded him by Compiègne. The *détenteur*, Robin Galentine, resisted by crying the *haro* to summon his neighbours to eject the intruder. Implicit in the raising of the clamour is the absence of royal officers: des Hayes was indeed simply walking back into his grandfather's house.¹²

¹⁰The laconic comment is that of the clerk, one Jean le Briant: the last English 'vendor' was John Hebbard, who abandoned a house and rents to his French brother-in-law 'pour bonne amour et affinite': *Caen* 1 Jul 1450, p128v°. The English were able to get a price where their possession was 'par tiltre d'acquisition'. Returning exiles selling up their claims would be identified by the parish of birth and the place of current residence: Thomas Cynopez, 'natif de la paroisse Saint Nicolas de Caen et a present demourant en paiz de Brethaigne en la ville de Rennes en la paroisse Saint Germain', sold his father's house and garden in the 'Rue es Fourmaiges' within a week of the fall of the city. Jean le Breton had fled from Caen on the English arrival and was now living in Angers: he sold title to his former house on the Rue Cattehoulle: *Caen* 6 Jul 1450, p129; 8 Jul 1450, p129v°; see p130, 133, 136 for other examples.

¹¹After the Reduction Laurens d'Arras entered under Compiègne 'la possession et saisine de la sergenterie d'Estrepagny', but encountered 'contredit a haro', which he took before the *bailli* of Gisors and then the *Echiquier*: *Echiquier* 1456 p258. Letters obtained from the *bailli* of Caen by Geoffroi de Tournebu in 1454 show him taking a sergeant with him in an attempted resumption of the seignury of Fresney-le-Puceux south of Caen, as a precaution against 'debat a haro'. It seems from letters of 1460 that the attempt was unsuccessful: ADC E500, 2 pieces dated 2 Dec 1454 and 21-27 May 1460. Hector de Flavy seized a fief in the *vicomté* of Caudebec 'dedens l'an de la Reducion', only to see it sequestered by means of *haro* raised by the *détenteur*. He was unable to break the sequestration, though he did receive half of the proceeds: *Rouen* 20 May 1464. Note that attempts by *demeurants* to re-enter property resumed under Compiègne might themselves be met by *haro*: at the 1453 *Echiquier* ex-Lancastrian Roger Mustel failed to break the sequestration on the seignury of Bailleul consequent upon 'empeschement a clameur de haro': *Echiquier* 1453 p242. For an introduction to the literature on the *haro* see Pissard 1911; Besnier 1976.

¹²*Rouen* 26 Sep 1451; Allmand 1976 p351. This document is unique in the Rouen *tabellionage* in the explicit stress it places on the edict. In obstructing the entry of des Hayes like this, Galentine was making himself vulnerable in two ways. First, he incurred the normal penalties for an improper raising of the

There can be no doubt that on occasion royal officers did effect the reintegration of an exile, though again, descriptions are usually vague. The officers involved could be exalted: Richemont was said to have ‘remis et reintegré en ses biens’ one Perrin Noel *écuyer*, presumably a reference to the constable’s commission *sur le fait des confiscations*. Jean Grosparmy *écuyer* was stated to have taken possession of properties held of Jean du Bois *chevalier*, enforcing delivery through a royal sergeant when the knight refused to co-operate. A lawsuit was the result. The implication is that Grosparmy’s initial possession was either brief or fictive, but the rights here being enforced were not held from the king. Royal officers were also more likely to be involved where those claiming under the edict had nonetheless been *demeurants*. The sons of Richard Marie presented themselves to the *bailli* of the Cotentin to claim lands by virtue of Compiègne. After an investigation it was found that the English had confiscated their father’s property because he had favoured the Valois. The sons, who had been residing in Normandy notwithstanding Richard’s execution, were restored with the consent of the royal *procureur*.¹³

A lawsuit over a Cotentin sergeantry shows how the normal operations of royal officers interacted with the process of resumption. Although it was not strictly a resumption under Compiègne – it stemmed from a Valois grant of 1429 – it may be usefully included here as showing the complexities of the issues with which the new regime had to grapple. A sergeantry was an anomalous kind of property, half office half fief, and to complicate matters further, frequently farmed out by the holder. Could the elements which composed possession – exercise, usufruct, enjoyment – be distinguished?

In July 1429 Jean du Pont was granted the sergeantry *à fief* of Carentan, Saint-Lô and Hommet, in favour of military service on the coronation campaign. He subsequently gave the oath and was received in the *Chambre des Comptes*, and in May 1436 he had these letters registered by the Valois *bailli* of the Cotentin sitting in Mont-Saint-Michel. He could not take *de facto* possession, of course, since the English continued to hold the mainland undisturbed by du Pont’s rigorous observation of the formalities.¹⁴

haro. Secondly, he was opened to the penalties threatened but not enumerated in the edict itself. This was heavily stressed in the accord between the two men: ‘ledit Galentine congnoissant que par ledit estatu royal est prohibe et deffendu a tous aler par fait ne par dit alencontre dicelui edit estatu royal sur peine d’estre puni comme infracteur d’edit royal et lay inrevocable ...’. This interesting case is considered further below.

¹³DLN/31 p13; *Caen* 3 May 1470, p122; BM Caen (77 in f°51), p44.

¹⁴BN PO 2331 *du Pont en Normandie* 52533, n°22, 23; *vidimi* of the *bailli*’s *mandement executoire* (13 Dec 1450); original grant (Soissons, 29 Jul 1429); registration before the Valois shadow *bailli* of the Cotentin at Mont-Saint-Michel (7 May 1436); letters of the *Chambre des Comptes* (21 Feb 1449). The farmers of the sergeantry are listed and their adjournment before the Carentan pleas is noted. See also n°25, registration dated 13 May 1451 at the assises of Saint-Lô of royal letters (Montbazou, 10 Apr 1450). As for sergeantries, investigations into their worth undertaken by *vicomtes* on the instructions of the

On the Breton conquest of the area in 1449 the new *vicomte* of Carentan farmed the sergeantry to a consortium of local bourgeois. Du Pont was not in a position to intervene, but later that year he approached the king in Rouen; he wanted provision in respect of his grant and the contradictory *ferme*. The king directed him to the chancellor and the *grand conseil*, who sent him on to the *trésoriers de France*. They were still cogitating on the matter in April 1451, but du Pont had not been idle in the meantime. He impetrated letters in the *Chambre des Comptes* in February 1450, and presented these to the *bailli*, who ordered the *vicomte* to deliver the sergeantry in December 1450. Du Pont took his rapidly growing dossier of charters and letters to the *vicomte*, adjourning the *fermiers* to the pleas in January 1451 to see the registration of his title.

Unfortunately, the *vicomte* was reluctant to deliver him the sergeantry unless du Pont ratified the *ferme* already made. Du Pont returned to the king and in April 1451 obtained letters ordering the *vicomte* to deliver the sergeantry and to discharge him of the *ferme*. These he took before the assises of Saint-Lô in May 1451, where the lieutenant of the *bailli* again ordered the delivery of the sergeantry. Things were moving his way. Three years later he was negotiating with a consortium which included one of his competitors of 1450-51: he was seised of the property and about to enjoy the profits of a new *ferme*. Doubtless he had been enjoying them for some time, for there is mention of a previous agreement with one of the new farmers. Nonetheless he had had to subject an unco-operative bureaucracy to a barrage of letters, and his troubles with the *vicomte* were by no means over.¹⁵

The royal legal establishment could hardly escape local entanglements such as with the *fermiers* in the forgoing example; but the general problem here revealed is central rather than local.

It lay in the responsibilities that royal officers bore to the *Chambre des Comptes*. Eustace de Carville *écuyer* encountered obstruction by royal receivers who wished to maintain the terms of the

Chambre des Comptes concentrated on seven questions: antiquity and title; whether the king had rights other than *rente foncière*; whether real property was appurtenanced; whether its worth resided solely in dues accruing from the sergeantry itself; whether a *ferme* existed and to whose profit. See, as a particularly clear example, DLN/10 p7 (sergeantry of Le Tourneur in the *vicomté* of Vire, 1438).

¹⁵BN PO 2330 *du Pont* 52521, n°74. Letters of Jean Roussel *garde des scéaux* of Carentan dated 29 Dec 1454. The term was for three years from 12 Jan 1454. Du Pont is qualified 'sergent hereditaire de la sergenterie de Saint Lo'. If we assume that the new terms largely reflected those of the old then the farm just ending had been running since Jan 1451. One may further conjecture that it had been made at the pleas at that time. This would imply that he had had to accept the sergeantry as charged with the farm already made. Subsequently Guillaume de Cérisey *vicomte* of Carentan took the sergeantry into the king's hands on the grounds that money was owing on its rights in Saint-Lô. In 1466 the unfortunate du Pont was in prison at Carentan, 'ou il avoit este longuement detenu'; at a hearing before the *gens des comptes* he argued that he was unable to pay because Cérisey had resumed the revenues of this part of the sergeantry prior to the *mainmise*. In August 1466 the *Chambre des Comptes* returned the case before the *bailli* of the Cotentin or his lieutenant at Carentan. We may infer where their sympathies lay from the fact that they freed du Pont without caution until Easter next: DLN/17 p417.

Lancastrian *ferme* of his lands. He argued before the lieutenant of the *bailli* of Caen that in 1417 his late father Colin had fled Condé-sur-Vire for Rennes in Brittany ‘pour garder sa leaulte envers le Roy nostre dit seigneur non voullent demourer ne estre en l’obeissance dudit Roy d’Angleterre’. On the reduction of Bayeux Eustace ‘s’est venu en saisiner et mettre en possession et jouissement de sesdis heritaiges et revenues ainsi que faire le pover et devoir par vertu des ordonnances du Roy’. A jury upheld his account at the assises of Bayeux in July 1451, and the court discharged him of the *ferme*.¹⁶

Comparable use was made of the edicts at Coutances in 1459, in an attempt to free acquired property of dues owed to the *vicomté* and claimed to be a Lancastrian novelty. A jury confirmed that a certain Denis Bedelle ‘s’en estoit alle du party des anglois en l’obeissance du Roy n.d. sgr et dempuis retourne et favorisoit et supportant les gens de guerre tenans l’obeissance d’icellui seigneur il avoit este prins et decapite’. The forfeited property had been rented out. One Robin Huet purchased the rights of Denis’s heirs, and was restored in these subject to the correction of the *Chambre des Comptes*. Explicitly because they could call Compiègne in their support, Carville and Huet had fewer difficulties than du Pont in shouldering *vicomte*, receiver and *fermiers* aside.¹⁷

Arbitrary resumption does not imply detachment on the part of the crown. The *Chambre des Comptes* was doing its best to monitor the situation. Officers in the *vicomté* of Coutances were accounting for royal revenues lost because of resumptions. They were noting restorations of lands, rents, enfeoffed sergeantries; identifying the claimant and the *détenteur*, the right in which the claim was advanced, whether Compiègne was in play or if the claimant was being restored ‘even though he has always been resident in this *vicomté*’.¹⁸ The *gens du roi* in the *vicomté* of Caudebec produced at Michaelmas 1450 a list of the properties which had been held in 1447 by virtue of Lancastrian grant, and who was holding them now. They were responding to an order of the *Chambre des Comptes* that the *vicomte* ‘apporter les singuliers parties desdites terres et revenues en son prochain compte de Saint Michel apres la Reduction’.¹⁹

¹⁶BL Additional Charters 6992.

¹⁷BL Additional Charters 1246. See also CMSM II p247, showing Maurice de Lesnerac overturning the *vicomte* of Coutances’s *mainmise* on lands around Coutances and Saint-Lô belonging to his wife Perrine de la Haye. The lands had been taken into the king’s hands for default of dues for which the *vicomte* had been ordered in 1450 to account by the *gens des comptes*, but they were not held of the king and Perrine’s father, Cotentin knight Jean de la Haye, had been a notable Valois partisan in the area. At the assises of Coutances in April 1452 the *lieutenant général* of the *bailli* of the Cotentin delivered the couple the lands in recognition that because of this Lesnerac ‘devoit estre tenu quitte et paisible’.

¹⁸BM Caen (77 in f°51), p43.

¹⁹DLN/13 p269. The Valois officers used as the base for their draft the 1447 viscomital accounts of Lancastrian *vicomte* Guillaume Bryden. In May 1451 Jean Jabin *vicomte* of Gisors was undertaking the

It is likely that the injunction to the *vicomte* of Caudebec was a general one to all his counterparts. Toustain de Billy may have seen a response by officers at Coutances.²⁰ More plentiful, but very narrowly focussed, are the *informations* delivered to the *Chambre des Comptes* by the *gens du roi* at *vicomté* or *bailliage* level in response to its specific demands for detailed information. Paris was issuing torrents of orders to inquire into the value of royal rights of all kinds. These can be followed in their spectacular diversity in the *Collection Dom Lenoir*.²¹ They extended to inquests undertaken at the instance of quite petty seigneurs.

The usual controls of homage, *aveu et denombrement* were evidently less effective than usual. The chaos on the ground was such that many, particularly those newly returned, found it difficult to render them accurately. Requests for and grants of prorogations of the duty of rendering homage and *aveu* swelled to the point that the *Echiquier* of 1454 issued a general delay of one year for all those holding nobly.²²

Du Pont's onslaught on the Avranchin officers shows royal letters being deployed in the prosecution of disputes, and those generated by resumption were no different. The letters would normally contain a clause requiring the officers addressed to verify the information it contained – an elementary precaution against king, royal lieutenant, great commensal officer, council or court acting on the basis of a pack of lies. When Olivier d'Estriac's sought recovery of his mother's Bessin inheritance he 'en usant les ediz et ordonnances du Roy n.s. *et par vertu de lettres Royaulx* estoit venuz ... apprez la Redducion ... en la possession et saisine des heritages'. Geoffroi, brother and heir of Perrin Alixandre, executed by the English for his activities 'ou fait de la guerre', obtained letters patent in July 1450 ordering royal officers in the Cotentin to restore him, 'apres informacions faites'.²³

The expectation was that royal officers would convene the parties concerned. The process is described in the rubric to an accord between Guillaume du Puis and Laurens Guedon, *premier avocat* in the *bailliage* of Rouen;

same kind of general inquest as his counterparts at Caudebec: Dom Le Noir took notes of both these results and of an *état* of November 1451 by Jabin of revenues 'en non valeur' in the *bailliage* of Gisors: DLN/14 p81, p83.

²⁰ BM Caen (77 in f°51), p43-44.

²¹ DLN/9, 10 are particularly rich for the period under discussion.

²² DLN/10 p61.

²³ Rouen 3 Jun 1463: it looks as though d'Estriac was trying to break some kind of usufructuary transport made by his grandmother. BM Caen (77 in f°51), p43-44: Geoffroi was restored in February 1451.

Et soit ainsi l'an mil iiii^e cinquante Guillaume du Pui escuier ... eust impetre certaines lettres Royaulx, par lesquelles estoit mende a monsieur le Bailli de Rouen ou son lieutenant faire recuider casser et mettre au neant lesdiz contraictz s'il apparoit le contenu en icelles lectres estre vray, et en cas de debat ou opposition que il feist droit aux parties. Pour lesquelles lectres veoir enteriner icelui Guillaume du Pui eust fait adiourner ledit Laurens Guedon a estre en l'assise du Pontautou pardevant ledit Monsieur le Bailli ou son lieutenant ...²⁴

The Estriac case shows Jacques Courtois *vicomte* of Bayeux in exactly the same role as the lieutenant of the *bailli* of Rouen in the suit between du Puis and Guedon.

Wherever disputes had arisen, the parties would appeal through royal letters to justice for support. Feudal superiors could also be obstructive, and appeals to the edict may have been subject to more intensive scrutiny if the claimant had always been resident in the *vicomté*. Resumption could easily collide with the inertia or local interests of royal officers, and the responsibilities which local *officiers comptables* bore to the *Chambre des Comptes* could obstruct matters. But although we can show Valois partisans running into difficulties in reclaiming their property, this evidence is still consistent with the royal intention that Valois partisans should enter their lands without any extraordinary process.

Bossuat conjectured that 'le caractère autoritaire de la confiscation pour lèse-majesté, le fait qu'elle ne resultait pas d'une décision judiciaire' contributed to the failure of the *Parlement* to register the edict.²⁵ Undoubtedly the situation is curious: disseisin without judgement was effectively legalised so far as the partisans of the king are concerned. This should condition any analysis of the way the Norman courts dealt with cases after 1449, above all because where the former possessor had withdrawn from the king's obedience, or title was notoriously founded on Lancastrian grant, no case would come to law.

Obstacles in the path of legal challenge to resumption

To the extent that the burden of the work of effecting re-integration fell on the ordinary royal courts, it was because the issues raised do not end with re-entry. The role of royal officers was bound to be a strong one because wholesale reintegration caused great disturbance. The courts

²⁴*Rouen* 6 May 145, a suit not over the fact of reintegration, but the subsidiary matter of contracts entered into by the *détenteur*. See also a contested *marchie de bourse*, which saw three sets of conflicting royal letters impetrated by the parties being adjudged at the countess of Laval's assises of Acquigny: *Rouen* 14 Jul 1456.

²⁵Bossuat 1947 p13. He traced the history of the *Parlement's* attitude in more detail later. The edict was finally registered in 1450: Bossuat 1954 p160-61.

would become involved either because claimants themselves sought the intervention of royal officers by means of letters, or because *demeurants* who considered themselves unjustly deprived managed to get their case heard by royal judges.

The involvement of the courts being ineluctable, it was logical for the edict to have ordered all judicial officials to support the king's partisans in their rights and not to suffer them to be 'molestez, travaillez, ne autrement tenuz en procès en aucune manière au contraire'. Rather, royal officers were to 'delivrer, rendre et restituer' their property, 'et oster tout empeschement'. The clauses permissive of arbitrary resumption were thus reinforced. Royal judges were licensed to obstruct the efforts of *détenteurs* to mount legal resistance, and to constrain them in their choice of action. It is noticeable, for example, that *demeurants* did not use novel disseisin to combat resumption, and this was not because the procedure had fallen into desuetude.²⁶ Reluctance on the part of royal officers to accept *brefs de nouvelle dessaisine* in cases where Compiègne was in question would be consistent with the edict's injunctions to officers. References to sequestration are also relatively infrequent in Compiègne suits. This suggests that normal processes of sequestration were being modified in favour of those who could plead the edict.

Jean du Bouquetot *chevalier* seigneur de Breul resumed his fief of Coquainvillier, only to find it being sequestrated at the instance of the *détenteurs*, members of the Meurdrac family. They had responded to their disseisin by taking a *bref de prouchain heritier* before the Auge assises. The basis of Bouquetot's subsequent appeal was that the hearing had been faulty because the *lieutenant particulier* of the *bailli* had declined to set the sequestration aside. In the dispute over the sergeantry of Estrepagny cited above, Laurens d'Arras appealed from the judgement given at the assises of Gisors for similar reasons: the court had upheld the sequestration which *haro* always entailed. He argued before the *Echiquier* that under Compiègne the *bailli* or his lieutenant should have immediately restored him in his rights.²⁷

For Allmand one of the reasons why the road to social peace did not go via Compiègne was that 'in practice the amount of litigation proved too daunting'. But if partisans of the king were normally able to resume property arbitrarily, and to retain real possession without fear of

²⁶Rouen 30 Apr 1463, accord of an original *clameur* of 1448, between parties both of whom had been in the French obedience.

²⁷Rouen 24 May 1462. The Meurdracs' claim to be nearest heirs rested on a supposed acquisition of the property by their predecessor, Girot de Reux, in 1413. Reux (they said) had acquitted Martin de Bouquetot, Jean's grandfather, of L3,000 of debts. Jean denied this, saying that his father and grandfather had died in seisin. Bouquetot appealed to the *Echiquier* but the action stalled thereafter, probably because Bouquetot could find no way of undermining the Meurdracs' letters of obligation. Ultimately he settled, keeping the seignury, but promising to pay some L2,470 within a year. For Bouquetot, see appendices 1(c) and 3. Arras: *Echiquier* 1456 p258.

sequestration pending the judgement of the principal, then the delays in the courts favoured them. The tensions he discerned over the implementation of the edict in Normandy can be understood as a response not only to the consequences of the return of the exiles, but also to a more general sense of vulnerability. The Rouennais knew well that full implementation of the edict would ‘grandement preiudicier pluseurs de ceste ville’. Moreover, *demeurants* were exposed to deprivation even where their title was good.²⁸

Certain suits look to have had a strange trajectory, perhaps because Valois partisans had made speculative claims and relied on attracting the sympathy of the courts. In broils over the succession of Jeanne de Reux (‘qui estoient sumptueux et grans et de grans despens’) the *demeurant* had difficulty in obtaining a hearing before the *grand sénéchal*. Both parties produced papers to substantiate contradictory genealogies but, decisively, a local jury declared for the *demeurant*. If the claimant was trading on the sympathy of the courts lying with one who had followed Charles VII, his gains ultimately amounted to the fruits of a nine-year occupation and compensation to the tune of 150 *écus*. In a case relating to the Ouche fief of Bosc-Renoult, the *demeurant* Musterel family was repeatedly and unreasonably harassed in their possession in the three years after the Reduction. Again, the trajectory of the case suggests that their title was good, but that Compiègne afforded their rivals an easy line of attack.²⁹

That Compiègne could enable claimants to seize property, to enjoy it, and to make it difficult for former tenants and proprietors to mount legal challenges is illustrated by a suit concerning two tenements in the *faubourgs* of Carentan held on terms dating back to the early years of the century. In 1449 Jean du Prael *dit* Pimor seized these properties as belonging to his wife, widow of previous tenant Guillaume Yon, and their daughter, Thomasse Yon. His possession was challenged by the displaced tenant, Jean de Vautigny, and by the proprietor, Michel Toustain. The lieutenant of the *bailli* maintained Pimor’s possession and refused to receive any opposition ‘soubz umbre de ce que ledit Pimor disoit avoir tenu le parti du roy et cappable de l’edict de Compiègne’.

²⁸Allmand 1983 p290; same author 1981 p151-56 for the growth of opposition at Rouen; AC Rouen A7, *Registre des délibérations* p90v°.

²⁹*Appointements* 1459 p23v°: accord of a suit arising in *bref de prouchain heritier* raised by Jean de Meurdrac seigneur de Reux against Jean de Boisleaue. Meurdrac eventually went through the chancellor in order to get (in 1455) a hearing at the *sénéchaussée*. Provision appears to have been granted to Boisleaue but Meurdrac secured restoration after arbitration and appointment registered at the 1459 *Echiquier*. Bosc-Regnoult was disputed by Raoul Musterel and Jean Despines pleading Compiègne: *Appointements* 1453 p348. At the Evreux assises Musterel obtained judgement in favour of his claim to have purchased the property from vendors including the late Jean Despines, uncle of the claimant, who now withdrew. On the basis of Compiègne, the claimant’s father (the vendor’s brother) continued to harass Musterel, who resorted to the assises of Beaumont-le-Roger. Here the lieutenant of the *bailli* recognised the hereditary right of Despines. A provoked Musterel appealed to the *grand sénéchal*, was restored, and had this ruling registered at the 1452 *Echiquier*.

Vautigny and Toustain appealed from the lieutenant to the *Echiquier*. The case was not heard, however, until 1466 – some seventeen years after the property in question was resumed. In the meantime, while Pimor and various heirs enjoyed the properties on the pre-war terms, Toustain was compensating the Vautigny with annual payments as guarantor of their title. By 1466 he was dead, and it was his son-in-law Guillaume Adigart who finally had a chance to expound the injustice which had been done. He complained that Toustain had not been received in opposition by the lieutenant, denied that the couple were capable under Compiègne, and argued that procedural irregularities demonstrated that the lieutenant had known this. The court sustained his appeal and restored Jean de Vautigny, son and heir of the displaced tenant, in his possessions. In short, Pimor's heirs gained the fruits of their period of occupation and were to be compensated for Yon's losses.³⁰

Accords by which an exile who had entered a property after the Reduction subsequently abandoned his rights for little or no payment, or mere quittance of the fruits of enjoyment, may instance cases where men with relatively poor title had managed to gain the *jouissance* of lands under the auspices of Compiègne. Indeed, claimants can sometimes be found making grovelling apologies for arbitrary and unjustified resumptions.³¹

Aggressive uses of Compiègne depended on widespread confusion over right and title – a confusion which left traces other than details of particular lawsuits: government concern became explicit and the burden of business rose strikingly. Edicts published at the *Echiquier* in 1453 make it clear that the need to act to diminish the number of suits before the court had come to the attention of the royal council. The waiving of the royal right to exact fines for ending a suit (the so-called *congie du roi* to vacate the court) by reaching an accord between the parties was one response to this burden.³²

³⁰*Echiquier* 1466 p182. It is unclear what had enabled Adigart to overturn du Prael's possession: it was probably Pimor's wife whose eligibility under Compiègne was questioned, for Pimor had indeed been a Valois partisan: Richard his son and heir argued that he and his wife had fled Normandy 'alors de la descente des Anglois en Normendie', and had always cleaved to the party of the king. Richard du Prael himself was clearly in royal service during the Reduction. He was nominated *vicomte* of Avranches on 16 May 1450, days after the fall of the town: GR7342. See appendix 3 for the du Prael.

³¹After the Reduction, Brezé *homme d'armes* Guillaume du Fay secured possession of the inheritance of Robert de Briquemare, claiming to be his nephew 'du cote de pere'. In fact, the inheritance had been transported by Robert's brother Jean to their sister's son Robin Sauvalle in 1419. Du Fay was ultimately able to extract no more than his legal expenses from Sauvalle, but he had enjoyed the property in the meantime: *Rouen* 4 Mar 1456/57. Members of the Louvel family enjoyed the fief of Gerroz for a decade before they were bought out for L300 by Jean Trihan *chevalier*: *Rouen* 25 May 1462. Louis du Châtel abandoned property at Creully, conceding that he had no right to these properties and had taken possession 'a tort': *Caen* May 1451, p203v°. Yvon Henry admitted that 'tortionnairement il avoit prins ladite pocession' of a house in Caen: *Caen* 10 Nov 1452.

³²*Echiquier* 1453 p3, based on original royal letters of 2 Mar 1453.

The *congie* was designed to encourage parties to settle suits by negotiation rather than trial. Nonetheless, by 1459, the backlog of suits had grown considerably:

... En nostre Eschiquier de Normandie sont pendans tresgrans nombre de causes et proces entre nos subgiez dudit pais, tant par doleances des appellacions ... sur les baillis et vicontes (que par autres) ... Desquelz proces grant partie y sont pendans des longtemps ...³³

Again, the crown waived its right to fines for *congie du roi*, and this would become an almost automatic feature of the *Echiquiers* of the 1460s. With business so burdensome Louis XI acknowledged in 1462 his Norman subjects' desire that the *Echiquier* should sit rather more regularly than hitherto; 'au moins une fois l'an au terme de pasques'.³⁴

The summons of the first postwar *Echiquier* of 1452 may have been a response to the confusion. The registers of this session do not survive, but the *Echiquier* of 1453 published a string of injunctions against social and administrative evils. These clauses bear witness to a concern with incoherence and excesses on the ground. The abuse of the powers and perquisites of office were prominent in the judges' concerns. The functions of the *baillis* and *vicontes* were re-emphasized in a number of ordinances, as were the boundaries of competence of their courts. The *Echiquier* was anxious about the lines of authority and demarcation through which *bailli*, *viconte*, sergeant and judges at various levels were articulated. Measures were taken against the expansion of the responsibilities of officers, their lieutenants and clerks; against the proliferation of sergentries and the abuse of their functions.³⁵ The occasion of the opening days of the *Echiquier*

³³*Appointements* 1459 p1; this volume collates appointments made under the *congie generale*.

³⁴*Congie générale: Echiquier* 1462 p2 (explicitly for the *joyeuse avènement*); *Echiquier* 1463 p1v^o-2; *Echiquier* 1464 p2; *Echiquier* 1466 p2; *Echiquier* 1469 p1v^o-2. Louis's response to the Estates: *Echiquier* 1462 p31.

³⁵*Echiquier* 1453 p4-7, printed in Soudet 1929 p124ff. There were 29 articles, all but 3 of them reiterations of previous legislation dating back as far as 1386. Article 1 prohibited royal *avocats* and *conseillers* from being 'du conseil' of persons seeking remissions, and of *baillis* or their lieutenants from verifying remissions without consulting the *procureur du roi*. Article 2 sought to contain the numbers of constraints, executions and suits being commenced by reiterating the requirement that no-one 'ne soit mis en cause' without 'informations faites' by the senior *bailliage*-level officers: it also listed the tariff for fines for violent acts etc.. Articles 3 and 4 amounted to general *renvois* of all suits rising from viscomital pleas and *bailliage* assises, on generous terms. Articles 5 and 6 required *baillis* and their lieutenants to co-ordinate their hearings with sessions of the *Echiquier* and gave them four sessions to judge a case. Articles 7 and 8 dealt with the appearance and civil conduct of parties before the courts. Article 9 forbade the fraudulent painting of crosses on buildings to exempt them from taxation as 'lieux d'aumosnes'. Articles 10, 11 and 12 regulated the coordination of *bailliage*-level officers with the *vicomtés* in matters of procedure and demarcation. Articles 13 and 14 dealt with procedural matters, both as regards the paperwork of court clerks and how litigants were to order their cases. Articles 15 and 16 reiterated the restrictions on how judges, *sénéchaux*, *vicontes*, *baillis* and *receveurs* might extract cash from those coming before them. Article 17 enjoined accurate datelines upon judges and their lieutenants. Article 18 reiterated the applicability of the *prix du roi* to private jurisdictions. Articles 19, 20, 21 and 22 dealt with abuses of royal sergentries. To judge by Basin's comments and the detail and length of these clauses this was a particularly live issue, although the complaints and penalties specified were in no way novel. Article 23 forbade royal judges from restricting access to the papers they held. Article 24 required *avocats*

was often taken to publish these kinds of ordinances, but that of 1453 is the most extensive and varied list in the next twenty years.

The volume of litigation before the royal courts was boosted because, in addition to the ongoing caseload of the last Lancastrian courts, including the *Echiquier* of 1448, a surge tide of new cases poured in. The suits generated by clashes between *détenteur* and exile where the latter was seeking to make a stand at law are those most likely to exhibit citations of the edicts of the king, but there were many other tributaries to this torrent. There had been a generation-long hiatus in *partages*, dower, and certain feudal functions where all or part of a lineage had been in the Valois obedience. This now had to be remedied. Such hangovers jostled for court time both with those arising under the occupation between *demeurants*, and even continuations of suits aborted in 1417-18. Additionally, cases which would previously have been dealt with outside the province were shifted into Normandy after the Reduction. Creditors, for example, were conscious of the desirability of pursuing debts in the jurisdiction where the bulk of the debtor's unassigned lands lay. On top of all of these factors, confusion is likely to have been exacerbated by a vulture effect: all title was only as good as the defence which could be made of it – an eternal truth. A title once brought in question, anyone with any claim at all might launch themselves upon a speculative suit, not necessarily with greater aim in view than being bought off by one or other of the more substantive competitors.

A consequence of the Reduction was therefore to throw the courts into turmoil, but this cannot be equated with real chaos at a local level. The evidence for the period during and soon after the Reduction is consistent with Compiègne's licensing of arbitrary resumption. This may have been so widespread as to have been normal for Valois partisans during and immediately after the Reduction. Possession thus gained afforded real enjoyment of property. The onus of resort to law fell on *demeurants* and there are signs that they faced obstruction in getting countervailing cases received in the courts. They appear to have had difficulty invoking mechanisms like sequestration or counterpledge which normally operated to place disputed property or its value outside the enjoyment of either party pending provisional judgement. This picture differs from that given by either Bossuat or Allmand, in that both lay much greater stress on obstacles in the path of claimants under Compiègne. This is not, however, to argue that claimants faced no problems.

to be named in case records, that those who had been involved themselves in abuses of Norman law might be identified. Article 25 ordered that the customary oath be administered to any postulant in the courts or one exercising the offices of *avocat* or *conseiller public*. Articles 26 enjoined the observance of the forgoing statutes upon *baillis* and their subordinates. Article 27 prohibited clerks of the *greffe* of *bailliage* and viscomital courts from acting as *procureurs* of suitors. Articles 28 and 29 provided for the annual publication of these *ordonnances*.

Ubiquitous problems: *partage*, alienations

Except in the Caux, *partage* was ubiquitous in Norman succession law. Whether cadet lines had remained in Normandy under the Lancastrian obedience or had passed over into what the chancery of Henry VI called *pays ennemi*, it had not always been possible to fulfil the procedures required under Norman law to give them title. This means that after the Reduction we see a rash of cases where claimants are seeking the redrafting of *partages* effected to their detriment under the occupation.³⁶

The issue of *partage* and the procedures required to effect it were amongst the elements which fogged the Penthievre succession in Normandy, and it was invoked in the litigation and negotiations over the *partage* of the Crespin inheritance. Here the point was that because the formalities had never been effected under Norman law, cadets, sisters and indirect heirs might be able to claim that some kind of *partage* should be effected now. Compiègne licensed such a view. Indeed, although references to disputes over the nature of such *partages* are common in the *tabellionage*, even claimants pleading Compiègne against *détenteurs* of their own lineage cannot be shown to have argued that no *partage* of any kind should be effected. The edict was not being interpreted as a mechanism for depriving *demeurants* of their legitimate rights. It merely set the framework for sorting out what these were.³⁷

Thus *partage* agreements not yet made because the claimants had been in exile now had to be drawn up. And, of course, those already made within the Lancastrian obedience were annulled if a member of the lineage had been excluded as an exile. Compiègne granted to the exile title in those goods ‘qui compettoient et appartenoient a leursdis parens et amis auxquelz ils eussent ou deu avoir succédé et estre heritiers, *s’ilz eussent esté et demouré en nostre obéissance ...*’. So, the issue was what the portion of a cadet or indirect heir might have been under normal circumstances. Where the family could not broker an arrangement, it would, as always, have to be decided before a court.

In general, the Penthievre notwithstanding, disputes of this kind were the preserve of petty noble families. An explicit example before the *Echiquier* is that of the succession to the Bessin noble family of Couvert. Nicolas de Couvert *écuyer* took possession of the fief of Sottevast near Valognes after the Reduction, by virtue of royal letters and as the elder brother of Jean, the

³⁶Bossuat considered the situation in Paris: 1954 p153-54.

³⁷For a discussion of the Penthievre case see Houard *sub* ‘Partage’. For the Crespin, see below.

occupant under the English. The latter's son, Lubin, contended that his right originated in the *partage* effected by the brothers 'durant l'occupation des anglois ... pendant lequel temps ... Jean avoit eu don des heritages dudit Nicolas et avoit fait en ses heritages grans reparacions'. Lubin's rearguard action failed, and he negotiated a settlement after the previous *partage* had been set aside to his detriment.³⁸

A case which may be slightly more typical, both in respect of its complexity (which, unusually, we can explore) and in how practicalities forced a settlement, is that of the Sacquenville succession. After the Reduction, the Tilly brothers Guillaume and Pierre secured seisin of the seigneuries of Blarru and les Botereaulx by virtue of royal letters. Their claim to be heirs of Jean de Sacquenville rested on *droit par benefice d'inventoire* from their grandmother Marguerite de Sacquenville. When they attempted to have this right registered at the assises of Bretueil in 1458, they were opposed by the heirs of Marguerite's sisters, Jeanne and Léanore. The Tilly were forced to recognise these two rival branches (the first represented by the Mornay family, the second by members of the Mailloc, Feuillet and Martainville) as 'en pareil degre de lignage'. They continued to manoeuvre however: before the *partage* could be effected, they impetrated *lettres de relevement* from the royal council. The first key point contained in these letters was that Marguerite and Jean had been heirs and children of Perronelle de Commin, while their two sisters were of another mother. The second was that Jean had exchanged the fief of les Botereaulx for one of Perronnelle's. The implication was that no rights in les Botereaulx could descend via Jeanne or Léanore. Unfortunately for this ploy both other branches had claims to marriage-gifted rents, assigned on les Botereaulx and long unpaid. The Tilly capitulated when they realised that they might face demands for huge arrears on these and other rents.³⁹

For some families, the hangover continued long after the Reduction. Amongst exiles returning to claim lands abandoned by a predecessor a generation earlier, difficulties in judging the real value of properties must have been epidemic. How were they to assess the burdens of legitimate obligation on particular lands? In 1454 Jean de Mailloc and his wife asked the *Chambre des Comptes* that papers relating to a 1409 enquiry into the value of the fief of Friardel should be

³⁸*Echiquier* 1456 p212-212v°. There is a genealogy of the Couvert in Frondeville 1953 p596ff. The head of the main line, first Roger, then his sons Raoul and Jean de Couvert, were themselves significant *demeurant* lords, seigneurs de Couvert for which Raoul rendered *aveu* in 1452 to the bishop of Bayeux. Nicolas and his nephew belonged to a cadet branch of the lineage. See also Béziers 1895 II, p190.

³⁹The fief of les Botereaulx continued an apple of discord amongst the parties. Calculating by the *prix du roi* it may have been worth c.L3,000-L3,150 between 1458 and 1463: *Rouen* 8 Nov 1458, 18 May 1463.

shown to them. Royal help of this kind cannot have gone far to mitigate the general problem, though requests were acted upon.⁴⁰

This was not simply a matter which would sort itself out in time, as the seigneurial income began to flow again. The problems for families needing to make a *partage* were spelt out by Pierre and Gilles le Bouteiller. They returned to claim their inheritance soon after the Reduction. They had still not, by the spring of 1454, made any *partage* agreement, 'quelle chose seroit bien difficile a faire pourceque ilz n'avoit pas vraye congnoissance des singuliers parties des choses ne descharges et devoirs de ce deubz ...'.⁴¹ Such situations were a fertile breeding ground for dispute within lineages even at the best of times. And not just within lineages: those enjoying property by questionable title were inclined to be less punctilious in meeting assigned obligations. Given the depressed state of the seigneurial economy, running up large arrears to legitimate *rentiers* carried the risk of foreclosure proceedings, the formidable apparatus of *decret*.

The point that Compiègne was interpreted as providing a framework for determining the legitimate rights of *demeurants*, rather than simply denying them, has a validity beyond the narrow if crucial area of *partage*. It was because of its conventional dress that Compiègne stepped elegantly through the real fog, which arose from thirty years of active property market in Normandy.

The recovery of real property alienated during the occupation generally posed only simple problems. In this area at least the post-Reduction regime found a solution which did little violence to the normal processes of Norman law. Alienation of part of an inheritance beyond the confines of the family group had always been open to challenge by one whose hereditary interest was closer than that of the buyer. This was the process known as *clameur de marchié de bourse et lignage*. It enabled a blood relative to approach the purchaser and acquaint him or her with the 'prouchaineté de lignage' in which the claimant stood to the vendor. If no resistance was mounted, the property in question could be redeemed by reimbursing in full the documented purchase price.⁴²

⁴⁰BN Ms fr 20436 p49. It may be compared with the undated request of Dunois in respect of the county of Longueville to have access to the accounts of four Norman *vicomtés* in BN Ms fr 20382 n°1.

⁴¹*Rouen* 31 May 1454.

⁴²The procedure can be seen at work in *DLN/23* p443, 'Memorial des assises d'Andely' (7 Nov 1453); Guillaume Jay *écuyer* and his wife Jeanne de Trie had adjourned Robinet le Cauchois bourgeois of Rouen in order to assume by *marchié de bourse* the purchase of the seigneurie of Leaumesnil. The couple's *procureur* at the hearing was ordered to 'faire garnir dedens temps du des sommes de deniers que led marchié avoit couté'. He was given 24 hours to raise the money or find pledges for it, and on the expiry of this period le Cauchois was able to apply for the couple to be 'deboute de leurdit clameur'. It is likely that this *clameur* was indeed under Compiègne, since it was le Cauchois's predecessors who had acquired it, and he had certainly been enjoying the property prior to it being mounted.

In normal circumstances, the instigation of such a clamour was permissible only within a year and a day of the sale. Compiègne had relieved loyalists 'de tout tenement, laps de temps, et prescription ...' to which they might be held. After the Reduction, therefore, returning exiles could avail themselves of the edict to mount such a clamour regardless of the date of the sale, so long as it was the fact of their absence from occupied Normandy which had prevented it being raised in the allotted time.

So in 1461, Jean d'O paid L500 to recover the fief Le Chambellan in the parish of Anisy near Caen, 'veu que icellui fieu avoit este vendu par ses predecesseurs estans ou pais occupe par les Anglais ... durant que son deffunt pere et lui estoient ou parti et obeissance du Roy, pour quoy il ne s'estoit peu clamer dudit heritage'. After the Reduction Bertault de Ry *écuyer* raised a *clameur de marchié de bourse et lignage* over the fief of La Salle in the parish of Ry. The fief had been sold in October 1438 to the Rouennais lawyer Pierre Minée by Bertault's nephew Jean de Ry. In response to the *clameur*, Minée restored the fief to Jean for L200.⁴³

These are relatively straightforward instances, but the case of a fief in the parish of Montigny illustrates other advantages accruing to a partisan of the king. Members of the Aupoix family mounted a *clameur de marchié de bourse et lignage* against Roger le Cloutier *écuyer*, to recover a fief sold by their grandparents Pierre Aupoix and Guillemette Malherbe. While the suit was still pending at the Evrecy assises Jean Aupoix *écuyer* acted under Compiègne to seize and enjoy the property, notwithstanding the fact that no money had yet changed hands. The edict thus enabled the Valois partisan both to have his cake and eat it: Jean Crespín baron of Bec-Crespín resumed a house in Rouen once owned by his grandmother, standing on Compiègne's annulment of 'vendicions et donacions'. He distinguished this from his option to 'ratraire par marchie de Bourse si bon lui eust semble'.⁴⁴

⁴³Rouen 30 Sep 1461: a further delay had intervened since the Reduction because of d'O's minority: 'tousiours depuis le trespas de sondit feu pere il avoit este et encores estoit soubz (aage) et en la garde du Roy'. Ry: Rouen 23 Jun 1451: Bertault, a royal *pannetier*, appears to have supplied the money, securing repayment by means of rents assigned (to his own creditors) on the fief, dated September 1450 and June 1451. The other creditors involved were Jacques de Bresmes *écuyer* and Martin des Essars *receveur de la ville de Rouen*. According to a marginal notation, these rents had been redeemed by 1454. Bresmes may have been involved through Minée, who was *sénéchal* of his seigneuries of Villiers and Blasqueville: Rouen 20 Nov 1451.

⁴⁴For the Aupoix see appendices 1(g) and 3. The claimants were the siblings Jean, Enguerrand and Marie Aupoix. Le Cloutier took two *doléances* to the *Echiquier* over the issue of the *jouissance*, which must mean that Jean Aupoix had succeeded in his attempt. By the accord le Cloutier recognised their *prouchaineté de lignage* and quit them the seigneurie for L300 cash and a *rente à vie* of L30: Caen 7 Mar 1452, p134v°. Crespín: Rouen 29 Jul 1452.

The edict's suppression of legal time limits was of use to returning exiles in cases other than *marchié de bourse*. When required after the Reduction to pay L20 of rent constituted by his maternal grandfather in 1404, Jean Farcy *écuyer* refused. He argued that this particular rent 'estoit perscripte, et oncques paiement ne avoit este fait ne ladite rente venue a congnoissance ...'. The claimant, Charles VII's *tresorier de guerres* Antoine Raguier, successfully argued that both he and the man from whom he had acquired the rent 'avoient este continuellement ou partie du Roy n.s. sans avoir este ou parti desdis anglois parquoy perscription ne pavoit encourire en preiudice de ladite rente et arrerages ...'.⁴⁵

References in both court and notarial records to payments being made to supposed *détenteurs* are numerous. The extent to which such payments facilitated the re-integration of returning exiles is a superficial issue unless it is possible to arrive at some idea of the value of the property in question: usually only the cash payment is recorded. Any notion that Norman exiles had to repurchase their property should be resisted, and cases which appear to show this happening should be scrutinised with care. Allmand used a suit over Buron between Jean de Semilly *chevalier* baron of Aunoy and Jean Anzeré *écuyer* to illustrate such payments. Several points should be noted. First, Semilly 'avoit eu et prins la pcession lors de la Reduction'. Second, Anzeré's initial challenge failed to shift the knight's enjoyment of the fief. Third, Anzeré's title was by acquisition from Guillaume de Semilly *écuyer* and the knight's right was as heir of his father, *heritier aîné* of the late Guy de Semilly *chevalier*. So, the fief had been arbitrarily resumed and Anzeré's attack had foundered on Compiègne, and the payments made to him were *marchie de bourse et lignage* under the terms of the edict.⁴⁶ A very high proportion of apparent payments to *détenteurs* arise

⁴⁵Rouen 25 Mar 1456. By the settlement, Raguier absolved Farcy of all but fifteen years of arrears, accepting his point that the property on which the rents had been assigned 'avoient este donnez par le Roy d'Angleterre durant l'occupacion a certaine personne ...'. Nonetheless, Farcy recognised his obligation to pay both the rent and L300 of arrears, obliging himself under strict penalties to pay these off within one year.

⁴⁶An issue remained over whether the *demeurant* cadet Guillaume was a fully founded legitimate predecessor of the knight, but this belongs in the category of *partage* disputes we have already discussed: Caen 25 Jun 1453, p154v^o; Allmand 1976 p350. Similarly, when Ginot le Blont asked the nuns of la Cayenne for the restoration of property which his father had held of them, Allmand believed that the terms of the deal demonstrated how 'possessors, not the legal claimants, got the better of the bargain'. Le Blont secured restoration of the fief by offering to discharge the dues owed to the priory, and by offering to clear its tenant, Roger le Cloutier seigneur de Montigny, of the rents that he 'a eues et acquist et enquoy lesdits heritages sont a lui subjects', and of which le Cloutier had documentary proof. Towards the priory, le Blont obliged himself only in *fons*. He was redeeming the rents drawn on the property which le Cloutier had acquired, but this was only a departure from the terms of the edict if le Cloutier's title to them was illegitimate. If his title was good, Compiègne licensed le Blont to mount *marchie de bourse* to redeem them. Moreover, le Cloutier was forced to compensate the displaced subtenant of the fief with other property: Caen 3 May 1452, p24; Allmand 1976 p352. The accord nowhere mentions Compiègne, and it cannot be assumed that le Blont had abandoned Normandy after his father and uncle were executed by the Lancastrians. Nonetheless the accord is broadly in accordance with the edict. This was not a case of arbitrary resumption. Le Cloutier had recovered the properties from his subtenant in order to fulfil the

from *marchié de bourse* under the terms of Compiègne. In the Rouen *tabellionage* it is one of the most common forms of contract making explicit reference to the edict.

Only two defences were open to an alleged *détenteur* confronted with *marchié de bourse et lignage* under Compiègne; to challenge the genealogical basis of the claim, or the relevance of the edict. The former meant showing that the claimant's *prochaineté de lignage* was weaker than that of the buyer. The latter meant showing that the claimant was not absent from the province.⁴⁷ The scope of the procedure was wide: *marchié de bourse et seigneurie* allowed an immediate feudal superior to intervene in a sale by a vassal, subject to the same limitations of time and reimbursement in full of the purchase price. Again, the edict suspended the time limit for those who could fall back on it as partisans of Charles VII, though it does not figure strongly in accords and suits citing Compiègne. There was another element to the power of *marchie de bourse*: it applied to all real property, and in Normandy this extended to *rentes à héritage*. The market in rents was the principal commercial source of credit available to landholders, yet an excessive burden of assignments on a fief was a drain which could make it unviable. Where seigneurial income was depressed it was urgent for the lord to clear such charges. The complex interaction of Compiègne with the rent market greatly enhanced the importance of the edict on the postwar scene.⁴⁸

It should be emphasized that in principle a *détenteur* would only face such a *clameur* if his or her title originated in a legitimate sale. If the original vendor's title was sullied by Lancastrian

terms of the accord, so le Blont had not resumed the properties before approaching the prioress and le Cloutier.

⁴⁷Jean le Francois attempted in the right of his wife Jeanne to regain certain of her properties at Chambray. The possessor rejected the applicability of the edict on the grounds that 'elle estoit demouree au pays' when he had passed the *decret* on which his title rested: Rouen 23 Jun 1451. Le Roy nonetheless bought off the claims of Jeanne and her sister Hamoine for 20 *écus*. Such a defence was also used by the abbey of Sainte Catherine du Mont against Crespin in the instance just cited: Rouen 29 Jul 1452. The abbey had purchased the house in question from his grandmother, and been disseised on the Reduction. The clergy now argued that the edict did not apply, seemingly (but puzzlingly) because Crespin had not been absent at the time of the sale. Also relevant may have been the fact that the abbey had acquired the rights of his co-heirs in the property. The matter did not come to trial, since in July 1452 Crespin, close to death, honoured his grandmother's promise 'en reverence de Dieu ... et d'icelle benoiste vierge, glorieuse martire Sainte Katherine'.

⁴⁸Allmand correctly remarked that claims made by Valois partisans for rent arrears were only 'for the period between the recapture of the place concerned by the French armies and the moment the claim was lodged', and drew the conclusion that the 'occupation soon came to be written off for the purposes of calculating arrears': Allmand 1976 p352-53. For an example of a case involving rents, *marchie de bourse* and Compiègne, see Rouen 15 Sep 1451: Alice de Tournebu dame d'Auvilliers redeems L10 of rent dating from 1407. The possessors, members of the Ango family, abandoned their title 'disant que ainsi faire se devoit pource que a l'occasion des guerres qui ont couru le temps passe ladite dame ne s'estoit peu clamer dudit marchie, et aussi qu'elle disoit estre auctorisee de poursuit sadite clameur par lectres ou ordonnance du Roy.' The Ango received L110 for the principal and outstanding arrears. The rent market and noble liquidity problems are dealt with more fully in the next chapter.

confiscation and re-grant, the edict licensed resumption *tout court*. There is a particular area where the rigour of the edict as regards contracts under the occupation was inappropriate. The *demeurant* predecessors of many claimants – whether direct or collateral, dowagers or creditors – had been making full and energetic use of all the mechanisms available to them for riding the vicissitudes of the period. Not least among their concerns was how to safeguard their inheritances against the attentions of the regime, particularly when heir or heirs were in the Valois obedience.⁴⁹ Provisions sufficient to evade Lancastrian confiscation were not necessarily going to be simple to dismantle after 1449.

One often comes across cases having a scent of this about them. The Couvert inheritance has already been referred to. Lubin de Couvert's appeal was against the judgement in nullification of the original *partage*. He was bought off by the cession of the neighbouring fief of Hardinvast. His adversary Martin de Couvert may have been playing safe here, but an alternative explanation is possible. If Lubin's emphasis on renovations and the nature of the ultimate settlement was conditioned by seeing himself as the *usufruitier*, then we have here the relic of a family strategy for preserving the patrimony intact while placing a foot in both camps.⁵⁰

An explicit example of this is that of the succession of Henri de Rouil *écuyer* seigneur de Bellou in the *vicomté* of Orbec. In 1452 the Rouen notaries were told that Bellou was sold to Robert le Sec *écuyer* seigneur de la Cressonnière, because of Rouil's fears that otherwise the English would confiscate it:

ou temps des Anglois ... pour cause de ce que alors il courroit en pays grosse mortalite par icelui de Rouil doubtoit sil aloit de vie et trespas que icelui fief et terre tournast en confiscation ou forfaiture pour raison de ce que son plus prouchain heritier estoit et se tenoit ou parti du Roy n.s. si il eust pour doubte de ces inconveniens ainsi fait ledit vend ausdit le Sec en *Intencion* de garder et deffendre ledit fief de ladite confiscacion pour le bien et prouffit des heritiers ...

Soon after the sale Rouil died, having agreed that he was 'bien content' with the transaction even though le Sec had not completed the agreed payments. Le Sec was left in enjoyment, until after the

⁴⁹Bossuat 1954 p143-44 for French instances of such family survival strategies. It may be simplistic to think the Lancastrians wholly insensitive to these imperatives. Take the situation of Jacques Paynel. In 1425 Bedford granted him a package of confiscated lands (including his own fief of Croisset) to the annual value of £1,000 in consideration of the fact that he was 'fils et heritier de deffunt messieur Bertrand Painel chevalier et de plusieurs ses enfants freres dudit Jacques et eut de son propre heritage en Normandie plusieurs belles forteresses terres seigneuries et possessions dont il ne joissoit d'aucunes depuis la conquete de ladite province et pour consideration de la noble et ancienne lignee dont led Jacques estoit procree et descendu ainsi que de ses services et pour qu'il puisse avoir son estat honnourablement'. Certainly Paynel's cousins, both paternal and maternal (Louis d'Estouteville for one) were Valois partisans, but Jacques had found place in Bedford's household: BN PO 2183 *Painel* 49315 n°83.

⁵⁰*Echiquier* 1456 p212-212v°.



Reduction the heirs approached him 'en lui Requerant que il les voulsist Rendre et bailler icelui fief et terre *ainsi que promis l'avoit audist de Rouil en faisant la rendre dessusdis ...*'.

Unfortunately, the unravelling of the sale was complicated by disputes over repairs and redemptions undertaken in the lands. Le Sec wanted recognition of certain rents drawn on the fief that he had acquired before and after de Rouil's death, and compensation for his redemption of the dower rights of Rouil's widow. Since the heirs declined to accept these obligations the case went to the Orbec assises and thence before the *grand sénéchal* at Rouen. In 1452 le Sec abandoned his rights in the fief, the dower and the rents, 'pour la bonne amour' that he had entertained towards Rouil, and for a settlement which certainly fell short of his earlier claims.⁵¹

Even when a *détenteur* received some part of the inheritance we cannot assume that the force of the edict has been moderated. It is important to be sure what precisely was at issue. The dispute between Laurens de Boissay and the Cauchois knight Jean Masquerel seigneur d'Hermanville involved both *partage* and dower. Boissay had returned to claim the succession of his grandfather Robert.⁵² He was hindered in this by Masquerel, acting in the name of his wife Isabel de Boissay, Robert's daughter. Masquerel at first asserted that Isabel was the sole heiress of her father. He then fell back on a claim to 'grant somme de deniers qui donnez et promis lui avoient este' at the time of his marriage. In July 1450 the two men came to an accord by which Masquerel was bought off for L2,500, an obligation Laurens was unable to meet save by allowing his rival to keep Saint-Germain-sous-Cailly and other fiefs and properties.

This settlement did not prove lasting, in part because Masquerel was estranged from Isabel. She co-operated with her nephew by recognising him as her heir in September 1450. On her death he moved against Masquerel with royal letters annulling their agreement. A suit at the Rouen assises was concluded in June 1454 by a new accord brokered by their kin and, unusually, their lords. Masquerel abandoned his claims in return for 500 *écus*.⁵³

So, the *détenteur* Masquerel had managed to maintain for a time his grip on part of the inheritance. Although his position was decisively weakened by Isabel's death without heirs of the

⁵¹Rouen 20 Apr 1452. The settlement was in rents, with le Sec abandoning rents of comparable value in cash and kind to the heirs. He was allowed to pursue on his own account the widow and her second husband for the L200 he had paid to liquidate her dower rights.

⁵²He had done homage in April 1436 to Charles VII in person at Loches for part of the barony of Cailly and the fief of Saint-Germain-sous-Cailly in the Roumois, and for Boissay, Berricourt and Noreval in the Bray. Masquerel was nonetheless allowed to do homage in the right of his wife for all these fiefs in January 1450: *DLN*/34 p247, /35 p507, /35 p179. On the Boissay, see *Harcourt* II p1974-75; Leroux 1911 p311 and 1922 p20.

⁵³Rouen 29 Jun 1454. *Harcourt* I p300 lists the lands for which Boissay gave homage in Sep 1461.

marriage, he ultimately secured not only a cash settlement but highly favourable terms on his debts and those of his wife, and on contracts he had entered into when seised of the Boissay lands. Superficially, this is a clear case of a *détenteur* driving a hard bargain with the claimant. This is too facile a conclusion. The details are complicated by the estranged couple's jointure and by doubts over the balance as between dower, unpaid *dons du mariage* and other obligations. But we should keep sight of the fact that what was being striven for throughout this four-year process was a definition of Isabel's proper portion.

Legitimate and illegitimate obligation

The real problem for post-Reduction courts, identified by Allmand in his criticism of the legislation of Charles VII as partisan and unworkable, was that of how to treat obligations incurred under the Lancastrians, but not obviously tainted by Lancastrian gift or confiscation. How were the returnees of 1449-50 to cope with the reality of debts incurred, sales made, dower and *partage* agreements entered into, in their absence or to their detriment? Annulment is one thing: disentanglement another. Guillaume du Puis *écuyer* found this when after the Reduction he sought to annul his late brother's transport of the seigneurie des Mons, made thirty years before. A Rouen lawyer had taken the property in fief and at the charge of a *rente à vie* of L6. Shortly afterwards a kinsman of the du Puis, Jean Guedon *grenétier* of Rouen, took the exchange over *par marchié de bourse et lignage*. The post-Reduction settlement saw the *détenteur*, Laurens Guedon, buy Guillaume off 'pour consideracion de leurs prouchainete de lignage et pour obvier a tous proces et descords'. It appears that this may not have been mere formula, for much emphasis was placed on the Guedon having gone beyond the terms of the *rente* of 1420 in maintaining Jean du Puis in his 'vivre et estat'.⁵⁴

Difficulties arose where creditors had pursued debts upon real property through the occupation courts. Reference to the foreclosure procedure upon real property is common in the *tabellionage*. The process involved announcing the action on the property, passage of *decret* at the relevant assises, auction, assembly of creditors and the division of the sum tendered for the property amongst them in customary order. Royal officers were necessarily involved, and the contention that the agency of Henry VI's men rendered the *decret* invalid was often deployed by claimants after the Reduction, regardless of whether they were also denying their liability for the debt itself. Thus Galentine, in his defence of title to the hôtel de la Barge, anticipated arguments that the *decret* on which it rested was invalid because 'passe a este au temps que occupoient la

⁵⁴Rouen 6 May 1454.

duchie de Normandie les Anglois ...'. He therefore based his resistance not on the legitimacy of the *decret* but on the value of the reparations he had made and other debts he had redeemed.⁵⁵

The returning exile was not always successful in dispelling all resistance based on Lancastrian *decret*. Robin de Roumesy tried under Compiègne to resume a hôtel in the Rouen parish Saint Jean. It had been passed by *decret* for the debts of Robin's father, but he argued now 'que ledit decret avoit este passe durant le temps qu'il estoit en l'obeissance du Roy n.s. et la ville de Rouen estoit occupee par les Anglais.' The possessor bought out his claims for 26 *écus*, a sum which may have more than covered Robin's legal expenses, but can scarcely have approached the value of the property.⁵⁶ In such cases the decisive element if it came to points of law was likely to be the nature of the original debt.

One reason why we find few references in the *tabellionage* to debt owed by returning exiles to those who had remained in the English obedience may be that creditors rarely found it worthwhile to resort to the courts. In the case of the very substantial payments extracted from Roger de Hellande by his creditors after the Reduction, it appears that growing awareness of the strength of Hellande's legal position under Compiègne pushed them towards moderation, though the debts in question dated from before the occupation and there was no Lancastrian taint. 'Pour l'onneur et reverence dudit monsieur Roger et pour la bonne amour qu'ilz avoient a lui' they returned his gaged fief of Saint-Gilles-la-Neufville to him in the spring of 1452, and ceded the obligations of his sister Isabel. In return 'ledit chevalier Renoncha a tous privileges ordonnances edits et choses pourquoy il pourroit Retarder et empescher l'execucion et paiement de ladite somme et especiallement en ce Regard seulement a l'edit fait par le Roy n.s. en la ville de Compiègne'. The equation between favourable terms (for the knight) and rapid settlement (for his creditors) is only meaningful in the context of the possibilities for obstruction – but not for denial – afforded by Compiègne.⁵⁷

The balance of advantage could sometimes swing the other way though. The accord over the hôtel de la Barge in Rouen already mentioned arose out of Robin Galentine's misconceived

⁵⁵Rouen 26 Sep 1451. Other explicit statements that the involvement of Henry VI's officers invalidated a *decret* may be found in two accords: Rouen 26 Dec 1454, 22 Nov 1466.

⁵⁶Rouen 30 Nov 1451.

⁵⁷Rouen 18 Apr 1451. Superficially similar, but not making reference to Compiègne, are the extremely favourable terms extracted by Guillaume de Courcy *écuyer* seigneur de Bourg-Achard on a rent of L40 dating to 1420, on which he owed twenty years of arrears. He redeemed the rent by cessions amounting to under half the admitted value of the debt: Rouen 15 Oct 1456.

raising of the *haro*. His rival des Hayes successfully resisted all claims by the *détenteur* based on debt repaid, reparations made, rents redeemed or additions to the property:

Lesquelles reparacions, ediffiemens, Rachas ... ledit Jean des Haies eust voulu deffendre tant par vertu dudit edit inrevocable fait par le Roy n.d. seigneur par le contenu duquel appert que le Roy n.d. seigneur a declare quil a ordonne a ses bonnes vrais et loyaux subges toutes les debtes que ilz povoient devoir a ceulx qui estoient tenans et demourans ou parti des Anglois tant debtes reelles que personnelles par lequel mot de Reelle est a entendre que tous ceulx qui tenoient le parti du Roy n.d. seigneur sont quictes et affranchi des rentes ...⁵⁸

This was not, however, the end of the story. Although des Hayes had secured possession and Galentine had withdrawn from any claim to title, not all of Galentine's own creditors were prepared to accept such an abdication of his rights.

The reason was simple: it deprived them of the opportunity to make executions upon his assets. On the basis of letters of obligation dating back to the 1430s, Martin Fauvel attempted to pass a *decret* on Galentine's properties in the Rue de l'Eau de Robec in January 1453. Des Hayes mounted opposition as possessor of the hôtel de la Barge, and as having an interest in a neighbouring tenement. Again, his grounds were that the edicts of the king gave him title to the repairs and improvements of his predecessor, while discharging him of liability for Galentine's debts. Fauvel refused to accept this. He argued that even if the *fons* of the properties in question pertained to des Hayes, he was still entitled to 'avoir et emporter le paiement de la valleur des amendemens et ediffices et extencilles' made by Galentine. The *vicomte* of Rouen agreed with him, and by 1456 des Hayes was ready to give way. In October of that year he allowed himself to be bought out of his rights in the hôtel for 90 *écus*.⁵⁹

It is difficult to interpret this capitulation. We may be drawn to the thought that Galentine's abdication of 1451 was itself a device for evading the obligations burdening the property. Fauvel may be imputing this to his adversaries when he stresses that 'les criées et solempnitez' of the *decret* procedure had been effected 'longtemps en precedant dudit appointment fait par le ledit Galentine, lequel ne devoit preiudicer audit Fauvel'. The family links between des Hayes and Galentine are also suggestive, if no more. Galentine had been married to des Hayes's

⁵⁸Rouen 26 Sep 1451.

⁵⁹Rouen 20 Oct 1456: Fauvel was a prominent bourgeois of Rouen, holding the post of *receveur* of the city. His office is nowhere mentioned in this accord, but it was for arrears of municipal taxation that the Hôtel had been passed by *decret* in the 1430s. It was usual for those acquiring property in this way (in this case, Galentine) to constitute a rent in settlement of the auction price: the letters of obligation cited by Fauvel are in this category.

late sister, and no children survived.⁶⁰ Perhaps, even, Galentine had been acting as nearest heir in securing the property in the 1430s on the flight of des Hayes' father to *pays ennemi*.

The arguments set out by Fauvel and des Hayes are replicated elsewhere. An extreme statement of the des Hayes position occurs in a late 1450s dispute within the Pongnant family. Thomas Pongnant *écuyer* baron du Bec-Thomas argued that 'il, son pere et ses freres avoient este et comprins de l'esdit fait par le roi n.s. au temps de son sacre que les debtes et cedulles estoit expirees...'.⁶¹ He lost the argument, though it is difficult to assess the gulf between what was demanded of him and what he conceded, the value of either being impossible to calculate. The baron's objections were probably more effective as delaying stratagems than in eroding the sums owed.

Certainly for the des Hayes-Galentine-Fauvel triangle, it would be foolhardy to trace an evolution of legal attitudes: the chronology that matters, that of the arguments being put before the courts, is not credibly reconstructed from the bare-bones account in two accords, five years apart. In fact, no single case in the *tabellionage* or *Echiquier* documents allows such a chronology to be set out with confidence. A generalized approach is also suspect. Lack of evidence for the first few years after 1449-50 handicaps the tracing of the jurisprudence and variations in practice are likely. The Rouen *tabellionage* registers for 1449 and 1450 are lost, so it is only in the spring of 1451 that one can pick up the issue as it was being dealt with by those brokering accords at the assises and lesser courts. The reappearance of the *Echiquier* was vital to the emergence of an authoritative case law, and the first Caroline *Echiquier* for which records survive was that of 1453.

Moreover, the reluctance of the Norman nobility to submit to the English moved from the strong to the comprehensive in a timescale measured in decades. Because lineages could be less than unanimous in a choice of obedience, sometimes collaterals or cadets had been able to retain all or part of an inheritance with a high degree of legitimacy. Many partisans of the Valois, not

⁶⁰It was as his sister's heir that des Haies claimed a half share in the Hôtel de Bretagne, which the couple had acquired during their marriage. Fauvel was also passing a *decret* on this property, but the terms of settlement of 1456 do not cover it.

⁶¹Rouen 13 May 1461 (misplaced between 12-13 Jul): the suit arose from a rent of L30 constituted by Thomas's late father in 1415 for which Jacques Pongnant had gone guarantor. The possessors of this rent had subsequently taken action against Jacques for non-payment, as a result of which certain properties which had belonged to him were passed by *decret*. Jacques had in the meantime sold these, and was forced to compensate the purchasers deprived by the passage of the *decret*. Robin Pongnant as Jacques's heir by *benefice d'inventoire* sought compensation in turn from his cousin Thomas, both for these costs and for other debts. One of these amounted to L546 cash, and he stated his intention 'de faire plusieurs autre demandes mobiliaries audit Thomas', who settled by ceding Robin L400 cash in instalments, and other rents and rights. Although the Pongnant were Valois partisans, this did not prevent them being victims of post-war conditions, and the financial problems under which they laboured culminated in the 1472 sale of the barony of Bec-Thomas to affinal relative Jean Vipart: Vipart 1751 p33.

excluding such great figures as Torcy and Flocquet, had been at one time *demeurants*. Virtually all, not excepting the duke of Alençon, had dowager grandmothers, aunts and mothers who had not instantly crossed the frontier and embraced the Valois cause. Amongst those who had reduced themselves to the Lancastrian obedience in the 1420s were members in the male line of the Estouteville, Hellenvillier, Bailleul, Longueval, Longchamps, and Vassy.⁶² The Norman succession regime meant that however impeccable their Dauphinist credentials, few Norman exiles would fail to inherit legitimate obligations incurred under their enemies.

The attitude of the crown to such complications can be gauged from their response to the problems of Valois partisan Robin de Hural *écuyer*. He had been compelled while still in the English obedience to raise money 'pour occasion de plusieurs grans duretes qui lui ont fait souffrir le temps passe les Anglois et pour fuir a mendicite et yssir hors de leur subjection'. He met his ransom by selling rents to Nicolas Pillais *chevalier* 'lors tenant le party des Anglois avec lequel il a tousiours demeure'. Three or four years later Hural fled his native Normandy to join the king. His pledge, Gilbert du Bosc, acquitted his liabilities to the Puillois by ceding them a fief at Barentin which Hural had held by *veuvage* in the right of his late wife Jeanne du Bosc. Although it had reverted on his flight to his late wife's family, Hural argued that he had never given his brother-in-law Gilbert authority to abandon the fief to his creditors.

Since the Reduction Hural had applied to the Pillais both to quit him the fief, and to rebate the arrears owing from the period prior to his flight by a sum equal to the fruits they had taken in the fief. They had resisted, and had even threatened him with executions in respect of sums owed from the period when he was in the king's obedience. Hural took his case to the king.

In his response to this request Charles was exercised as to whether this account was accurate in all respects. In November 1450 he ordered the *baillis* of Rouen and Gisors to conduct the usual investigation. If satisfied, they were to constrain the Pillais. The king accepted that Hural's liabilities were limited to the period prior to his flight from the English obedience. But the main point for us is that he did not absolve him of these commitments. The same point could be

⁶²Charles d'Estouteville *chevalier* was captured at Harfleur in 1415, swore to uphold the treaty of Troyes and was restored in extensive lands in the *bailliages* of Rouen and Caux in May 1427: *DLN/22* p55. Members of the Hellenvilliers family seigneurs de Feugerolles in the *vicomté* of Beaumont-le-Roger and of Les Moulins-d'Andely in the *vicomté* of Gisors, and Geoffroi seigneur de Bailleul *écuyer* were in English service in 1427: *DLN/22* p69, p71. The young Guillaume Frétel *écuyer* was enjoying his lands in the *vicomté* of Montivilliers and had just been put *hors de garde*, the same year: *DLN/22* p81. Picard knight and Burgundian partisan Charles de Longueval *chevalier* seigneur de Mesgremont was tried and acquitted at Chartres on charges of defecting to the French on the eve of Verneuil; in 1427 he was restored in all that which had been confiscated because of these accusations: *DLN/22* p91. Jean baron de Ferrières was still in the English obedience in 1434: *DLN/22* p347. Henry V restored Jean de Vassy *chevalier*, Henry de Longchamp *écuyer* and his wife in 1422 (Brequigny reference).

illustrated from the fate of property legitimately acquired by Englishmen from the predecessors of Valois partisans: it did not automatically revert to those partisans after the Reduction, but rather fell to the crown by forfeiture.⁶³

This is not to argue that resistance to legitimate obligation on the grounds supplied by Compiègne was pointless. If the debt could not be evaded, the edict could play a part – sometimes explicitly stated – in ameliorating the terms of repayment. Maline Alorge and her husband Jean le Carpentier were pursued by members of the Boymare family after the Reduction for thirty-six years of arrears of a *L20* rent. Maline's father Robert Alorge, a member of one of the most prominent lineages of *noblesse bourgeoise* in Rouen, had constituted the rent to the late Robin de Boymare in 1419, stipulating a period of redemption of two years. The English, 'pour le bon vouloir que avoit ledit Alorge au Roy n.s. et soustenir sa querelle avoient dedens le temps dudit racquet fait piteusement mourrir icelui Alorge'. His execution for treason in the market square at Rouen in 1420 enabled the couple to resort to the edict despite her family's continuous and profitable residence in the Lancastrian city. The Boymare stated their obedience to the edict and settled in the summer of 1456, for the principal and the arrears since the Reduction, a sum of *L310* as against a notional claim worth over *L900*.⁶⁴

The recovery of their rights by returning exiles was almost bound to have dramatic knock-on effects on other Norman aristocrats. Typical in the complexity which always accompanied multiple parties to a case was the situation of Jacques Paynel baron d'Orglandes. He had served the house of Lancaster and been rewarded 'par don a lui fait par le roy d'Angleterre des heritages qui furent a feu Richard Gosset'. This grant included rents which he had subsequently put on the market, one of which was bought by Henri de Trousseauville. In 1441 the tenant, Michel le Nepveu, redeemed this rent, only to be sued 'apres la Reducion du Pais' by Jean Gosset for its restitution. Trousseauville's title had been guaranteed by Paynel. When Gosset recovered these rents 'au droit des edits et concessions du Roy', le Nepveu was able to seek satisfaction under the guarantee given by Paynel to Trousseauville and passed on to himself when he redeemed the rent. After a contest at the assises of Pont-Audemer le Nepveu was able to extract from Paynel

⁶³*DLN/23* p405: the Pillais (on whom see appendix 3) were convoked in December. Englishman Richard Curson, while redeeming rents drawn on his land-grants, bought out the rights of Jeanne le Bourgeois in a small rent. This rent fell to the crown by forfeiture on the Reduction. In 1455 Jeanne's brother Jean le Bourgeois *écuyer* obtained letters quashing this rent and all arrears as an act of grace because he had been part of a conspiracy to seize Rouen in c.1428, and had escaped the gallows only by remission and exile; because he had served in the relief of Compiègne, at the sieges of Lagny and Pontoise; because the house was part of le Bourgeois's own inheritance and because Curson had bought it with the fruits of le Bourgeois's own lands, of which he was the *détenteur*: *DLN/75* p223.

⁶⁴*Rouen* 2 Jul 1456.

compensation for both his costs and the principal. Paynel was, inevitably, being hit by other claims under his guarantees of rent transports from the Gosset inheritance, and he was caught in a morass of debt and litigation in the 1450s.⁶⁵

Where *détenteurs* had leverage, it was thus important to safeguard themselves from such a situation by holding out for confirmation of contracts they had made during their tenure of an exile's inheritance. This is the force behind Masquerel's success in obtaining from Boissay confirmation of all 'contracts et vendicions' he had made in the Boissay lands during the occupation.⁶⁶ Guarantee was the property market's principal mechanism for discriminating between title originating in right at any point along the spectrum from impeccable to dubious, or founded in composition for debt or rendition for whatever obligation incurred. Indemnification of purchaser by vendor routinely gave rise to circumstances pitting returning claimants against the guarantors and attempts to involve reluctant guarantors in a suit were another huge tributary of the river of litigation pouring into the Norman courts in these years. Pledge, counterpledge and guarantee, together with the heritability and transportability of these obligations, ramified the impact of the Reduction throughout Norman property-owning society.

Conclusion: social peace, royal will and Norman law

It is not surprising that Compiègne has been regarded as ineffective in settling the claims of the exiles. Our perspective has been distorted by comparison of Compiègne and Arras, the polarity established by Bossuat of a 'partisan' and a 'bourguignonne' solution to the problems of parallel title.⁶⁷ The plain fact that litigation continued for generations over the claims of exiles and *demeurants* seemed to discredit Compiègne as an instrument of social peace. Three points are relevant. First, returning exiles might re-enter their property on their own initiative. Second, they could enjoy the fruits of property resumed in this way, even if displaced residents sought to re-

⁶⁵*Rouen* 17 May 1454. Paynel's financial distress is indicated in a viscomital inquest *post mortem* of 1457. This shows that the Reduction had left him with only Orglandes, Saint-Germain-le-Gaillart and a few other minor holdings. His property was degraded by the war, yielding little, severely charged and in large part litigious: *DLN/9* p358. Hence the complex arrangements to which he resorted in order to meet the demands of Robert Tillart. Sued by Gosset for rents which had long been flowing to Robin le Frilleux, Tillart was able to fall back on the guarantee given by Paynel on the sale of the rents to le Frilleux in 1426.

In freeing himself from Tillart's executions, Paynel involved other creditors and pledges in a shuffle of rents and obligations: *Rouen* 3, 4 June 1454. There are traces of other rent sales by Jacques in the early 1450s: a large rent dating from 1452 was in dispute before the court of the *grand sénéchal* in the late 1470s between the duchess of Orléans and Paynel's heirs: BN PO 2183 *Painel* 49315 n°86.

⁶⁶*Rouen* 29 Jun 1454.

⁶⁷Bossuat 1947 p14; 1954 p148-49.

assert their own claims at law. And third, in mounting legal challenges to arbitrary resumption, *demeurants* were restricted to grounds that Valois courts would accept as legitimate.

For these reasons, what is important in determining the impact of Compiègne is the character – rather than the ~~the~~ mere fact of existence, or even the numbers – of suits and accords making reference to the edict. Resistance in the courts by those who felt they had a better claim, or had been unjustly disseised, remained possible, but such litigants faced acute problems. The grants of the defunct Lancastrian regime are only the simplest example of a claim no longer worth asserting. The edict dramatically reduced the range and force of claims founded on private contractual obligation, which had hitherto formed perfectly acceptable bases for possession. The volume of cases led to substantial delays in the legal process, which benefitted whoever was enjoying the fruits of the property. There is impressionistic evidence that partisans of the king were to some degree protected from sequestration: this meant that they would continue to enjoy a property even while their claim to it was under attack in the courts. Partisans of the king would, on the whole, enjoy better connections with the royal officers involved than their *demeurant* competitors. Even if they did not the courts were enjoined by the edict not to be neutral, but to support the title of partisans of the king.

For both Allmand and Bossuat, the fact that exiles were unable to regain their property in the condition in which it had stood in 1418 was significant. Even more so was the fact that post-Reduction courts allowed claims by *détenteurs* for compensation based on the repairs and improvements they had made in the property. It is certainly true that compositions by *demeurants* for deterioration of properties in their hands are rare. They are much rarer than payments by returning exiles to *détenteurs*. On the face of it, these payments – variously justified – must have meant that the edict was applied less than rigorously.

Norman courts rejected, however, an interpretation of Compiègne which cleared partisans of Charles VII of legitimate obligation, whether their own or of their predecessors. They recognised as valid contracts entered into by legitimate predecessors of partisans of the king. Given the lack of unanimity in the Norman *petite* and *moyenne noblesse* in the generation after 1417-18, this was vital. It meant that almost every returning exile would have hereditary claims to lands which had been held by members of their own lineage from Henry V or his son. In other words, their claims derived from *demeurants* whose dealings could not simply be denied. The edict allowed them to reverse these dealings, but unless the contracting party was conveniently on the other side of the channel, they would have to do so by agreement, normally involving compensation.

The implications of this are clear in the numbers of contracts in the *tabellionage* making reference to payment from partisans of the king to *demeurants*. Yet it is also true that in the negotiation of such payment the advantage often lay with the returning exile. He or she might have resumed the property in question in the year of the Reduction, and be enjoying its fruits. The timing of any agreement in these circumstances could well be in their own hands, and it was only 'legitimately' founded obligations which would haunt them in this way.

Most partisans of the Valois probably re-entered their core properties with ease. Once restored however, they were going to encounter a range of problems not soluble by royal legislation. For Allmand, 'the king's inability to enforce the terms of the edict strictly was, in the last resort, the result of the duchy's economic condition'.⁶⁸ For sceptics of the edict's importance this is the most promising line to pursue. Compiègne was very sweeping in its scope, but it did not rebuild one's mills or re-assemble one's title deeds. For indebted lords struggling to get wasted properties up and running again, the extraordinary situation after the Reduction afforded many dangers. Yet these points apply across the divide of allegiance.

For Valois partisans in Normandy, these were the problems of victory. The campaign had achieved royal objectives, probably beyond all expectations. Such limitations as were disclosed to royal action after 1450 were those of obligation, justice and practicality. Normandy was unlike the rest of northern France in that the very scale of English land settlement mitigated the problem of dual title. With so high a proportion of Norman estates of economic or strategic significance having been in the hands of fugitives, many Valois partisans never encountered native opposition to their principal title. In the core areas of their interest, the consolidations achieved by Lancastrian seigneurs may even have redounded to the benefit of those who, perhaps with a retinue at their back, rode into their inheritances in 1449-50.

The edict of Compiègne has been analysed as though its primary aim was, or should have been, reconciliation. It has been held to fail in this regard. Simultaneously, it has been seen to grind exceedingly slow as an instrument of justice, patronage and reward. In fact, however, it bulks larger in Norman legal records in the generation after 1450 than all other explicitly cited royal acts put together, by several orders of magnitude. It was deployed by returning exiles precisely because they derived profit and honour from its provisions.

⁶⁸Allmand 1976 p348.

LORDS, FINANCIERS AND RECONSTRUCTION

The seriousness of the effects of the war upon Normandy has become well entrenched in the historiography. There is no intention here to address the extended debate over noble income in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Irrespective of cyclical trends the dilapidation of the province entailed serious consequences for its noble families. Quantitative work has been carried as far as the evidence allows at this stage, and notarial archives are not readily susceptible to such treatment. It is nonetheless useful to show from particular instances how the financial problems of some Norman landholders were compounding the burdens of the reconstruction of title explored in the last chapter.¹

In general the picture given by Guy Bois is of a forced reliance by landowners upon short term *fermes* and *louages*, and upon stockraising.² It remained possible for advantaged groups within Norman political society to do rather better than the generality. These groups were various if not discrete: urban elites did well on the back of law, finance and trade; petty nobles with war-blasted lordships hung on in military or other service; their betters rebuilt or built anew landed complexes alongside empires of office. Whether or not they were carpet-baggers depended on their provincial filiation and how far the conventional honours accorded arms obscured dependence on royal fiscality. Royal service is not the only thread uniting these groups, but it was a ubiquitous one.

The scale of potential reward meant that the chance to serve always mattered. It was not that Normandy in this generation offered more dramatic prospects of advancement, rather that the honours of service translated with unusual ease into the more conventional and enduring tokens of prominence: essentially, land. Lords outside the magic circle of patronage were vulnerable, for a wasted seigneurie soaked up capital, yielded few revenues, leaked cash obligations. For those within this circle wages, perquisites, marriages, wardships and multifarious grants were only the most blatant of their advantages. For those with ready cash, opportunities were large and could be magnified by influence. This underlay the penetration of the Upper Norman nobility by families

¹The debate on noble income is an ancient one. The debate is reviewed in Russell Major 1981, and more recently by Potter 1995 pp165-87.

²Bois 1976 p202, 318. The Norman side of the noble income debate may be also be approached through Plaisse 1961; Dewald 1980; Wood 1980 and 1976; Massey 1987, chapter VII. On the Norman economy more generally see Mollat 1952, Massey 1987 p143-47.

focussed on office and with relatively shallow local roots, in the century after 1450.³ It was also of contingent consequence: certain groups which thus capitalised on their advantages were to be of importance in the political upheavals in the province after 1461.

The returning exile, ancient burdens, new damage

Compiègne did not cover all of the formal hangovers from the occupation. The burden of reconstruction was exacerbated where the lands of an exile had been in the *garde du roi* or even reunited to the domain by Lancastrian officers. The edict did not preclude the raising of processes based on obligations entered into by the predecessors of Valois partisans up to the moment of the English descent. Nor did it say anything about obligations owed to other exiles and partisans of the Valois. Wardship and old debt were outside the scope of settlements under its terms.

Thus in 1449-50 an exile's ship could come in only to strike hard upon the rock of old obligation. Roger seigneur de Hellande *chevalier* was forced to treat with his father's creditors after the fall of Rouen. The obligation was on a rent of *L*70 dating back to Christmas 1417. Roger obliged himself to make eight annual payments of *L*100 to meet the arrears, and ceded the revenues of the fief of Saint-Gilles-la-Neufville to prevent them rising further. His sister Isabel would, it was envisaged, make her own arrangements to meet her smaller share of the debt.⁴

When Jacques Pongnant *écuyer* returned, he was confronted by Rouen bourgeois Jean Vincent. In February 1419, Vincent's father had purchased title from Jacques in a rent of *L*20. He subsequently found this rent being foreclosed on by another creditor of the Pongnant family. Not knowing any of the defences Pongnant might have had against these claims, Vincent eventually ceded *L*135 'et depuis la Reducion de la ville de Rouen ... eust icelui Vincent Remonstre et fait Remonstrer audit Jacques Pongnant les choses dessusdiz adviennes a sa deffaulte ...', asking him to

³This point is addressed to Dewald 1980, p15: after a discussion of debates on the relationship between bourgeoisie, *noblesse de robe* and *épée*, he asserts that 'in Normandy, in short, the *noblesse de robe* grew out of aristocratic society, rather than in opposition to it'.

⁴*Rouen* 18 Apr 1451, 12 Jul 1456. Subsequent amelioration of the terms is described in the previous chapter. Two other instances: in the summer of 1454, Jean Martel seigneur de Basqueville was forced to buy out rights in a debt dating back to 1412 for a total of 700 *écus*: *Rouen* 28 Jun 1454. In the mid-50s Robert de Fréville *écuyer* was fighting off executions being made upon his property by Cauchois squire Jean Hure over rents and arrears contracted between their ancestors before 1412. In 1456 he sought a settlement by paying *L*500 over three years but *marginalia* in a 1452 accord indicates that the two men were still embroiled in 1457: *Rouen* 13 Apr 1452, 29 Jul 1456. See also the notice on Breauté in appendix 3.

make good the principal, 'mises et interestz.' In early 1452, he extracted settlement in the form of rents in and around Rouen.⁵

The *Collection Dom Lenoir* is rich in the attempts of middle-aged returnees to free themselves from the constraints of wardship in the 1450s. Jean de Villiers *écuyer* delivered a request to the *Chambre* in 1450; he was in his forties and had always followed the party of the king in the company of his kinsman Jean Havart *écuyer* seigneur d'Orgueil. Despite this, 'quant il est retourne sur le lieu apres la recouvrance du pays de Normandie et qu'il a voulu jouir de ses terres le viconte de Gournay l'a contraint de paier' the dues of his wardship, which Havart had received at farm in 1415!⁶

The Evreçin knight Jean de Hellenvilliers resumed his lands after the Reduction. He had left Normandy for the obedience of the king in the year of Charles VII's coronation, and served in his wars from the moment he was able to carry arms. His family had enjoyed none of his lands after 1418. His re-entry was not smooth; he was wounded near Verneuil during the Reduction campaign and was then forced to negotiate with Mathieu du Bosc, a Valois *chef de guerre* who had driven the English out of Hellenvilliers's château at la Ferté-Frénel. He eventually composed with du Bosc to the tune of 100 *écus*, only to find that the lands were waste. Various royal *vicomtes* added to his woes by constraining him for payment of the farm of his wardship. He had been in *garde* from the age of 4 or 5, and did not escape until 14 May 1452, when, like Villiers, he must have been in his forties. A viscomital inquest on the state of his lands concluded that he should be

⁵*Rouen* 13 Feb 1451/52. Vincent was sued over the Pongnant debts mentioned in the previous chapter. The parties and their heirs 'aient procede par dix ou douze annees' until Vincent was forced to settle since he 'ne povoit obstant ce que icelui pays de Normandie estoit occupe par les Anglois avoir aguarant ledit Jacques Pongnant comme subgié y est a l'occasion de ce que ledit Pongnant estoit et tenoit le parti du Roy'. The transport of a rent in Rouen by Robin Pongnant seigneur d'Iffreville to Jean Vincent is associated with the settlement: this contract shows that Jacques's creditors in the early 1450s included Rouen notable Guillaume Ango: *Rouen* 4 May 1454.

⁶*DLN/10* p29. The *gens des comptes* ordered the *vicomte* to put him *hors de garde* on 30 Jul 1450. Similarly, Girard le Tellier *écuyer* returned at the Reduction to find his fief la Crespinière in the *vicomté* of Coutances still in the *garde du roi* which it had entered on the death of his father in 1415. Bessin *demeurant* Richard Suhard recovered his fief of Crouay, confiscated by the English after his father's flight in 1417, freeing it of wardship in 1453. A complex case involving wardship, confiscation and reunification to the domain is that of Jacques du Fayel *vicomte* de Bretueil and seigneur des Authieux, who attempted to disentangle his original rights over the fief of Saint-Julien held by Robinet de Saint-Pierre *écuyer*, himself a returned exile. Thomas de Rucqueville *écuyer* was two years old when he entered wardship, soon after which he was carried by his kin out of Normandy because of the descent of the English: he freed himself of wardship in respect of his fief of la Conseillère near Bayeux in 1457: *DLN/09* p346, 320, 342, 364.

quit of the obligations of wardship given that it was only his wages for royal service which enabled him to sustain his estate and that of his wife, five children and servants.⁷

After the Reduction Georges de Clères had to fight off attempts to extract not only the dues arising from the wardship in which he had been subject since 1425, but thereafter an attempt to make him pay reliefs, contrary (as he protested) to the *Charte aux Normands*.⁸ Clères had remained in Lancastrian Normandy for many years, but in many of these cases the evidence arises less from the disentanglement of original rights from the debris of Lancastrian modification than from the reverse: the *Chambre des Comptes*'s determination to clear its books of wardships dating from before 1417.

The fundamentalist spirit of the *Chambre* was here mitigated by a pragmatism which also operated in respect of the relaxations of worthless rents and dues from the demesne. These relaxations, which the Lancastrian regime had been making for years, now had to be re-examined and rehearsed between the Valois administration and its subjects. The king, no more than any other lord, could expect to receive his rights back in the pristine condition of 1417. By 1452 Jean Hardouin *maître des comptes* and Pierre Bérard *trésorier de France* were on commission in the province. They were receiving reports on the state of packages of demesne rights and revenues, confirming and modifying relaxations of dues.⁹

The task was enormous. *Vicomtes* were anxious to extract the full measure of rights for which they had to account, and the constraints they imposed interacted haphazardly with the inattention of lords. Robert d'Estouteville *chevalier* seigneur d'Auzebosc had one of his fiefs sequestrated for the arrears of L160 of rent owed on mills at Pontorson. The mills had been

⁷DLN/09 p340, /10 p49. The *gens des comptes* were principally interested in confirming whether Hellenvilliers had been in the *garde du roi d'Angleterre* and whether he was now of age. Robert de Hellenvilliers was in Brézé service in the early 1450s: see appendix 1(c).

⁸DLN/10 p137.

⁹DLN/10 p51. The *Chambre* was also seeking the fullest possible measure of what could be collected on royal dues from the Lancastrian period. To this end they were convoking all the Lancastrian *officiers comptables* they could reach. The compulsion these men were under may well have speeded things up slightly, but the process of rendering accounts could always take years. In the mid-1450s former Lancastrian officers at Bayeux were still assembling witnesses and collecting quittances: DLN/18 p138; certifications made in September 1454 of payments made by Jean le Moine *vicomte* of Bayeux under the Lancastrians. The witnesses included Jean Avoine formerly *greffier* of the *verderie* of Bur-le-Roy; Richard Verdiere former *prevôt* of Fauquet; Guillaume le Heuvre formerly *clerc et greffier* to Sir Richard Harrington *bailli* of Caen; Raoul Benest former *procureur du roi en cour d'église*, and others, not always ex-Lancastrian officers and frequently testifying to payments made to absent, dead or English third parties. See also p136; Jean le Moine's procurations to go to Paris, November 1456.

There are numerous quittances given in 1454 for payments made to and by Lancastrian officers in DLN/28 pp409-11. The accounts of the last Lancastrian Norman receiver-general were also compiled after the Reduction by the French authorities: BL Additional Ms 11509.

demolished during the wars, and he obtained *souffrance* in respect of the rent from the *Echiquier des Comptes* of 1454. Royal officers themselves were aware that these procedures were irrational.

Early in 1450 the *vicomte* of Caudebec informed the *Chambre* that he had taken the fief of Ricarville into the king's hands for arrears of *L*16 owed to the king and to be accounted for by himself. But he added the rider that this was unjust, since its lord Richard le Sueur *écuyer* had not enjoyed it during the occupation and it was 'inhabite et de nulle valeur'.¹⁰

The significance of problems like ancient legitimate debt and old undischarged wardships should not be exaggerated. Galling they must have been, but the partisans of the king were regaining their lands, and allowance was being made for services rendered and the state of the lands in question, at least by the king and greater lords. Guillaume d'Harcourt count of Tancarville secured letters after the Reduction specifically freeing him of the formalities required to exit wardship. Since 'les solempnitez accoustumez n'ayant pu estre observees en icelle garde' after his flight from Normandy, this was only fitting: the king had received his homage and he had resumed his lands. There is thus a contrast between the attitude of the regime and that of lesser men. For the crown, acceptance of financial and economic realities was a political necessity. For ordinary Normans the extraction of the largest possible measure of their rights was an economic imperative.¹¹

Guy Bois's periodisation of recovery is directly relevant here. Using indices such as the rebuilding of mills and other 'batiments d'exploitation', he showed reconstruction gathering pace in the 1460s, but identified the period 1475-85 as the apogee. He placed the rehabilitation of abandoned agricultural land on the same chronological footing, with 1475-1500 seeing the 'reconquête totale de l'espace cultivé anterieurement'. In the worst affected zones of Normandy, devastation had two crucial consequences for Norman seigneurs: depopulation constricted the seigneur in the terms of *baux* and *fermes*, while war damage crippled exploitation of his own *demesne non-fieffé*. No single seigneur could aspire to influence demographic recovery without driving down his own revenues even further. The turn to stock-raising was virtually the only

¹⁰Auzebosc was the cousin of Louis d'Estouteville, defender of Mont-Saint-Michel. The sequestered fief was Sernon: *Rouen* 7 Jun 1454. *DLN*/16 p329: le Sueur had already requested *mainlevée* on Ricarville, and in April 1450 the *gens des comptes* ordered its delivery. This fief was the subject of a particularly full inquest: it had once been worth *L*60, was now not worth a *salut* and would cost *L*2,000 to restore: *DLN*/13 p267.

¹¹*DLN*/75 p159 for Tancarville's lands, 'lesquelles apres la recouvrement de Normandie il a trouvees en grant ruine et desolacion'.

rational response to depopulation, but it was a provisional solution pending reconstruction of the banal infrastructure.¹²

The necessity for reconstruction imposed a requirement for capital on Norman lords. The Cauchois lands of Antoine de Craon, for example, had suffered serious damage in the war. We have a series of acts relating to his seigneurie of Lorrain in the heart of the Caux between 1454 and 1465. In 1454 the noble fiefs of the seigneurie were in his hands through default of feudal dues. The tenants had heavily charged their lands, and *decrets* were being passed on their property. But the primary context was the damaged banal infrastructure of the area. The seigneurial mill was described in 1461 as 'demoli a l'occasion de la guerre'. Craon's *procureur* was then negotiating with holders of shares in the windmill, and it was given *à fief* on generous terms on condition that the tenants would rebuild it.¹³

Lorrain was still wasted in 1465, when it was sold by Craon to the wealthy Rouennais widow Jeanne Ango. The sale raised only £140 in cash, but Craon also obtained the redemption of £40 of rent which he had sold to her late husband in 1461, together with three years of arrears.¹⁴ So Craon had sought initially to retain and reconstruct the fief, had resorted to the rent markets in Rouen, but could not avoid its ultimate abandonment.

References to damage are sufficiently common in the notarial registers in Rouen to have evolved their own formulaic quality. Such and such a fief, tenement, manor or seigneurie is 'en grant ruyne et de petite valeur.' Numerous contracts in mitigation of the terms of *baux à rente* or *à*

¹²Bois 1976 pp299-304, 318-22. Massey offers critical commentary: Massey 1987 chapter VII. Bois's broad periodisation of the demographic trends has been generalised to the Evreux by Vignal 1993 p157-58. She believes the recovery began in the 1440s. So far as Bois's thesis that the Cauchois peasant rising of 1436 amounted to 'Hiroshima in Normandy' is concerned, some areas certainly suffered more than others, and discussion can only be carried further by intensive investigation into the geographical distribution of wasted properties. Mapping references to damage in notarial documents at Rouen shows no clear picture, however. The frequency of such references to the Bray and the Caux is especially notable given that the Caux had many high justices – Aumale, Eu, Longueville, Maulévrier, Tancarville, plus the holdings of the archbishop of Rouen – where such contracts would also have been notarised. The fortunes of the major seigneurie of Le Neubourg have been studied. Although outside the area which mainly concerned Bois, as a barony on the frontier against the French garrisons of Evreux and Louviers in the 1440s it shared in all essentials the unlucky fate of Cauchois and Bray lordships. Plaisse too noted the desperate slowness of repopulation and consequent seigneurial exploitation of cattle and pigs in the generation after its recovery by the French in 1444: Plaisse 1961 p340-43.

¹³Rouen 22 Aug 1454, 19 Oct 1461. Craon, still in wardship in the early 1450s, had extensive possessions in the Caux through his paternal grandmother Guye de Longroy: Broussillon 1893 II, p287-88 and n°1432. As Allmand pointed out, relaxations of *fief*s and *baux* often sought to spread the burdens of reconstruction between lord and tenant through some such compact: e.g. Rouen 24 May 1454, 6 Mar 1458/59, 1 Mar 1464/65; Allmand 1983 p295.

¹⁴Rouen 13 May 1465 (sale of fief), 14 Mar 1461/62 (sale of rent).

fiemme contain variants of the supporting phrase 'en consideration aux guerres et mortalitez qui ont este en ces parties parquoy plusieurs heritages sont tournez en Ruine et petite valeur'.¹⁵ Such properties are yielding little, and requiring heavy investment in repairs and reconstruction. It was the extent to which seigneurs resolved this dilemma which decided who were the winners and losers of the postwar generation.

The rent market and noble liquidity problems.

Many Norman seigneurs faced a dual task; both a material reconstruction of the banal infrastructure, and a legal one of their title. Through the *tabellionage* we can examine some of the options available, and the costs incurred, to a lord who fell back on the rent market. Such resort was an unexceptional feature of seigneurial management: ordinary family settlements like *partage* and *dons de mariage* were met wholly or partly by the constitution of rents. The imperatives of reconstruction forced the propertied into arrangements more burdensome than those of choice, with partners outside their normal circle who might be expected to be less sympathetic. The effect is more complicated than it sounds: lords had a powerful interest in diminishing the charges on unproductive lands, but resort to the rent market meant the assumption of new obligations.¹⁶

The redemption of old *rentes à heritage* required the cash payment of ten times face value; *le prix du roi*. Funds for reconstruction could only be raised on the market at the same high rates of simple interest. If rents were constituted only for terms of lives, they cost the *rentier* half the

¹⁵This from *Rouen* 15 Jun 1454, maître Nicole Mannourry's reduction of a rent by ¼. Similar or identical phrases: *Rouen* 4 Jun 1451, 14 Jul 1452, 24 May 1454, 26 May 1454, 19 Jun 1454, 7 Nov 1454, 1 Mar 1464/65.

¹⁶At present remarks on the character of the Rouen market are necessarily impressionistic. Rouen was undoubtedly the major regional centre for the raising of funds in this way. The proximity of Paris and the rôle of family and affinity in money-raising mean that the Rouennais *tabellionage* registers do not afford us a full picture of the rent market. The hypothesis that in the 1450s we see a quickening of the market in rents (together with a greater urgency in the pursuit of arrears) is tempting, plausible, but at present speculative. It may rely on comparison with periods themselves abnormal, the 1440s and 1460s. A more rigorous study over a wider area and timescale would be needed to be sure of the trend. A full survey would require knowledge of the Paris market's rôle in Normandy, as well as the Norman towns other than Rouen and Caen. It is worth pointing out that it was cheaper to raise funds outside the province. At Paris and in Picardy the equivalent *prix du roi* was twelve times annual return. By comparison with Caen we see more contracts overall, higher status contractors, and higher maximum cash values of contracts. The Caen *tabellionage* for 1451-67 is covered by 7 registers, with 1460-62 missing. With one exception (1451-2), each Rouen register covers a single pascal year. The registers are of comparable physical size. Up to a fortnight can go by without entries at Caen: the Rouen registers are much denser. Lower status of contractors accounts partially for lower values of contracts, especially marked in rent sales: nobles mentioned in the Caen registers are of the city patriciate or of purely local significance; barons, knights and royal officers are rarer than at Rouen.

sum he would pay for heritable rents: from the point of view of the vendor, this made them twice as expensive as a means of raising cash. Sometimes debtors sought to halve the payments by converting (with the *rentier*'s agreement) these *rentes à vie* into *rentes à heritage*. Rates on *rentes à heritage* show virtually no variation across the period: the conventions of the *prix du roi* were entrenched. The market as revealed in the notarial records was inflexible. With changes in supply and demand for rents not reflected in price movements, it was the actual clauses of contracts which responded. Contracts proliferate in which vendors list other rents and obligations owed. Similarly, the title by which they held the property upon which a new rent was to be assigned is stated with increasing detail and precision. This phenomenon is explicable as a response among *rentiers* to the poor credit-worthiness of vendors.¹⁷

We also have numerous explicit remarks on the shortage of cash, and much alienation of lands. When Estout de Dampierre was required to discharge an obligation dating back to 1428, he replied that 'il n'avoit argent comptant pour ce faire'. In May 1452 he alienated his fief of Franqueville along with other property to a creditor who promised to discharge him of other rents and debts as well. Alienation of lands is frequently explicated in the contracts by reference to the debts or obligations of the vendor. The situation of the abbey of Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville must have been familiar to many landholders, for whom we cannot usually rely on the *tabellionage* for such explicit commentary; the monks were forced to the alienation of their patrimony by 'l'extreme besoing et urgente necessite' in which they found themselves in the summer of 1451. They sold property in Rouen for L1,200 in order to acquit themselves of various cash obligations 'et aussi de mettre en estat convenable les hostelz, manoirs et heritages d'icelle abbaye qui a l'occasion des guerres ... estoient tournez en grant ruyne et decadence et mesmes de trouver le vitre et substancion' of the monks. Jean du Quesnay justified his resort to alienation of his patrimony in

¹⁷These clauses are especially noticeable in constitutions of rent to Rouennais *changeurs* and other regular dealers in rents such as the Rouen canons. It may also indicate that amongst those resorting to the market were seigneurs whose position was not well known outside their own kin and social networks – with the implication, of course, that these same networks had not been able to give assistance. Two early examples: Jean Pillois *conseiller en cour laie* affirms that certain listed properties are not charged with rents save those 'foncieres et anciennes', and one of L4/15s dating from 1453, to Oudart le Riche. He now constitutes a new rent of L16/4s to le Riche: *Rouen* 1 Jul 1456. Guillaume du Mesnil-Tâte *écuyer* affirmed in early 1457 that he held four named seigneuries 'seul et pour le tout', and that they were burdened only with rents 'foncieres et anciennes'. He constituted L8 of rent to Jean de la Perreuse: *Rouen* 2 Jan 1456/57. Le Riche, former *clerc des comptes* under the Lancastrians (BL Additional Charters 12403), remained a major player on the Rouen money market; Perreuse too was notable in this regard. Philippe Cailleau, whose thesis on patterns of property ownership among the Rouen *haute bourgeoisie* is forthcoming, suggests that the formula surfaces for the first time in the later 1430s. This would not alter the basic point, that the clause is a response to increasing resort to the rent market as returns on land fall.

similar language: the great necessity of himself and his wife, and the need to make reparations in his wife's lands.¹⁸

The value of an alienation is often the only guide as to whether a particular property belongs to the core of a holding, but its reliability on this score is weakened by the ingenuity of our subjects. Not all sales were straightforward. So many Norman nobles can be shown engaging in land deals which are difficult to distinguish from credit transactions, that one is forced to the conclusion that this was normal practice. Jacques de Rouville canon of Rouen and Guillaume his brother sold the chapter treasurer, canon Jean du Bec, the fief of Roye for *L1,000*. Immediately Jacques received it back as a fief for five years for *L90 per annum*.¹⁹ Robert de Dreux vidame d'Esneval sold his fief of Mesnil-Esnard outside Rouen to cathedral canon Robert Surreau in 1451 for 1,200 *écus*. He seems to have obtained extensions on the raquittal period several times, and in any case was farming the seigneurie's revenues for Surreau, at the annual charge of 120 *écus*. In spring 1454 he had a kinsman – Gauvain Mauviel *élu* of Rouen – redeem the seigneurie from Surreau, together with the outstanding proceeds of the *ferme*. Dreux seized the occasion to reaffirm and extend his own right of *raquet*.²⁰

After further transactions, the fief would fall to Louis de Corneilles *vicomte de l'eau* at Rouen. The important point is that Dreux had manoeuvred to forestall permanent alienation of the lands. The motor in such dealings was the financial problems of landholders. It is to more direct examples of families labouring under these difficulties that we now turn.

Jean de Montenay was a major Norman aristocrat, baron of Montenay, Garencières, Milly en Gâtinois, *vicomte hérédital* of Fontenay-le-Marmion and Fauguernon and sometime baron of Hommet. He had been a *demeurant* in wardship for much of the occupation, and was fighting numerous cases in the *Echiquier* in the decades after 1450. He can be shown to be incurring significant debts in the 1450s. In the summer of 1451 he constituted a *L100* rent to the *changeur* of Rouen Jean Marcel for *L1,000*. This was a substantial commitment, but it did not meet his needs. About 1452 he sold *L350* of rent to Jean de Vendôme vidame de Chartres. In late 1456 he

¹⁸*Rouen* 5 May 1452, 28 July 1451, 19 Dec 1451. On du Quesnay, see appendix 3. He can be found making other alienations: *Rouen* 16 May 1451. See also the example of Marie la Cauchoise, under le Cauchois in appendix 3.

¹⁹*Rouen* 7 Nov 1463, and 16 Nov 1463 when we find Jacques recognising that the fief was part of Guillaume's inheritance, and that the enjoyment of it would remain with him. The raquittal term was set at 5 years, and Jacques promised Guillaume that he would redeem the fief within the time. He did so in 1465: *Rouen* 17 Oct 1465.

²⁰*Rouen* 28 Feb, 1 Mar 1453/54. For Dreux and Mauviel see appendix 3.

Addendum: for '... to the Norman *trésorier des guerres* Jean de Louraille' read 'Jean, brother of the Norman *trésorier des guerres* Thomas de Louraille'.

constituted a rent of *L*36 to Regnault de Pommereul *écuyer* seigneur de Moulin-Chappelle. This rent concealed an anticipatory alienation of land, for the cession of the fief of Mesnil-Galles near Conches was envisaged if the rent was not shortly redeemed. From early on in the post-Reduction period he was alienating parts of his inheritance.²¹

In the early 1450s Montenay and his officers were juggling fiefs in the land market. In the winter of 1452-53 he was redeeming sales to the chapter of Lisieux, raising the necessary cash by selling other properties. Fontaines, Clertison and Hellebont were sold to Robert de Fontaines canon of Coutances in January 1453. Long raquittal periods were vital to such a game. In raising *L*180 by selling the fief of Villeret in October 1456 to Philippe seigneur de Fleurigny *chevalier*, Montenay stipulated a period of ten years. If redemption proved impossible, then the right itself could be turned to profitable account: when Montenay began the repurchase of Fierville, Guillaume de Cérisey was prepared to pay *L*300 to halt the process and 'pour tousiours demorer en la bonne grace de mondit seigneur'.²²

Such methods were only delaying the erosion of Montenay's holdings. In 1454 he sold Fontenay-le-Marmion to the Norman *trésorier des guerres* Jean de Louraille for *L*1,450, specifying a four year raquittal period. He may have redeemed the seignury himself, but it is more likely that he sought to keep his options open by having *trésorier de France* Jean Bureau move in on his behalf. In any case, in 1457 the seignury was transported to Bureau, and in the event Montenay was unable to recover it. An attempt was made to pass a *decret* on the seignury for enormous arrears owed on the rents to the vidame de Chartres mentioned above, and other cash debts. By the 1470s the heirs of Bureau and the vidame were litigating over the fief. The titles of both parties arose from Montenay's financial difficulties in the 1450s.²³

Montenay would under normal circumstances have been an important member of Norman political society: his low profile in the middle decades of the century may be explicable by his

²¹For Montenay's suits, see *Echiquier* 1453 p200; 1454 p22, p146, p168v^o; 1463 p23v^o; 1466 p18, p112; 1469 p155v^o. Amongst his adversaries in the 1460s were the baron of Ferrières and members of the Rabestan family. On his alienations, *Rouen* 14 Jun 1451, 16 Dec 1456, and *Echiquier* 1455 p78; 1462 p115 (suit arising in Michel d'Estouteville baron de Moyon's intervention in his sale of Barbeville to Christophe de Castillon).

²²*Caen* 12 Jan 1452/53, p115. *Rouen* 26 Oct 1456, 8 May 1464. The terms of sale imply that Fierville required large expenditures for reconstruction.

²³*Caen* 5 Jul 1454, p85; ADC E311-316, lawsuits over Fontenay-le-Marmion, including the 1477 report and covering letter of Jean Blosset as *grand sénéchal* to Louis XI on the genesis and progress of the case. Whichever party was unsuccessful was likely, of course, to turn on Montenay's heirs in pursuit of guarantee.

financial problems.²⁴ We can generalise such examples to all noble ranks. In April 1462 Jacques de Poissy seigneur de Gouy, member of a significant Roumois lineage, sold his fief of Fresnelles to Gilles le Goupil seigneur d'Aussonville-la-Campagne, for L520.²⁵ This alienation, twelve years after the Reduction, was the result of pressure from creditors in the later 1450s. We can trace the origin of the problems in efforts to raise cash immediately after the Reduction.

In October 1450 Jacques and his wife Jeanne d'Auvrechier constituted a *rente à vie* of L120 in survivance to André Lorin and Thomas de Poissy archdeacon of Laon, for L600. The rents were assigned on named fiefs but the creditors insisted on a general clause as well. By the summer of 1458 nothing had been paid to either creditor, and so far as Lorin was concerned

lui avoient par eulx este donnes plusieurs et longues dilacions, Pour ce mesmement que par long temps lesdiz mariez se sont actenduz et actendoient avoir et recevoir grans deniers d'aucunes personnes leurs debtours ...

Out of patience, Lorin sought payment by convoking the couple, 'qui ne povoient bonnement donner aucun secours ou aide d'argent'. He declined a cession of lands, though he was prepared to accept lands in partial settlement, if the location was 'plus convenables' and if cash was forthcoming as well.

This seems to have formed the basis for an accord by which about L1,600 of the debt was acquitted, though this was never fully implemented. In 1460 the couple were still seised of the lands to be ceded. They sold them, along with other lands near Rouen upon which Lorin's rents had been assigned. The proceeds of this sale amounted to nearly L1,400, of which Lorin accepted L1,260 in settlement of his claims. War damage and poor returns are in evidence: the manors of the fiefs being sold were 'de present en ruyne' and other property was worth less than assignments upon it. At the same time the couple were having to settle other claims through cash payments and temporary cessions of land.²⁶

²⁴Montenay emerged a little more strongly in the 1460s, initially under the ægis of admiral Montauban who made him *maître enquêteur et reformateur* in the Norman forests: DLN/24 p199.

²⁵Rouen 9 Apr 1461.

²⁶Rouen 27 Jun 1458, 8 Nov 1460. Under the first accord Lorin accepted the fiefs of Villerez and Ecouis, quitting L80 of *rente à heritage* and L800 of arrears. The total original debt to both creditors would have amounted to L1,540, but the calculation is complicated: at some stage the rent had been converted at least in part to *rente à heritage*. Lorin returned meadows at Sotteville 'qui ne lui este de si grant prouffit ou Revenue' as rents already assigned on them. Rouen 6 Jun 1452 shows that the couple's fief of le Berguet had been passed by *decret* in 1441 for debts totalling some L414, forcing the tenant back upon them as his guarantors. Poissy now abandoned the fief of Crasville-le-Roquefort to the creditor (his wife's sister-in-law) for ten years, and obliged himself for a deferred lump sum payment. Poissy was in the company of Robert de Flocques.

Cases of debtors mounting assaults on the problem at source, by trying to deny or modify the debt, are common. In the early 1460s the difficulties of the Rouville came to a head, with George de Clères passing their seigneurie of Grainville-la-Tainturière by *decret*. At the 1462 *Echiquier* Aldouce, mother of the Rouville brothers, challenged both her liability for the debt in question and the validity of the *decret*. The following year Clères moved against the heirs of the guarantors of the original contract. Aldouce's resistance to Clères was based on attacking procedural technicalities. The Rouville continued to manoeuvre, with attempts in 1464 to cite Clères before the *official* of Rouen.²⁷

The Rouville were in dispute with a number of their neighbours in the Caux, including the abbey of Fécamp, in the mid-1450s and the 1460s. They were struggling through the 1450s to extract monies from Jean de Bréauté. These debts were substantial, and it may have been cash flow problems that generated stress within the family itself. When the marriage of Aldouce de Braquemont had been contracted with Pierre de Rouville, her father Robert de Braquemont was admiral of France and the Armagnacs were still in power in northern France. The Rouville had been prepared to bid high for the match, offering, amongst other things, L500 of rent for the lady's lifetime. In the drastically altered circumstances of the 1450s such an obligation seemed outrageous to the heir of the match. The main thrust of his case was that the dower should be altered to fit Norman custom, reducing the dower burden overall and facilitating a settlement of Aldouce's claims in lands. As such it would also forestall complications over transports of property or goods bought with the proceeds of the rent.²⁸

Although it was regarded as an exceptional case, 'au grant vitupere et deshonneur des parties', it was not without parallel. The Malet de Graille were similarly embroiled at the same time. In the early 1450s they were selling rents and fiefs, and confronting debt demands, some of them dating from the 1430s. The family was at odds within itself over the appropriate provision for the sisters of Jean Malet seigneur de Graille. The *Echiquier* of 1454 heard Malet's appeal from the Rouen assises over the portion of the inheritance which had been adjudged to them. He argued that a settlement of L240 of rent was 'excessive au regard de present de la valeur desdis

²⁷The fief fetched L6,000 at auction. The debt was 22 years of arrears of L156 rent owed by her father. An intermediate accord between the parties which had been registered at the cathedral chapter gave rise to the citation before the *official*. The *Echiquier* judges regarded canon Jacques de Rouville's manoeuvres as abusive, and he was imprisoned and fined when the case returned before them later that year: *Echiquier* 1462 p92; 1463 p39, p74; 1474 p74.

²⁸Rouen 11 Nov 1461.

heritages en Normandie'. It is with the need to limit cash outflows from their lands that Rouville's lawsuit against his mother and Malet's suit against his mother and sister should be seen.²⁹

We could multiply explicit references to seigneurs with cash flow problems. There is a minor genre of acts showing nobles or lesser men turning to their creditors to seek accommodation in the terms of an obligation, usually a cash rent. When Jean du Perron lost a lawsuit over the possession of a fief near Caen, he was made liable to provide compensation to Jean de Rantost, to whom he had previously sold it. Du Perron 'fust tourne devers icelui de Rantost en lui requerant moderacion'. In the winter of 1450-51, Guillaume Pasturel approached Jean Thomet, asking to buy out the small rent assigned on a house in Caen 'qui nagueres a l'occasion de la Guerre ait par les anglois este ars et demolu'. The language of supplication used in such contracts sometimes stresses the favour being done in extravagant terms. One debtor asked his creditor 'en pitie et charitie donna pardonna et descharga ... les arreraiges et despens du temps passe ...'. This is the language of alms-giving. The tone of such pieces has much in common with that of the numerous contracts recording the abandonment or annulment by consent of contracts *à fieffe*.³⁰

A further pointer to this kind of distress is the efforts being made by *rentiers* to widen the scope of the assignation of their rents. Etienne l'Abbé took a direct approach. He had been sold L70 of rent by Eudes de Bonnebosc *chevalier*, assigned on his seigneuries of Roulières and Saint-Pater. After the knight's death Etienne and a complaisant notary falsified the letters so that the seignury of Bonnebosc itself was subject to the rent.³¹

²⁹Malet's late father Jean had been alienating land after the Reduction. In 1452 Guillaume Ango bourgeois of Rouen passed a *decret* on the Cachois fief of Ecalles-Alix by virtue of his debts. Guillaume le Tainturier bourgeois of Rouen opposed Ango, claiming to be proprietor by acquisition from Malet, and calling his son as guarantor. Subsequently the financier Eustace Lombard acquired Ango's rights, and Malet bought him out for L320: *Rouen* 3 Oct 1454; Malet-Lombard accord. Ecalles-Alix may be one of two fiefs Malet *pere* had sold to le Tainturier for L1,000 early in 1450. In order to redeem these properties the younger Malet committed four annual payments of 200 *écus* on the *ferme* of Graville: *Rouen* 24 Oct 1456. Malet *fils* was incurring other debts and engaging in lawsuits in respect of debt: *Rouen* 27 Oct 1456, accord in respect of a debt triangle involving Malet, Cardin seigneur des Essars and Jean seigneur de Hestray. Malet's mother and sisters gave way before Malet's attack on their provision, and it was agreed to draw up 3 lots of the Norman lands, Jean keeping two. This was to last for only three years, the principal and other matters being submitted in the meantime to an arbitral panel including the *grand sénéchal*. This panel decided against Jean, but it appears that the family had largely resolved matters internally by then. By a 1456 appointment Graville was acquitted by his sisters, but he may have been misbehaving himself procedurally, because the court itself extracted fines: *Echiquier* 1454 p56; 1456 p41, 291.

³⁰*Rouen* 8 Jun 1454; *Caen* 15 Jan 1450/51, p169; *Rouen* 18 May 1462. Other instances of such language are *Rouen* 7 Aug 1462, 8 May 1454.

³¹*DLN/15* p301: discovered, the pair were heavily fined by the court of the *grand sénéchal* in 1451-52, l'Abbé to the tune of L500, and the Auge notary Benest de Launoy L200 (and stripped of his position as well? He is described as 'pieca tabellion').

Widening the scope of the assignation enabled creditors to make execution on property which might actually be worth something. For this reason it might be vigorously resisted. Richard de Martainville fought executions made by Etienne Flambart on his possessions in respect of rent arrears. The rents were assigned on lands now incapable of supporting the charge and Flambart was seeking to pursue Martainville 'generalement'. The *vicomte* of Orbec, the lieutenant of the *bailli* at the assises there and the *Echiquier* itself gave judgement for Flambart, but delay gave Martainville the chance to bid for a substantial reduction in the cash settlement to which he was ultimately forced.³²

Debt-ridden lords were driven to multiple alienations to creditors and others in the hope of redemption of rents or other obligations. Often new rents are being constituted at the same time. The language of contracts involving alienation indicates that significant land sales were only effected under pressure. Selling up could be a rationalisation of assets, but only when peripheral properties, or those gained through acquisition, dower or *benefice d'inventaire* were involved. Even if no explicit references to damage or urgent necessity is made, landholders signal their liquidity problems with applications for moderation of the terms of rents, constitution of new rents or sale of old ones, and alienation of lands. Where one can show the landed resources of a given seigneur subject to attrition by *decret*, this makes the case extremely strong.

Indebtedness and the attrition of landholdings

When landholders saw their property passed by *decret* this itself implies some financial embarrassment. Creditors resorted to *decret* generally only after execution on movable goods had failed to recover the value of the debt, for it was a long drawn out and inconvenient process. Advance notice had to be given by proclamation in the parish where the property in question was located. Opposition from those with a proprietorial interest had to be canvassed. The auction itself had to be advertised, and once it had taken place the *decret* still had to be 'finished'. This involved the meeting of the creditors, and the allocation of shares in the cash or rents which constituted the price offered at auction. The respective debts would be ranked by the date of the letters of obligation, with those basic to title (*foncières et anciennes*) taking precedence.³³

³²Rouen 20 May 1461. A comparable case which permits estimation of the balance of advantage in the final settlement is Rouen 5 May 1463.

³³ BN Ms fr 20436 p61: a report to the *Chambre des Comptes* from a panel of eleven Norman *vicomtes* on the nature of *decret* and its interaction with criminal proceedings and forfeiture, 1414.

Up to the 1450s a number of different procedures were in effect: this was an area in which Norman custom had not sought or achieved uniformity of practice. The reforming *ordonnance* issued by the *Echiquier* of Easter 1462 may well have responded to 1450s experience, for the economic malaise had intensified the resort to *decret* as a means of recovering bad debt. The court complained that the multiform usages and the lack of documentation evidencing the passage of *decret* was 'en preiudice de la chose publique' since 'souventes fois se suscitent grans et sumptueux proces et doleances et en advient grans inconveniens'.³⁴ From this point on the Caen notaries began to allude to *decrets* having been passed in accordance with the *ordonnances*.

It is rarely possible to evaluate the gap between the value of the letters of obligation in respect of which a fief was passed by *decret*, and the price actually realised at auction. In a case where we do have both figures, the creditor was out of pocket by a little less than ten per cent of the debt.³⁵ It is not possible to say whether this is typical. Yet *decret* prices may have been exaggerated by comparison with market values or *prix du roi*. Competition amongst creditors to secure the property might be intense because, saving claims *foncières*, a debtor failing to gain the property stood to lose their interest. Such calculations are, admittedly, fraught. A typically involved case was described in an accord of 1461. In 1454 Jacques de Rouville was prepared to bid L1,500 for a *rente à heritage* of only L100. Amongst those who appeared to 'oppose' the passage, in other words to register their claims upon this sum, was Rouville himself, for L300 of rent and other expenses; Guillaume de Braquemont for L2,000; Jean de Mausigny for L200; and the *porteur* of letters of obligation amounting to L800. This last was actually Rouville himself, as he had already secured these rights by purchase. This meant that all or part of the L1,500 he was

³⁴The text of the *ordonnance* (as contained in the *Coûtumier* of 1483) is in Sourdets 1929 pp127-142. Several clauses were concerned with abuses of the process probably consequent upon the great amount of work involved. The main stages of the modified procedures (ignoring technical differences for noble and non-noble property) were fivefold: verification of the obligation: sequestration; bidding; auction; and auditing the charges. A *decret* might only be passed on a debtor's property in default of movables to the value of the debt. A sergeant was required to verify both this and the authenticity of the letters of obligation. He was then to sequester the property, signifying the *mainmise* on four successive Sundays. At this point the creditor could offer a price for the property in cash or rents, adjusted for any obligations owed on it. The sergeant would then cry this price on three successive Sundays through the parish, seeking higher bids. Those interested could attend the next assises, where the auction would prejudice the rights of the debtor and all who failed to appear. Before the next assises a jury was to be empanelled by the sergeant to assess the charges and *droits seigneuriaux* on the property. The *decret* was thus to be 'finished' at the second assises. So, in the 1460s, and assuming no resistance from the debtor or other persons claiming a prior right, or any difficulties with other creditors, a *decret* might still take three or four months to put through.

³⁵Jean de Mortemer's fief of La Forêt was passed by *decret* on 27 Jun 1461 by his creditor Jean Rouxel, whose nine letters of obligation in various sums were dated from 1449 to 1459. The principals of these rents totalled L275, arrears amounted to over L50, and Rouxel's expenses in passing the *decret* were claimed at L13/2s/2d. The fief was acquired on behalf of Guillaume Toustain, a Rouennais lawyer, for L310. Rouxel therefore lost nearly L30: *Rouen* 19 Aug 1461.

offering was actually going straight back into his own pocket, perhaps with an appropriate cut for the royal officers involved. The real price he was paying for the rent depended on the sum he had expended in acquiring the rival rights, and this is unknown.³⁶

Rouville, like other Rouen canons, was something of a dealer in such vexed title. His intervention in the twenty year-long struggle over the seigneurie of Rouvray illustrates how *decret* could be related to other aspects of a contest over title. At the Reduction it was resumed by Michel de Parthenay, whose wife Perrette de Boissonière claimed descent from the Saint-Remy family, seised of the lands in 1415. Parthenay enjoyed the lands until in 1452 they were passed by *decret* by Arnault de Tranchelion, for arrears of a rent owed to his mother, drawn on the properties of her first husband Jean de Rouvray whose inheritance had allegedly included the fief. Parthenay appeared at the passage of the *decret* and bought the seigneurie at auction in order to safeguard his interest.

Rouvray's daughter and son-in-law now intervened. At the assises of Gournay they began proceedings to claim it not as *heritiers absolus* of her father, but as heirs by *benefice d'inventaire*. No heirs within the seven degrees of kinship having appeared, the *lignagers* were deprived of their rights and the couple authorised to enjoy the lands pending final adjudication. These machinations were designed to recover this particular seigneurie while avoiding any debts burdening the wider inheritance. In taking possession of the lands the couple were (unsurprisingly) 'troublez et empeschez' by Parthenay's officers. The couple's own *procureur* mounted a *clameur de haro* to place the seigneurie in sequestration, and subsidiary lawsuits followed, with claim and counter-claim.³⁷

Parthenay was thus deeply embroiled in a struggle over the lands with this couple, the Leschamps. There were also at least two *clameurs de marchie de bourse* in play, one from a kinsman of Tranchelion, the other by another *lignager* of Rouvray, Guillaume d'Abancourt. Parthenay cashed his gains by selling his rights. The purchaser, Rouville, sought to bolster the

³⁶Rouen 31 May 1461. The heirs of one Michel du Tôt claimed that the debt for which the *decret* was being passed was actually theirs. The original debt, dating from the turn of the century, was L700 of marriage gift from Roger de Bréauté to Rouville's mother. A long law suit between Rouville's parents and du Tôt at the Rouen assises had stemmed from his claim to have purchased the rent from Bréauté in 1409. All Rouville's efforts aborted when the late du Tôt's heirs showed letters of quittance of the original L700 signed and sealed in 1400. Recognising this fact, in 1461 he settled, opening the way to action against his guarantors in the other rights he had bought up.

³⁷Parthenay must have challenged the *haro*, because it was the upholding of the sequestration by the lieutenants of the *bailliages* of Rouen and Caux which generated appeals from them. The case fell by commission to the lieutenant of the *vicomté de l'eau* at Rouen who restored the enjoyment of the lands to Parthenay without calling the Leschamps, who appealed to the *Echiquier*.

claim thus acquired by involving himself with some of his rivals. An arrangement with the Abancourt family opened the possibility of a legal attack on the testamentary title of the Leschamps, who at this point began crying foul. They alleged fraud connected with a fictive enfeoffment obtained by Rouville from the under-age Christine d'Abancourt as notional heiress of the seigneurie. The case became dominated by the attempts of the Leschamps to obtain judgement by stressing the alleged defaults of Parthenay. By 1469 the parties were ready to settle. Who would be left with the seigneurie would depend on whether the Leschamps could raise the cash to compensate Rouville for his disbursements.³⁸

This suit illustrates the procedural and technical nature of such struggles, and the high cost of successful defence. All the factors which complicated the post-Reduction tenurial regime in the province were present: resumption in 1450, old obligations, issues of *partage* and bequest. Parthenay was no small fry, but a great courtier officer of the duke of Brittany and a man with powerful connexions. Even for him the burdens of defending title outran his profit in the fief.³⁹

The kind of calculations underlying *decret* strategy are revealed by a 1454 contract relating to property in the parish of Saint-Martin-du-Plessis near Buchy. Robin le Vigneron opened proceedings when he began delaying 'par doute quil ne fust trouve puisne de plusieurs rentes enquoy (the debtor) ou ses predecesseurs estoient obligez ...'. A second creditor did indeed appear to press the *decret* to a conclusion, and at the auction a third, Robert l'Hermite, appeared claiming that he held title to it by a previous *decret*. He found it expedient to buy off at least one of his rivals for L30, gaining thereby further letters of obligation of the debtor. Those who could not resort to other property which had belonged to him effectively lost their claims.⁴⁰

The potential for losing all claim on a debtor if the property on which an obligation was assigned was passed by *decret* is an important aspect of the procedure. *Rentiers* wished to have their rents securely assigned on lands, but tacked the clause 'et generalement sur tous ses autres

³⁸*Echiquier* 1469 p76v^o-78. Matters may have been delayed by the recent war in the province, in which Parthenay and members of the Rouville family had been involved against the crown. Rouville was to be bought out of his rights for L1,700, and the Leschamps were to assume his obligations to the Abancourt. If the Leschamps were unable to raise the money, Rouville would secure the fief by paying L750.

³⁹A *caveat* should be entered. Selling out to Rouville may have been conditioned by his difficulties in following the convolutions of the case from Brittany, and also by his acquaintance with Rouville's younger brother Jean, *vichancelier* of Brittany. Given this last point, Parthenay's withdrawal may have been more apparent than real. Moreover in the Rouville-Leschamps accord it was stated that whoever got the seigneurie was to sustain the suits that went with it, especially that between Rouville and Françoise de Parthenay. Had Parthenay given himself the option of returning to the fray by launching *marchie de bourse* in the name of his daughter?

⁴⁰*Rouen* 9 May 1454.

biens' onto hypothecations. This enabled creditors to go elsewhere in pursuit of a debt if the property on which a rent or other obligation was assigned was passed by *decret*.

It was not unusual for debtors to seek to have their property passed by *decret* by a 'friendly' creditor. The role of such a figure was to forestall the passage of a hostile *decret* which the debtor might not be able to reverse. Thus in 1461 Nicolas Grosparmy baron de Flers was struggling to fend off foreclosure on a fief in the *vicomté* of Falaise. His appeal from the assises to the *Echiquier* delayed matters while he negotiated a deal with the Caen financier Sanson Fortin. Fortin agreed in May 1461 to bid for the *decret*, originally passed by Manceux knight Jean de Rabestan in 1453. He bought it for L600 and then retroceded the fief to Grosparmy. They agreed that if the latter could not raise L1,050 within a year, Fortin would secure the property by paying another L600.⁴¹

This kind of dealing is analagous to the way in which families in trouble would seek to have their debts bought up by friends and allies. Georges baron de Clères was drawn into the affairs of the Moy family, because of Picard knight Colart de Moy's substantial debts to the archbishop of Bordeaux Blaise Gresle. Clères bought up twenty-nine years of arrears on a rent of L100, for L1,500. There were complex provisions over the settlement of expenses and the further prosecution of the claims by either Clères or the archbishop. These were onerous for the baron and he secured indemnification from Moy's wife and mother, and a declaration that 'ledit seigneur de Clere ait prins aucun prouffit Pour lauelles cause lesdites dames se obligent ensembles et l'une pour le tout faire faire les paiemens dessusdis'.⁴² For the 'white knight' in these cases, this

⁴¹The Grosparmy are yet another family in difficulties in the post-Reduction period. In 1451 Rabestan informed Nicolas and his brother Jean that he intended to pursue them for their obligation to pay half of a rent of L130 dating from 1413. The Grosparmy acquitted themselves by charging the rent upon property south of Caen, and were immediately allowed to recover the lands for L750: the arrears were therefore only those since the Reduction: *Caen* 8 Dec 1451, p3v°. Subsequently Rabestan passed Grosparmy lands in the *vicomté* of Falaise by *decret*, and it was the resulting auction for the fief du Châtel in Saint-Martin-de-Fontenay in which Fortin became involved. By the accord between them the sum of L1,050 included the principal and repairs 'ou autres mises': *Rouen* 29 May 1462. Nicolas was unable to raise the money, and indeed was already in debt to Fortin in respect of substantial cash loans. These were taken into account when Fortin made his final payments on the fief: *Caen* 24 Apr 1463, p104v°. Guillaume Grosparmy was still in dispute with Fortin in 1466: *Echiquier* 1466 p15v°. Nicolas Grosparmy's borrowing in the early 1450s caused him problems a few years later. By the early 1460s he was being pursued for the arrears of a 10 *livres parisis* rent (constituted Paris, July 1454). His creditor was also pressing for repayment of other movable and cash debts: *Rouen* 30 Apr 1463.

⁴²*Rouen* 4 Jun 1462. The settlement appears to have been brokered in the *Echiquier*, the arrangements being referred to an arbitral panel which included the *lieutenant général* of the *bailli* of Rouen and Robert Biote *maître des requêtes*. The archbishop had to resort to the court again to extract the money from Clères, obtaining an order at Easter 1463 that payment should be made within one year. A quittance dated 6 Jun 1464 is inscribed in the margin of the 1461 contract. For Clères's dealings in such cases, see also *Rouen* 21 Sep 1454. There is a notice on his family in *Dictionnaire de biographie française*. Colart de Moy was to become a major figure later in the reign of Louis XI, and *bailli* of Rouen 1483-99: GR18929;

behaviour was not without risk, of course. Clères certainly became involved in further litigation as a result of his commitments.

The complexity of responses to particular situations make it difficult to generalise about noble indebtedness. Juggling revenues and obligations was a way of life for aristocrats. It is rare to have enough information to show how far debt could dissolve the landed position of a Norman lord, but a series of contracts from the 1450s testify to the acute difficulties faced by the Frétel family of the Caux. The deepest traceable root of their problems is debt incurred by Guillaume Frétel in the 1430s. In November 1436 he was in Paris, a *demeurant* minor recently having come of age and crossed the frontier to fight for Charles VII. He constituted L12 of rent to Robert de Montmirail seigneur de Vieuxmesnil. By the early 1450s, after the recovery of Frétel's Norman lands, Montmirail was trying to secure payment of nineteen years of arrears. In May 1454, Frétel forestalled impending constraints by ceding him a fief in the *vicomté* of Montivilliers and other properties.⁴³

Frétel had many other creditors. In 1451 he was negotiating with Jacques de Bresmes *écuyer* seigneur de Villiers. In 1457 Frétel owed a total of L150 in rents to Jacques's kinsman Jean de Bresmes of Rouen, together with substantial arrears, and Jean had begun the process of auctioning two Frétel fiefs in settlement. Frétel had asked for time to find the cash to redeem the rents, and his creditor proved flexible 'pour honneur et reverence de aucuns notables et grans seigneurs qui en faveur dudit Fretel luy en avoient ... parle'. A new agreement was reached at Rouen in July 1457, but already by the following spring Frétel was seeking its amendment and deploying anew the influence of his friends. In April 1458 he agreed that by Michaelmas next he would pay 700 *écus* for the principal and 500 *écus* for arrears and expenses.⁴⁴ In September, Frétel met this crippling sum through the sale of Roys. He had to satisfy the purchaser that the seigneurie

Potter 1993 p46-47. For a comparable intervention in the affairs of Robert d'Estouteville and Marie de Sainte-Beuve, see appendix 3 under Georges Havart.

⁴³Rouen 17 May 1454: Frétel acknowledged 'le plaisir qui en la necessite qu'il estoit lui avoit este fait par ledit de Montmirel lors de la vendue de ladite rente'. On Montmirail, a clerk in the *Chambre des Comptes*, see Dupont-Ferrier 1930, appendix 3 n°108. He was ceded the *fief de chevalier* of Epouville and all Frétel owned in the parishes of Epouville and Magneglise. In exchange the rent and arrears were quit, and Montmirail paid a cash sum of L200. This values the properties by *prix du roi* at around L524, and on the confirmation of the settlement at the Châtelet on 28 May 1457, Frétel guaranteed title up to L518, an interesting and unusual control-test of the reality of the relationship of *prix du roi* to value. Frétel was certainly ceding other rights and dues to Montmirail. In 1462 he was drawing over L55 on the revenues of a *fieffe-ferme* held by Frétel's daughter in the *vicomté* of Rouen: DLN/17 p269.

⁴⁴Rouen 14 Mar 1451, 11 Apr 1458. The agreement of 5 Jul 1457 is known only from references to it in the 1458 accord (the *tabellionage* register for 1457 is lost).

would not be encumbered with assignations. The transport refers to the Bresmes charges and to numerous other obligations so assigned: Frétel committed himself to discharge all but one.⁴⁵

Frétel's affairs were under the eyes of significant players in the Norman financial scene, including major royal fiscal officers – perhaps the *amis* encountered by Bresmes. His creditors included the financier Jean de la Perreuse, and several other bourgeois and nobles of Rouen, the le Danois and des Essars families amongst them. The would-be purchaser of Roys was^a Rouen canon Jean de Gouvis, archdeacon of Bayeux and vicar-general of cardinal d'Estouteville, a notable dealer on the Rouen rent market.⁴⁶ Norman *contrôleur général* Hugues Aubert witnessed a settlement with Colin le Roux in 1460. Rouen *changeur* Guillaume Restaut and the *receveur des aides* at Falaise Pierre des Hayes were two of the four men who by *procuracion inrevocable* would receive the surplus proceeds of the sale of Roys after Bresmes had been paid off. Des Hayes also witnessed the final agreement with Bresmes, and Frétel's regularisation (a day earlier) of his succession.⁴⁷

By this act Guillaume recognised his daughter Marguerite as his heir and transferred property to her husband, Mathurin Brachet. In this way Frétel's financial burdens were shared with his son-in-law, and other traces of their efforts to disencumber themselves survive. Deals with members of the Saint-Ouen and des Essars families were reached and substantial creditor Colin le Roux was appeased by the cession of the Parc de Mellemont. He had already passed much of the manor by *decret* and Brachet had paid off another debt of L260. His financial relationship with Frétel was not incidental: he paid L100 cash and quit obligations dating from 1437 in return for the Parc, was a *rentier* on the seigneurie of Roys, and Frétel was still raising money from him in May and November 1460.⁴⁸

⁴⁵Rouen 24 Sep 1458. The contract includes a *vidimus* (Tours, 12 Sep 1458) of the 11 Apr letters and a full *denombrement* of the seigneurie. The purchase price was L1,980 (and L20 *pour vin*).

⁴⁶He was involved, for example, in brokering certain of the debts of Roger de Hellande *chevalier* in the early 1450s: Rouen 24 Jul 1458. He also advanced sums to Isabel de Tournay to allow her to settle a debt owed to Frétel.

⁴⁷On Gouvis and des Hayes see appendix 3. For the Restaut family, Frondeville 1958.

⁴⁸Rouen 10 Apr 1458, Frétel's recognition of his daughter. Rouen 16 Apr 1460, accord with Philippe de Saint-Ouen *écuyer*, over the restitution of his sister's dowry. Rouen 17 Apr 1460, Frétel's redemption from Richard des Essars seigneur de Canteleu of rents dating from 1452: des Essars had been pasturing beasts on and taking stone from Frétel's lands *gratis*, which probably shows the kind of concessions Frétel was having to make pending even amicable settlements. Le Roux/Frétel contracts: Rouen 11 Apr 1458, 30 Jun 1460, 12 and 13 Nov 1460. Le Roux is presumed kin to Jean le Roux seigneur de Miromesnil, on whom see appendix 3. Nicolas (Colin) le Roux was a creditor of other noblemen including Guillaume de Mello *écuyer* seigneur de Blaigny and Condé-sur-Rille: Rouen 14 Nov 1460.

Frétel's need for cash at this time is also evidenced by further dealings with Gouvis: jointly with his brother he constituted the very large rent of L210 in August 1460. Subsequently this rent became entangled with the fate of the seigneurie of Roys, the sale of which Richard de Courcy seigneur du Plessis had attempted to reverse by *marchie de bourse et lignage*. His wife Jeanne de Lyon was Frétel's 'prouchaine parente', and the latter's brother initially co-operated with them. Subsequently a dispute arose between the cousins, and the Frétel settled in 1462 by abandoning all their remaining rights in the fief to the couple. Almost certainly as *quid pro quo* for this concession, Courcy purchased the 1460 rent from Gouvis for 1,400 *écus*, ceding Frétel new and more generous terms for repayment.⁴⁹

Finding a particular family or one member of it settling debts or other claims in the *tabellionage* tells one little about their overall position. Even where it is clear that a case over debt or land was going against a landholder the proportion of his or her assets in jeopardy was not necessarily significant. The sums involved in the cases cited here were rarely huge. What they show is the difficulties Upper Norman seigneurs were having in finding the cash to settle what were sometimes relatively minor claims. The Poissy, for instance, were quite well connected, kin to the Crespin and in royal service under Flocquet. They benefitted from the constant flux of inheritance and *partage* in the aristocratic kinship networks in which they were inscribed.⁵⁰

In this they were like Frétel, whose own connections were not negligible: he obtained at least one royal grant after the Reduction, and in the 1460s was in the service of the Estouteville as captain of their Cauchois base, Valmont. He kept a landed stake in Norman society, withholding his maternal seigneurie of Gerponville from his cessions to his daughter and son-in-law.⁵¹ He staved

⁴⁹Rouen 29 Aug 1460. The Courcy had been the only *rentiers* upon Roys that Frétel had not been committed to discharge in the sale of the fief to Gouvis. The kinship between Jeanne and Frétel ran through his mother. After disagreements with Frétel's brother (and namesake), Courcy argued that Frétel had not launched his own *clameur* within the conventional time limit of a year and a day, nor furnished the required funds, nor ever intended to retain the fief 'en leur main et ligne' but had engineered the repurchase 'pour le mettre en autrui main et hors de leur ligne'. Although these charges were denied, with a suit was pending at the assises of Pont-Audemer, Frétel abandoned the fief 'pour paix et amour nourrir entreulx'. The link between this and Courcy's purchase from Gouvis of the L210 rent was not explicit, but both deals took place on the same day: Rouen 29 Jul 1462. Courcy certainly assumed other of Frétel's obligations to Bresmes, as can be seen by his recognition of a debt of 150 *écus*, arrears of a rent of 96 *écus*, presumably assigned to Bresmes on the seigneurie. Courcy also acknowledged that he was bound by Frétel's promise of the right of presentation to any one of the next three benefices to fall vacant in the seigneurie: Rouen 23 Jul 1463.

⁵⁰Stuart Carroll of York University has pointed out to me the relevance of this to Wood's point that *roturier* and *arriviste* seigneurs who (by definition) would not be so deeply inscribed in such networks, were much more likely to find financial and legal problems terminal: Wood 1980 p155.

⁵¹Rouen 19 Jun 1456. ADSM 33 J 794, *Comptes d'Estouteville*, 1465. Gerponville came to him from his mother, Isabel de Mellemont. Her father Guy de Mellemont *écuyer* had left another daughter, Marguerite, with whose issue Guillaume was in dispute in the 1450s. One of Frétel's two cousins and co-

off the most serious consequences of the dilapidation of the province's economy, not least by co-operating with his son-in-law, former *routier* captain Mathurin Brachet. He was a well-connected man, Charles VII's *sénéchal* of Limousin, kinsman of marshal de Xaintraille, his lieutenant in his *ordonnance* company and in the captaincy of Falaise. Such a solution was not unique.

Solutions: the Crespin inheritance

The cashflow problems of lesser noble families like the Frétel can be paralleled at a slightly more exalted social rank. The last male members of the elder Crespin line, faced with a disastrous attenuation of their resources and heavy debt burdens, also turned to a courtier officer who was married to the eldest female heir of the family. Pierre de Brézé was a considerably bigger fish than Brachet, but the Crespin lands were not inconsiderable. They greatly augmented the base that Pierre de Brézé was building in the province. He had acquired title in the county of Maulévrier (the lands of which were scattered in the Seine valley below Rouen) from the duke of Savoy in the 1440s, but this was probably never going to be the centrepiece of his Upper Norman complex. We can trace through the 1450s a consistent emphasis on his wife's inheritance. Brézé's concern for its coherent territorial reconstruction is evidenced in a way wholly lacking for Maulévrier or his Lower Norman maternal inheritance.

The key document on the Crespin lands in the 1450s is the transport by Antoine Crespin bishop of Laon of virtually the entire inheritance to Pierre de Brézé, husband of his sister Jeanne. It purports to be a straightforward sale, with the price adjusted for debts, both those already taken up by Brézé and those still to be met out of the estate. Antoine was the vendor by virtue of being the last male of the elder Crespin line. His brother Jean had died without issue and, as a clerk, so would Antoine. There were two sisters, Jeanne and her younger sibling Jacqueline, wife of Robert de Flocques.⁵²

heirs, Marguerite de Tournay, had fled to England and suffered forfeiture: the royal grant that Frétel had obtained was of her claims. The resultant fact that Frétel was simultaneously *heritier aîné* (in the right of his mother), and *heritier puîné* (in the right of the younger sister) complicated the process of effecting *partage*. The parties came before the 1454 *Echiquier*, and a suit was pending before the *commissaires du roi sur le fait des confiscations* in the summer of 1456 when *partage* was effected. This was not a final settlement, as in April 1460 Frétel accorded with Isabel over the redemption of certain rents owed on her share. Gerponville itself seemingly remained to her for a time: *Rouen* 16 Apr 1460, *Echiquier* 1454 p47v^o.

⁵²*Rouen* 2 Jun 1454. There was also a bastard brother in the person of Pierre Crespin, the so-called marquis de Mauny, on whom see appendix 3. Some provision was to be made for him in the ongoing settlement of the lands by Jean, Antoine and later Jeanne, but the compulsion involved in this was customary in the cultural rather than the legal sense.

The first question was why Antoine was moving to a sale within a year or two of his brother's death. He could have sought to maintain and enjoy the lands himself. Alternatively he might have allowed the formal procedures of Norman inheritance law to take effect. In his absence this would have involved the *seisin* (and enjoyment) of the lands passing to Jeanne and Brézé as the eldest heirs, pending constitution of lots. Jacqueline and Flocquet as youngest co-heirs would then have taken *saisine verbal* to draw up the lots.⁵³

Antoine was at some pains to explain the general considerations which had driven him to opt for a transport of the kind effected in 1454. After the death of his brother the bishop had faced 'grandes debtes mobilières, Rentes a Heritage et arreraiges d'icelles tant du temps et fait d'icelui feu Jehan Crespin que de ses predecesseurs.' Pierre de Brézé had assisted the bishop in his necessity to the tune of L9,000.

The bishop was keen to specify some of the calls on the inheritance. It was, he said, heavily burdened with dower. Those he mentioned were that of Marguerite d'Amboise, widow of Jean Crespin and that of Jeanne d'Aunou, widow of their uncle Jacques d'Auvrechier. Jeanne was in dispute with the brothers before the *Echiquier*. In addition he pointed out that his sister Jacqueline had never been granted any *partage* or dower rights by Jean Crespin or their mother. Now he was under pressure from her husband Flocquet to settle.⁵⁴

The combination of dower obligations, both those agreed long ago and those not yet formalised, together with the debts left by his predecessors, could not be met from within the resources of the inheritance:

De la satisfaction ou deffence desquelles demandes et charges qui se montent au tant en environ que la valleur desdites terres seigneuries et revenues subceder a mondit sgr de Laon il n'eust peu ne pouvoit bonnement fournir et mesmement qu'il fust peu encourir en grans arrerages que chacun an feussent peu escheoir desdites rentes dont se feust peu advenir atrait de temps la perdicion desdites terres seigneuries et revenues.

The risk was of piecemeal erosion of the inheritance through the passage of *decrets* by creditors of all kinds. One consequence of such attrition was that rents and obligations assigned 'generalement' on all his possessions would have to be met from shrunken resources, thereby thrusting him into a

⁵³Dower lands became subject to *partage* only on the death of the dowager. If the elder heirs obstructed *seisin verbal* or delayed choosing one of the lots, the younger might convoke them before the relevant royal judge to enforce their rights.

⁵⁴*Echiquier* 1454 p40 (Jeanne d'Aunou's suit against the brothers). Antoine chose not to refer to the dower of Jeanne Crespin. She had been given the three 'Villes-Saint-Denis' (Fleury, Morgny and Tilly in the Vexin) by the late Jean.

vicious circle of cashflow problems and foreclosure litigation. The bishop's predicament must have been familiar to Norman lords in this conjuncture.

Brézé was approached with a proposal to take possession of the lands with the charge of quitting them of the obligations upon them. Antoine explored some of these charges in more detail. Some obligations Brézé had already acquired in the course of extending financial help to Jean and Antoine and these were itemized. Other obligations (mainly arising out of the testament of Jean Crespin) were listed. Two previous alienations by Jean Crespin, one to the marquis de Mauny, the other to the religious of Bourg-Achard, were excluded from the transport. Other than these, Brézé was picking up the entire inheritance for the gross sum in quittance of past payments and assumption of new obligations of at least L18,800. This evaluation is a low estimate: it excludes two unspecified cash debts and (even more significantly) those in plate and jewels for which the *sénéchal* was obligating himself.

The transport may not be quite as straightforward as first appears. The document's emphasis on the bishop being the prime mover in the affair might well be purely conventional. The fact that Brézé had been buying up the Crespin debts is not necessarily open to only the most charitable interpretation, and the Flocques were quick to point out that he had been involved in this for at least a year. A Flocques-Brézé accord of July 1454 states that 'nagueres et puis ung an en ca Reverend Pere en Dieu Antoine Crespin ... avoit transportees en somme d'eschange ... audit monsieur le Conte a la charge de certaines rentes a heritages d'icelles qui deues estoient ... lesquelles rentes mondit sieur le Conte avoit acquises de ceulx ausquelles elles (appartennoient) tant paravant ledit transport que depuis.'⁵⁵ Nothing suspicious in this, save that according to the Flocques, their offers to assume their share of the debts in return for a settlement of Jacqueline's dower claims had always been declined.

Antoine's enumeration of his difficulties may have been required by the need to strengthen the legal viability of the transport against future challenge. It seems likely that such an eventuality was anticipated not only from the ranks of Crespin's debtors. Extremely puzzling is the total absence of Jeanne Crespin from the terms of the June transport. Curiously, she mounted a *clameur de marchie de bourse et lignage* against her husband before the *bailli* of Rouen within a month or two.⁵⁶ So both of Antoine's sisters and heirs may have been frozen out of the process.

⁵⁵Rouen 10 Jul 1454.

⁵⁶In Dec 1454 reference was made to this *clameur* in one of a series of accords between Flocquet and Brézé: Rouen 8 Dec 1454. The Flocques were also requiring in this accord that Jeanne ratify the July accord between themselves and Brézé, with the implication that the count and countess had already been at loggerheads by then. The first hearing of the suit by the lieutenant of the *bailli* is said to date from after the July accord, and other hearings had been deferred since. If this is a genuine breach between Brézé and

Whatever Brézé's real aims were, assumption of the entire inheritance was not amongst them. The clearest reason for excluding this is that one of the terms of the sale was the settlement of the dispute over Jacqueline's dower. Neither the bishop nor his brother had been willing to accord their sister her *droit de partage en mariage* 'plainement'. Their grounds were that on the occasion of the marriage she had been explicitly excluded from right of succession, and that a sufficient portion had been granted to her (from their mother's inheritance).⁵⁷ It is unclear whether the resulting lawsuit had been commenced before Jean's death, but hearings had been continually deferred during the process of negotiations between the parties. It is conceivable that the *clameur de marchie* which Jeanne was engaged in against her husband was a now cryptic manoeuvre directed against the claims of the younger sister, for the progress of the suit between husband and wife seems to have been bound up with the suits launched by the Flocques.

Brézé did indeed move quickly to settle with the Flocques. An initial accord between them and the *grand sénéchal* was struck in July 1454. It made no reference to Jeanne. The Flocques were not accorded all that they had asked for, and the settlement was certainly far short of a half share. The five seigneuries they received were at least quit of all charges. In December 1454 the Flocques extracted a further *partage*, for which they contributed L2,000 as their share of the Crespin debts. They received more lands, including the seigneurie of Auvrechier (Flocquet being much interested in the appurtenanced *maréchaussée héréditaire* of Normandy). They were also to

his wife (rather than a further procedural manoeuvre), it would have one further significant consequence: Jeanne's prospective rights after Brézé's death would reduce to a half share in Brézé's *conquêts* or acquisitions. Such speculation should not be taken too far. In the negotiations between Jeanne and her son Jacques in 1465, Jeanne was clearly regarded as enjoying Mauny and the rest of her patrimonial inheritance in her own right.

⁵⁷*Rouen* 10 Jul 1454: 'puis que ladite dame Jacqueline avoit este mariee et que don lui avoit este par son aieulle par mere ladite mere presente oudit traictie ou au pais et en l'obbeissance ou estoit ladite demoiselle et de faire consentement ou premier mariage dicelle demoiselle sans lui avoit este reserve aucun droit de succession elle ne devoit avoir droit de partaige en mariage et en estoit de tout deboutee par la coustume du pais de Normandie'. Under the Norman dotal regime Jacqueline's exclusion did not have to be express in order to be complete: it was implicit in her marriage. The brothers were cleaving to the fact that custom imposed no obligation on parents to endow their daughters beyond a 'chapel de roses'. It did impose such an obligation on brothers, if the sister married after the decease of the parents: she could then demand a settlement sufficient to avoid a disparaging match. There is also an allusion to the Flocques and Jacqueline having been in the English obedience at the time of the marriage (though this is at odds with a biographer's belief that Flocquet had never been in the Lancastrian obedience and was in French service by 1426: Plaissé 1984 p36-38). The Crespin case may be summarised thus: because their mother had been present at the marriage of their youngest sister, and because her portion had then been set at what her grandmother had granted her, the brothers had no obligation under the normal dotal custom to augment her portion now. And because Flocques and Jacqueline had been in Rouen in 1429 no such obligation might be claimed on any other grounds (i.e. Compiègne). For all its coherence, this was no more than a bargaining position.

get Jeanne's dower portion from her brothers, the Villes-Saint-Denis. This alone indicates that Jeanne was now on board, and indeed the agreement was conditional upon her ratification.⁵⁸

Without a firm valuation of the worth of the properties being conceded we are on soft ground in assessing what advantages may have accrued to Brézé here. While it is impossible to know whether it is attributable to his anomalous position in these negotiations, it is probable that Jacqueline's portion amounted to less than half, and possibly much less, of the whole. One process which appears to have been completely sidestepped was the constitution of lots by Jacqueline as the younger heiress. Thus, even if Jacqueline's share shrank because of the indebtedness passed on with the inheritance, it was Brézé who managed the disposition of the lands.⁵⁹

The consolidation of this Upper Norman complex should be seen against the background of other dealings not concerned with the Crespin lands. Unfortunately we have little evidence relating to Maulévrier, perhaps because much of the work was done in the county itself rather than at Rouen. There is slight trace of the activity of Brézé's officers in resuming property through *decret* and *marchie de bourse et seigneurie*.⁶⁰ Consolidation may not have been very profitable: the county was not a compact territorial entity and its various enclaves had all been exposed to the rising of the Cauchois commons and to brigandage out of the forests thereafter.

We do have one overall assessment of Brézé's acquisitiveness in the 1450s. A document of 1465 lists Brézé's *conquêts*, and gives their net annual value. The estimates are suspiciously rounded, but are plausible representations of annual revenues averaged over several years. They were made in the course of the negotiations over Jeanne Crespin's dower. Brézé's Angevin inheritance was valued at L1,000 of annual revenue. The annual worth of the seigneurie of Nogent-le-Roi (located just over the Norman border in the *bailliage* of Chartres) was estimated at L500. Jeanne accepted a valuation of L1,040 for the revenue of the county of Maulévrier. The document

⁵⁸Rouen 5 Oct 1462 indicates however that by then the Villes-Saint-Denis were still held by or had returned to Jeanne.

⁵⁹We can follow Brézé's efforts to clear the inheritance of the encumbrances of debt through the 1450s. In 1454 he redeemed L100 of rent of the obligation of Guillaume Crespin to Notre Dame d'Ecouis for L700. This was a highly preferential rate, accepted by the clergy 'pour les bons plaisirs et courtoisies quilz confessent leur avoir este faiz par led monseigneur le conte ...': Rouen 20 Jun 1454. More substantial and problematical were debts owed to Louis de Cormeilles *vicomte de l'eau* at Rouen. These had their origin in Jean Crespin's own attempts to reconstruct his inheritance. Crespin had repurchased the fief of Bellebeuf by *marchie de bourse* for 1,000 *écus*. He borrowed in order to pay half immediately, and two close associates stood surety for him in a rent created to meet the rest. The details are known from Brézé's assumption of this debt as his own: Rouen 25 Jun 1452, and also 18 Dec 1451, 24 May 1452, 24 Sep 1461.

⁶⁰Rouen 16 Dec 1451.

focuses on the Brézé estate in Normandy, France and Anjou. It excludes the Crespin inheritance, Brézé's royal gifts in Périgord and Limousin, and the Lancastrian grant of Jersey and Guernsey.⁶¹

Global calculations of landed income are not easy to make for Brézé. The Norman and Chartrain lands were probably appreciating in value strongly throughout the period. The conventional Norman ratio of annual revenue to purchase price (the *prix du roi*) was one to ten. On this basis the Crespin inheritance had been valued at something of the order of L2,000 of revenue by the parties to the 1454 contract. The Villes-Saint-Denis, (excluded from both the bishop's transport and the 1462 list as Jeanne Crespin's portion from her brothers) were valued at L600 of revenue in 1462.⁶² The Cotentin inheritance of Clemence Carbonnel, Brézé's mother, had been alienated in 1456, when it was valued at 800 *écus* of rent, or L1,200. Already by the mid-1450s the couple's landed resources in Normandy alone surely exceeded L5,000 per year. This tentative figure indicates how impressive Brézé's landed resources were becoming. It excludes extremely valuable lands outside the province, notably Anet, Montchauvet and Breval on the Norman-Chartrain border. Brézé was still in the process of adding significantly to this assemblage by purchase.

Among these acquisitions was one which illustrates some points about the opportunities for land acquisition in post-Reduction Normandy. The fief of Touberville was a valuable property, with a troubled history: encumbered with dower and other debt, it had been dismembered among several co-heirs of the Tourneville family. In 1456 Regnault de Pommereul transported to Brézé the rights he had gained by *partage* in the fief. The *grand sénéchal* met his debts and paid him 650 *écus* cash. In total this agreement valued Pommereul's third share at well over L2,000. A few months later Brézé picked up another third share from Guillaume des Hayes *écuyer* seigneur du Bosc-Guerould, who had himself bought it from Charles de Courcy and his wife Marie de Tourneville in November 1452. The fief was vulnerable to a predator because its possessors were split by succession wrangles and the fief was burdened with debt and dower calls.⁶³

⁶¹*Rouen* 19 Aug 1465. Consideration is given to the totality of Brézé lands as they existed in the 1470s and 1480s in Douet d'Arcq 1848.

⁶²*Rouen* 5 Oct 1462, sale of the Villes-Saint-Denis to the Patriarch of Jerusalem Louis d'Harcourt bishop of Bayeux. The sum advanced by the bishop was 4,000 *écus*, and the sum in which Brézé was compensating his wife was a rent of L300, with more seemingly in the offing. Although the sale was likely a disguised credit transaction with the lands as security, in the event they remained to the Patriarch, and were bequeathed by him to his nephew Louis Havart.

⁶³On the debts of the Pommereul and the Courcy families, see *Rouen* 17 May 1451, 16 Jun 1451, 16 Dec 1451. *Rouen* 31 Oct 1456, Pommereul transport, which shows that 550 *écus* of Pommereul's debts arose through his need to make raquittal payments on the fief of Moulin-la-Capelle which he had alienated to Guillaume de Mailloc. He was therefore another instance of a lord using conditional transports of land as a credit mechanism. The arrears on two of the rents Brézé was offering to clear are not enumerated.

Brézé enjoyed large revenues in the form of wages of royal office, a royal pension, gifts and other perquisites. He enjoyed a pension throughout the last decade of the life of the old king of L6,000. The captaincy of Rouen was 'de bonne et grant valeur' to his son when it was transferred to constable de Saint-Pol in December 1466. His captaincy of Touques brought in the modest wage of L100 a year, but certainly much more in *guet*. He drew from the revenues of the *grenier* of Louviers between 1444 and 1451 the sum of L10,206, and obtained in 1454 a grant extending his enjoyment of these revenues even though he was no longer maintaining a garrison there.⁶⁴ He seems to have drawn close to L1,000 a year from this source.

The *état* of his *ordonnance* company brought in L1,200 a year (equal to his wages as *grand sénéchal*). In royal pension and Norman office alone he was worth well over L9,000 a year in the mid-1450s. This should not be taken as a maximum or exaggerated figure of his regular income: captaincies were often worth more in *guet* payments than in royal wages, and these would have been supplemented by presents and pensions from urban and religious communities. He had, for instance, a L1,000 pension from the townsfolk of Rouen. He was also pleased to receive occasional windfalls such as the L9,000 he accepted in 1460 in recompense for expenses on royal service and in favour of the marriage of his daughter Jeanne.⁶⁵

With access to this kind of ready cash, Brézé was able to play property and finance markets to advantage. He was able to acquire rents, with provisions for them to be transformed into or assigned on noble fiefs in areas of his choice. How this worked is shown by an agreement with the important Breton ducal courtier Henri de Villeblanche. Brézé exchanged his own Breton seigneurie of Broon for Villeblanche's fief of Maunusson. He then transported Maunusson to Villeblanche's younger brother Jean, in return for L600 of rent. This large rent was to be drawn on

Rouen 18 Jan 1456/57, the des Hayes transport, valued this portion at 500 *écus*, but there was an incumbent tenant of the lands (Guillaume Hardelay, one of Pommereul's creditors) and again, large feudal obligations unmet since the original alienation. As to the value of the fief, in 1462 Brézé assigned L300 of rent on the fief for his wife: *Rouen* 5 Oct 1462. There is reason to think this a minimal valuation. The combined purchase prices would indicate an annual worth if reckoned by the *prix du roi* of about L600, though this should be regarded as a maximum.

⁶⁴BN PO 509 *Brezé* 11513 n°53, 14, 15 and 17; n°18, 29; n°13 (Brézé's promise of 25 Nov 1450 to acquit Jean Faroul *grenétier* of Louviers both in *gabelle* and *droit marchand* for this sum). The grant (n°19, *vidimus* of royal letters dated Montbazou 12 Apr 1452) confirms him in the *grenier*'s profits of justice and in the power to appoint officers. He was exempted from even having to account to the *receveur général* for these revenues. He was subsequently able to provision his hôtel at Rouen without the charge of *gabelle* (e.g. n°30, 4 *septiers* taken in 1456). Guillaume Faroul was the *grenétier* by 1457 (n°37), when Brézé was drawing L981 from the *grenier* for the year beginning November 1456. After his 1461-62 disgrace came to an end, probably in 1464, Louis XI restored the *grenier* to Brézé, and Jeanne Crespin drew L889 from it in the first six months of 1465 (n°45, quittance, September 1465).

⁶⁵BN PO 509 *Brezé* 11513 n°10, 11, 16, 31; n°20, 23, 32; n°24. AC Rouen A7, *Registre des délibérations du conseil municipal* p 74v°.

all of Jean's seigneuries, but he committed himself to finding within three years Norman noble fiefs on which it could be assigned.⁶⁶

If Brézé was a carpet-bagger, success obscured the fact. He was reaping the rewards of service performed as a great man in royal government in the 1440s, architect of the great military *Ordonnance*, a major captain on the Chartrain and Vexin frontier. He had briefly held a royal grant of the debatable county of Evreux, and though this did not last he was able to put down strong roots in Normandy, through his wife, his offices and his clientèle.

Compiègne, social peace and the political establishment

The key to reconstruction was money, for 'it was frequently the lack of such capital which militated against a return to normality'.⁶⁷ The Rouen rent market opens an important window into the efforts of Norman landholders to raise funds, but it was not alone in affording access to cash or credit. Through kin and clientage networks lords also sought assistance. Because such private arrangements might well pass subsequently through the pens of the notaries as they were regularised as rents or cash debts, the rent market should not be under-estimated as a source of information on those clientèles. An additional fount of cash was office – royal, municipal, seigneurial.

Obligation dating from prior to the English occupation, the need to raise cash for physical reconstruction or lawsuits, or family settlements, marriage gifts and dower: all might give rise to charges on property. Some arose naturally in what one might term the life-cycle of the noble lineage. Others were the products of, or exacerbated by, the circumstances created by war, occupation and Reduction. In the context of high debt burdens and depressed revenues, it hardly mattered how such a charge originated. As an uprooted or exhausted aristocracy struggled to recover, estates were rationalised, parts of inheritances alienated.

Even if *decret* was corroding his possessions however, an indebted lord like Frétel was in no sense on the margins of his society and his problems were unlikely to be terminal for his social standing. The word crisis should be eschewed in discussion of the difficulties of Norman noble

⁶⁶Rouen Jul 13, 14 1451. Similarly, when Brézé acquired 100 *écus* of rent from the *procureurs* of the Berrichon seigneur Olivier de Frestant, he specified that they could be redeemed only in exchange for noble fiefs in Anjou of the same value: Rouen 15 Nov 1451.

⁶⁷Allmand 1983 p292.

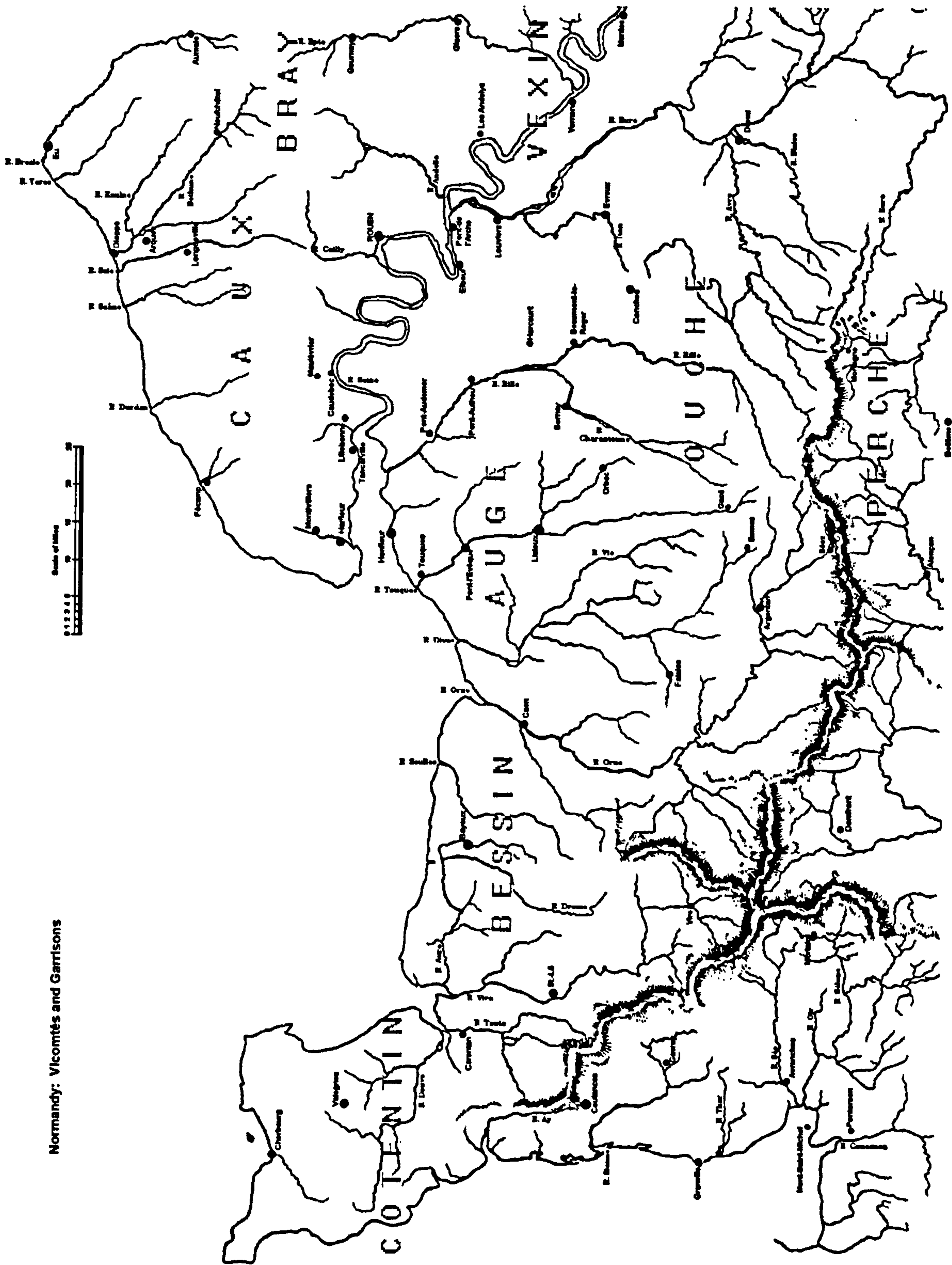
lineages in this period. Many lords had difficulty in meeting pressing obligations, but were themselves often owed substantial sums. The Rouville are a case in point: in dispute with their neighbours, riven internally, selling property and raising money on the Rouen rent market, they were under severe pressure from their own creditors. But they were dealing in *decrets*, and squeezing large sums from their own debtors. Debt was a way of life for the aristocrat; the anticipation of revenues a banal feature of seigneurial management.⁶⁸ This is why the term *credit* is fundamental; it conflated the capacity of a lord to function on an everyday basis with more generalised and political elements of a noble's standing among peers.

If a lord could hold on to his property over the twenty years after 1450, the recovery of the Norman economy would improve his material position significantly.⁶⁹ This is not to deny that for either the Poissy or the Frétel and Brachet, the erosion of their assets which indebtedness led to was other than a serious and long term matter. It delayed material recovery, weakened a lord's position in contests over title where expenses were a consideration, and thus forced earlier and less favourable settlements than those of choice. Dilapidation, Compiègne, and customary law combined to discriminate in the way they distributed opportunity.

⁶⁸James Wood's sceptical review of the historiographical uses to which an eternally declining nobility has been put are salutary: Wood 1980 p7-8, 16.

⁶⁹Contamine 1985 p5.

Normandy: Vicomtés and Garrisons



FORMAL AND INFORMAL STRUCTURES IN CHARLES VII's PROVINCIAL ESTABLISHMENT

Beginning in conquest, Charles VII's provincial establishment preserved some of the campaign's exigences and accidents. Tension rapidly developed over the province's relationship with Paris, and over the clash of compositions and Compiègne. The issues related to property rights and provincial institutions have been penetratingly discussed, especially by Allmand.¹ Much of this chapter is concerned with Normandy's institutional framework, but its primary focus is elsewhere. The functioning of royal institutions cannot be properly understood without reference to the power and patronage of senior figures both within their ranks and with no formal position at all.

It was here that the primary issues of social peace and pacification – and these two are not identical – were resolved.

Charles VII was not entirely unconstrained in his patronage. To a small extent, local situations were frozen into the compositions of towns, but of course, the king's servants had made many other promises of a less formal nature as they reduced Normandy piecemeal. While the information contained in surviving royal confirmations is imprecise, a picture can be drawn of the kinds of men to whom the great Valois *chefs de guerre* felt sufficiently grateful to honour promises.

Among those whose services are actually specified in grants, *demeurants* associated with the fall of key towns are numerous. Others come into the wider category of those to whom the king was obliged for services 'au fait de la guerre', men who had distinguished themselves in the attendant campaigning. Others were Valois partisans who had involved themselves in financing or provisioning the royal effort. The lion's share of reward in terms of office and other grants went to men who were already Valois partisans, serving the king through his principal officers, militarily or in other capacities.

The Caroline political establishment had a distinct identity relative to those they were to rule, one forged in the crucible of warfare in northern France and on the fringes of Normandy. Late-rallying *demeurants* resembled Valois partisans of longer standing in profiting by the exchange of service and favour. Without Charles VII's willingness to take these men into his service, his establishment would have remained exogenous to the province. One of the keys to the re-establishment of social peace was indeed that willingness. But the king's success did not depend on an accommodation with *demeurants*, however well connected. Pacification was a police matter:

¹Bossuat 1954, Allmand 1976 and especially 1981.

a question of installing a large garrison, paying for it through acceptable mechanisms, and ensuring that friction with the locally important remained at a politically manageable level.

Prentout drew attention to three negative choices made by the king: he did not put in place a single regent or governor on the English pattern; he did not create a Norman apanage for his heir after the manner of his fourteenth century ancestors; and he was slow to restore the more idiosyncratic of the province's institutions.² These choices bespeak distrust of the Normans, confidence in an ability to hold the province, but above all the large measure of freedom he had in setting out a new dispensation. He enjoyed unparalleled flexibility in the disposal of the patronage he had acquired. Partly this was because of the sheer scale of what Normandy had to offer, even in its dilapidated condition. But it also stemmed from the *cæsura* between local landed society and the institutions of royal authority. Self-consciously local nobilities only gradually re-emerged from the welter of claimants pouring into the province after 1449. These exiles were not entirely atomised, but the bonds that mattered were those forged in the previous generation of warfare, and now set in place by the crown in order to secure the province from its enemies. Coherence would be imposed from above.

The *Echiquier* and its personnel

In Normandy royal justice and administration – distinction between the two would be factitious – worked through four structures. In approximate order of importance these were ordinary, fiscal, maritime and forest justice.³ The three-tier structure of *Echiquier*, *bailliage* and *vicomté* bore efficiently the burdens of ordinary justice, demesne administration and police. The admiralty and the *eaux et forêts* together comprised what would become known as the *Table de marbre*, by analogy with the Parisian jurisdiction of this name. The oldest extra-domanial jurisdiction, forest justice included the commercial exploitation of forest resources and freshwater fisheries. The admiral of France exercised a diffuse, obscure, but important jurisdiction within the Norman ports. Royal fiscality had not yet fully disentangled itself from the cadres of demesne administration, but had already achieved full jurisdictional autonomy. The four were not discrete: the operation of commissions and cumulation of office integrated *bailliage* and *vicomté* with the formally distinct jurisdictions of the *Table de marbre* and the *élections*. The *Echiquier* was the

²Prentout 1925 I, p156ff.

³For the remarks that follow the indispensable starting point is Dupont-Ferrier 1902. See also same author 1930-33; Jassemin 1933; Autrand 1972.

Norman sovereign court, in the sense that there was no appeal from its judgements. The question of whether it would master the other jurisdictions was unresolved in this period.

The *Echiquier*'s sovereignty was circumscribed in various ways: by the *Parlement*'s claim to jurisdiction in *causes de regale* and over *pairies*; by the rights over the demesne of *Chambre des Comptes*, *Trésor* and *Parlement*; and by anomalous privileges such as those of royal commensals and the Paris scholars. The Paris *corps d'état* always remained prepared to assert the primacy of *Parlement*, *Chambre* and *Trésor*. The fact that the *Echiquier* was held only by commission prevented it becoming the focus of particularist resistance: it could not be sure of retaining purview of important cases, properly evolve a permanent staff, an *esprit de corps*, become a focus for career-making. Nonetheless, the principle that cases relating to Norman lands should be dealt with at Rouen was an established one, rooted in sentiment sustainable by rhetorical appeal to the Norman Charter.⁴

This sentiment was a political fact of great importance in the provincial Estates, for whom Parisian oversight never became acceptable. The Estates' fiscal role was what made it an important vehicle of the struggle. In 1450-52 their grants fell far short of royal needs, and they organised to secure the implementation of royal promises made at the fall of Rouen, that Norman customary law would be maintained and the Norman charter observed. In the autumn of 1452 the issue of sovereign institutions at Rouen had been raised. The cathedral chapter co-ordinated with others (including the Rouen and Caen notabilities) for the establishment of a chancery, a *Chambre des Comptes* and a 'Chambre des generaux sur le fait de la justice des aides', together with the re-establishment of the faculty of law at Caen. Charles VII imposed the taxation he required to sustain the *ordonnance* garrison and temporised in the face of these demands. The delegates' self-consciousness and self-confidence were proving more vexatious than useful, and no evidence survives that they were summoned between 1453 and 1457.⁵

Challenges to the restoration of Paris's oversight did not peter out. In 1457 the grant of subsidy was again risibly low, and Laurens de Vieupont baron du Neubourg, principal Estates delegate for the Evreçin nobility, led a deputation to protest against evocations to Paris. The

⁴On the 1450s monopoly of Norman *ressort*, the instance of the Penthievre succession is illuminating. Jean de Brosse's attempt to have the entire Penthievre succession dealt with at Paris was initially successful only because l'Aigle, Escouché and the other Norman lands were in the duchy of Alençon and thus subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the *Parlement*. When the apanage lapsed in 1457-61, the *Echiquier* judged the issue: *Appointements* 1459 p8.

⁵Prentout 1925 I, pp157-68. Allmand 1981 p155-56. Louis d'Estouteville was one of those paid for their attendance on the meeting 'au fait du pais et duchie de Normandie' in 1459: BN PO 1083 d'Estouteville 24901, n°155.

situation was however, about to change. In spring 1458 Charles VII summoned Norman delegates to Paris 'pour la distraction des causes dudit pays et autres débats qui estoient ainsi qui disoient ceulx de icellui pays de Normandie contre la Charte aux Normands'. Henceforth, the crown was to work through the Estates which now became 'ordinaires et periodiques'. In return they would grant realistic levels of subsidy. The king also yielded ground on the jurisdictional issues. He confirmed the Charter and promised that regalian cases and matters relating to the demesne would be dealt with inside the province wherever possible.⁶

However formal the compact, there are pointers to Charles VII's reluctance in the matter. He reserved the right of his *procureur général* to intervene to send regalian and demesne cases to Paris. He voided his concession of real force by maintaining the right of his commensals, princes and those with specific privileges to have cases heard in Paris. It was Louis XI who reduced the scope of such reservations in his response to the requests of the Norman Estates in January 1462: Norman suits were not henceforward to be 'distractes du pays par evocation ne autrement soubz umbre de privileges ne autre occasion'.⁷

The *Echiquier* became the focus of jurisdictional struggles almost despite itself. The decisive shift in the balance between *Echiquier* and *Parlement* was the increasing regularity in the former's sittings, which made it an annual court before it became a standing one.⁸ The battle for judicial, administrative and fiscal autonomy lasted into the sixteenth century and beyond, over which timespan the Paris-Rouen balance bears comparison with the boundaries of competence between *Table de marbre* and *Echiquier*. There can be no doubt that forest jurisdiction had generally been subject to the *Echiquier*, which was routinely attended by the *grand maître's* various lieutenants, and by the *verdiere*.⁹ Similarly, the judgements of the provincial and *bailliage*

⁶Prentout 1925 I p168-69; Allmand 1981 p151ff. *DLN/23* p80 (royal letters of May 1458 mentioning the Paris 'debats'). *Ordonnances XIV* pp462-64; p464-65 is Charles's 1458 confirmation of the Charter.

⁷*DLN/1* p17 contains Charles VII's reservations, and is the root of the importance of the office of Norman *procureur général*, which may have been exercised by the Rouen *procureur du roi* c.1459, but which was certainly held by Guillaume de Cérisey in the early 1460s: appendix 3. Although the Rouen chapter had found a formula under which Caen's University could be recognised, the faculty of law was not restored and in May 1459 Charles VII issued letters of non-prejudice to the University of Paris in respect of his confirmation of the Charter: *Ordonnances XIV* p476. Louis too excepted his commensals: *Echiquier* 1462 p30.

⁸After the preliminary political horse-trading was done by Charles VIII, Louis XII amalgamated it with the court of the *grande sénéchaussée* to produce in 1499 the standing *Echiquier*, which became in 1512 the *Parlement* of Rouen: *Ordonnances XX* p577-58, *XXI* pp215-19.

⁹*Ordonnances II* p408, 1351 confirmation of 1302 edict specified the *Echiquier's* appellate jurisdiction as being over the 'sentences, pronunciations et amendes excessives' of the *maître des eaux et forêts*. There is no post-Reduction trace of a separate chamber of the *Echiquier* for dealing with forest *doléances* from the forest such as referred to in Guillaume de Tancarville's letters when he was *maître enquêteur et reformateur* in the first decade of the century: BN PO 333 *Beuville* 7206, n°29 is typical in referring to an

lieutenants of the admiral had long been within the resort of the *Echiquier*. Notwithstanding the claim to appellate resort of the *maîtres des requêtes* of the *Table de marbre* in the Palais at Paris, the attendance at Rouen of the admiral's lieutenants was obligatory and entered in the court's registers. By the 1470s however, the bastard de Bourbon was successfully renewing a campaign of jurisdictional secession, and refused to appear in person or through nominees in 1474. Rouen only recovered jurisdiction over the admiralty in the early sixteenth century.¹⁰

Extraordinary taxation escaped the *Echiquier*'s net: *élus* were not subject to the court and suits arising out of disputes over extraordinary taxation were only handled within the province by commission. Otherwise appeals went to Paris, until the definitive establishment of a *Cour des Aides* at Rouen. Nonetheless, the administration of extraordinary taxation had concretised into territorial circumscriptions over the first half of the fifteenth century, and after 1450 Normandy emerged naturally as a specific provincial *charge* within which a *général des finances* oversaw the activities of the *élus*. There was in consequence a provincial staff of *receveur général* and *contrôleur général* (and *commis*). It was an important jurisdiction, and not only because fiscality loomed so large in the minds of contemporaries: noble tax exemption brought matters of personal status within the purview of the *élus*. Although they emerged in Normandy in an *ad hoc* manner, either on the basis of *vicomtés*, or actually alongside them, the *élus* were numerous, increasing, and had their own staffs.¹¹

Echiquier des eaues et forets at Rouen. The later medieval Norman forest is not well-studied, but the early fifteenth century forest *coutumier* of Hector de Chartres is published with an explanatory introduction and bibliographical notes: ed. Roquelet 1984.

¹⁰As with the forest, the jurisdictional boundaries between *Echiquier* and admiralty were defined in the fourteenth century: *Ordonnances* II p408. In 1456 the attendance of the admiral's lieutenants in the *bailliages* of Rouen, Caux and Caen is noted, though they are not named: *Echiquier* 1456 p2-6. Bourbon's campaign was a general one, against *Echiquier*, Picard ports, archbishop of Rouen and the count of Eu: Bourel de la Roncière 1899 II p47-48, 439-40. For Rouen's recovery in 1507, see Beaurepaire 1892. The cursory overview of the admiralty given by Lot and Fawtier (1958 p539-44) should be supplemented by reference to Bourel de la Roncière (1899 II p439-444) and to the long series of articles by Darsel. These collect the scattered material on admiralty jurisdiction port by Norman port. His emphasis is largely sixteenth century and later in focus, however: see bibliography for references. Records of a 1450s jurisdictional dispute between the admiral and the archbishop of Rouen as lord of Dieppe are in ADSM G 881, p8ff.

¹¹Vallez 1982. The staff of *élections* and the emergence of the *généralités* are discussed in Dupont-Ferrier 1930. Jacqueton 1891, appendix 1 gives a list of *élections* and towns with *taille* exemptions. The relationship between ordinary and fiscal jurisdiction merits consideration among the roots of Normandy's anomalous position in the seventeenth century as both *pays d'état* and *pays d'élection*. This relationship is discussed, not quite in these terms, by Dupont-Ferrier, *op cit.* p25, 38, 44-46. He took the view that it was the sergeantries which formed the common basis for both. Nonetheless most *élections* corresponded on his own evidence to one or more *vicomtés* and the *élus* were slow to evict *vicomtes* from oversight of extraordinary taxation in many places: Jacqueton lists nine *vicomtés* assessed for the *taille* separately up to at least 1471-72. The *élections* were multiplying, however: for more detail turn to Dupont-Ferrier 1929, and 1930 p57, 65-66. Most *élections* had two *élus*, some three; all had lieutenants, *receveurs* and *contrôleurs*; no coherent series of officers in these posts is likely to be established.

Ordinary royal justice was handled in the five *bailliages* and their dependent *vicomtés*. The *vicomte* or his lieutenants ran ambulatory pleas in the network of sergentries and *châtellenies*, the lowest level of royal justice. The *vicomte* had been overshadowed as a judicial officer by the lieutenants of the *bailli*, but retained significant police functions. They responded to demands for information by higher authorities by empanelling juries of local notables to give the required answers, and they had a formal role in setting sergeants in motion against malefactors or in civil actions. In addition the *vicomte* was the key official for the administration of the demesne: he, his receivers or his lieutenants accounted for its revenues before the *Chambre des Comptes*.¹²

The *baillis* were military figures or commensal royal servants. Their formally extensive duties reduced in practice to those of military and political oversight. The smooth running of the jurisdiction was attended to by a considerable staff headed by lieutenants (*généraux, particuliers* or *commis*) who ran the *bailliage*-level courts, the assises in each *vicomté*. These were the workhorse courts of first instance for disputes between nobles, taking appeals and evocations from the viscomital pleas, from seigneurial pleas and sometimes other assises. Lieutenants of *baillis* were intruded into the running of towns, fiscal matters alongside the *élus*, and matters relating to the forest justice. The lieutenants were the professional backbone of the system, and many had been practising lawyers. They were backed up with a suit of *avocats, procureurs, conseillers* and other officers at sessions of the assises.¹³

From the assises, appeals went to the *Echiquier*, which might choose to hear the case, or might return it to the original assises or to the assises in the *chef-lieu* of the *bailliage*. The uncertain regularity of sessions combined with the very large volume of business to thrust additional significance upon a parallel institution, the court of the *grand sénéchal*. This atavistic Lancastrian re-foundation is relatively obscure, appearing in the legal records mainly as the court of provision in cases pending in the *Echiquier*. A provisional settlement would be adjudged before the *sénéchal*, whose decision would then be reviewed and contested when the principal of the matter came before the *Echiquier* at some later date.¹⁴

Organisationally, the *Echiquier* was unlike the *Parlement*. Practice was probably converging; as at Paris, judges in any given case were drawn from a bench of counsellors clerical

¹²Dupont-Ferrier 1902, p39ff, 183-92, 256, 342-3, 536.

¹³Dupont-Ferrier 1902; personnel of *baillis*, chapter II; lieutenants, p121-44.

¹⁴Floquet 1840 I. Soudet 1929. Beaurepaire 1883. Dupont-Ferrier prints Bedford's re-establishment of the office of *grand sénéchal* for Richard Woodville in *Gallia Regia* IV p252-53, after BN ms fr 26046 n°47.

and lay. Difficult cases would be reserved for discussion amongst a wider group on the bench. Attendance was obligatory upon a broad section of Norman political society: all barons (lay and ecclesiastical), which meant all holders of high justice and the *vicomtes* pertaining to them, all royal *vicomtes*, the *sénéchaux* (temporal judges) of the dioceses, all royal and comital *baillis* and all *verriers*. This made the *Echiquier* an anomalous kind of sovereign court, one in which the higher clergy, the *noblesse seconde* and all substantial royal officers sat as of right and duty. Individuals' adherence to custom was not necessarily scrupulous, but certainly the *Echiquier* was an important event in the calendar of Norman political society. It may be this which accounts for the Norman Estates' attachment to its somewhat ramshackle procedures.¹⁵

The first session under Charles VII was at Michaelmas 1452, the second at Easter 1453, and the court sat in each of the next three years. After the session of 1456 the court sat only once more (in 1459) under Charles VII, a matter of complaint which surfaced in the first Norman estates of Louis XI's reign. The *Echiquier* (it was pointedly requested) should sit once a year, and under Norman judges. Louis did his best, and the court sat in 1462, 1463 and 1464. But once the province was engulfed by the Public Weal, the situation became impossible, and the court sat only twice more in the decade, in 1466 and 1469.¹⁶

If this instances a degree of provincial particularism, the same could be said of Norman attitudes to the *Chambre des Comptes*. After thirty-three years of Lancastrian rule centred on Rouen, dependence of *officiers comptables* on Paris came as an unpleasant novelty. The Estates were quick to voice the imperatives of administrative autonomy, remonstrating that *vicomtes*, *grenôtiers* and receivers 'sont grandement vexez travaillez et endommagez' in being required to go

¹⁵Because defaulters were liable to fines, the registers of the court record who attended, who defaulted, who were given leave to withdraw and who were allowed to excuse themselves. Although attendance lists frequently name identical individuals more than once (for instance by listing a lord under baronies held in different *bailliages*), we can test whether custom matched reality. Attendances varied widely over time. Secular nobles may have become slightly less interested as a group in the generation after the Reduction. They were always markedly less interested than the higher clergy. The barons attending do not always coincide with the lists given by Houard (*Dictionnaire* II sub 'Echiquier'): discrepancies are probably to be accounted for by cumulation of such lordships, and by the clerks' inconsistencies in noting tenure by women and minors. Comparison of attendance lists from 1456, 1462 and 1474 show that the provincial elite secular and clerical was heavily represented. In 1456 three counts (Eu, Tancarville, Maulévrier) and sixteen barons appeared; in 1462 Tancarville and ten barons. In 1474, ten barons and the incumbents of two sees, thirty-five abbeys and fourteen priories, along with three deans of cathedral chapters, three other deans and a *chantre*. In 1453 Jean le Boursier distributed sixty 'chappeaulx de roses vermeilles' to the lords and counsellors attending: BN Clairambault 220 n°78. Researchers in the Rouen *tabellionage* should note that when the *Echiquier* was in session the notarial registers contain more high value transactions and more contracts involving the higher nobility.

¹⁶*Echiquier* 1462 p30-31v°: articles presented to the king by the Norman Estates and registered by the *Echiquier* immediately after Louis's confirmation of the Norman Charter (p24-30). Two meetings a year are specified in Jean II's 1351 recapitulation of Philippe IV's 1302 legislation: *Ordonnances* II p461.

Addendum: note 17. Insert before 'In 1455 the *vicomtes* ...' the following: 'Le Cacheux was of the opinion that the *Chambre des Comptes* was restored at Rouen by this act of 1454, but since it sat by commission the various traces of its sittings that he details are not conclusive: Le Cacheux 1934 p9-13.'

to the *Chambre* to close their accounts. Charles VII was not disposed to resist. In 1454 an *Echiquier des comptes* sat in tandem with the *Echiquier ordinaire*, and thereafter the bench of the court always contained senior *gens des comptes*, notably Jean le Boursier sieur d'Esternay *général des finances* in 1452-59, and Pierre de Refuge *général des aides* in 1453-54.¹⁷

The most important figure on the *Echiquier* bench under Charles VII was undoubtedly the *président*, Louis d'Harcourt. He figured on and may have presided over the Rouen *Grand Conseil*.

Ranking with Dunois, Richemont and Brézé in the front rank of royal servants in Normandy in these years, he was fitted to this position by birth, estate and connection. He was the son of Jean, heir of Harcourt and count of Aumale, who had fallen leading the Norman exiles to catastrophe at Verneuil. His mother Marguerite de Preullay vicomtesse de Dreux had asserted his legitimacy *par promesse de mariage* in the wake of Aumale's death and had a marriage contract to back up the claim. Jean VII d'Harcourt accepted the boy as his legitimate grandson but he was excluded from any portion of the inheritance save the undifferenced arms and the family name. He was legitimated in 1441 and treated from early manhood with pointed generosity as a prince of the church. In 1452 he succeeded his uncle Jean d'Harcourt in the archbishopric of Narbonne. Despite his Languedoc benefices he returned to his roots and a high profile in Norman politics from the Reduction. He was on the royal council which confirmed the Norman Charter in 1458, alongside Bourbon, Foix, Dunois, Richard Olivier de Longueil bishop of Coutances, Brézé, le Boursier, Georges Havart, and others. In January 1460 Pius II translated him to Bayeux and promoted him Patriarch of Jerusalem, which title gave him precedence over all other French ecclesiastics save cardinals and papal legates. He celebrated the mass at Charles VII's funeral.¹⁸

¹⁷*Echiquier* 1454 p2. The letters dated 10 Jan 1454 ordering 'aucuns de nos Conseillers Maitres des Comptes et Clers' to attend the *Echiquier* henceforth expressly to close the accounts of Norman demesne officers are in *Ordonnances* XIV p264. This was stated to be in response to the request of the provincial Estates and in order to dispense Norman officers from having to go to Paris to account. See also *DLN/2* p228 (text of the commission of Esternay and Jean Hardouin *maîtres des comptes* to preside over these proceedings, 18 Apr 1454) and *DLN/10* p63 (*mandements* regarding payments for the *gens des comptes* to attend the 1455 *Echiquier*). In 1455 the *vicomtes* rendered their accounts in Paris: *ADSM Fonds d'Anquin*, C II Liasse 1, n°19. See also Floquet 1840 p239; Allmand 1983 p300-301; Le Pesant 1936 p107-8.

¹⁸His early career in the church had been under the ægis of Jean d'Harcourt archbishop of Narbonne 1436-52 (son of Jean d'Harcourt baron de Montgomery). He was canon, then vicar-general of Narbonne, and bishop of Béziers from 1451. He had held this see for a matter of months when he succeeded to Narbonne. He was his uncle's executor. He defeated Jean de Gaucourt in the election to Bayeux in 1459 and was confirmed by February 1460 (the bourgeois of Rouen made him a present of a gold cup weighing 10 marks 6 ounces on the occasion of his election). No great accumulator of benefices, he acquired in 1457 the Benedictine abbey of Lyre in the diocese of Evreux. He presided over the reception of Cardinal d'Estouteville at Rouen in July 1453. He was one of those brokering the 1453 accord over the rights claimed by the University of Paris in the province, and was a frequent *commissaire* for the Estates. He oversaw the administration of the Alençon lands after their confiscation, the other *commissaires* being Jean le Boursier and Jean Gouel. He sat on the royal council in 1450-52, 1454 and 1458: *Harcourt I*

The Patriarch's presidency of the *Echiquier* in the 1450s was an outgrowth not only of his Norman credit, but also of his background in court and household for, alongside the central *corps d'état* and the upper Norman clergy, this was a standard source of personnel for the bench over which he presided. A *maître des requêtes* of the royal household always sat, capable of hearing or evoking suits involving the commensal servants of the crown. In his 1458 exchanges with the Estates, Charles VII had extended their powers of removal to the *requêtes du Palais* to cases involving princes and others. In the 1450s the king's household lawyer on the bench was either Girard le Boursier or Georges Havart.¹⁹

There was always a strong contingent of counsellors from Paris: the *gens des comptes* who sat have already been touched upon; the list of *parlementaires* who came to Rouen is headed by Guillaume Cotin dean of Paris and Jean Dauvet, respectively *président des enquêtes* and royal *procureur général*. Five others were explicitly qualified *conseillers au Parlement*; Jean le Demoisel, Robert Thibout, Jean de Longueil (also *lieutenant civil* at the Châtelet), Jean Baillet and Jean Henry. We should add a sixth in Guy Burdelot, *conseiller clerc* in 1459.²⁰

Although much of its staff was drawn from *parlementaire* ranks, the court was no simple *grand jours* dispatched into Normandy. Partly this was a question of normal residence, with the king completing the bench in any given year from those already doing him service locally. Some of the *parlementaires* had Norman links notwithstanding their Paris careers, and Norman churchmen of stature always sat. When Richard Olivier de Longueil sat as *conseiller clerc* in 1452 he was still in the Rouen chapter, archdeacon of Eu. He had been *official* of Rouen since 1437, was archbishop Raoul Roussel's vicar-general (and executor of his testament), and aspired to be his successor in 1453. After a disputed election he resorted to Rome, where he was disappointed by the Pope's provision of Guillaume d'Estouteville. He was compensated with the see of Coutances in 1453, and although he did not sit on the *Echiquier* again under Charles VII, continued as a counsellor and diplomatic agent of the king in the later 1450s.²¹

pp430-51, III 320-22; Gaussin 1982 p117; *Dictionnaire ecclésiastique*, sub 'Harcourt' n°3 and 4; GC VI p103, XI p90 (notice on cardinal d'Estouteville archbishop of Rouen), p381; Béziers 1896 I, p71.

¹⁹The Patriarch was qualified *maître des requêtes* at his attendance on the homage of Pierre duke of Brittany in 1450: *Harcourt* III 320-22. *DLN/1* p17. Appendix 3 for notices on Havart and Boursier.

²⁰Appendix 2 lists *Echiquier* officers in the 1450s and 1460s. Biographical notices and references are in appendix 3.

²¹In 1452 distinctions were made in payment of counsellors according to whether the payee was resident in Rouen: Longueil, la Rose, the *général* Jean Fare, and du Valvendrin received smaller sums than their colleagues on this account. Four out of the eleven 1452 counsellors were normally resident in Rouen. Jean le Boursier (who was listed but whose payment was assigned elsewhere) should be added (*DLN/15* p309: payments roll for the *Echiquier*). Louis d'Harcourt was an habitué of the province, having an hôtel

The king drew heavily on the Rouen cathedral canons for his *Echiquier* counsellors. Hector de Coquerel sat in 1453-56: he was canon of Rouen, dean of Lisieux, and Cardinal d'Estouteville's vicar-general and *official* in the 1450s. Another canon, Laurens Surreau, who served in the *Echiquier* of 1453, was of Rouen *noblesse bourgeoise* background. His appearances in the Rouen *tabellionage* show him as a player on the local financial scene; his deals in lands and rents link him with the Dreux-Esneval and the Jencourt. The Parisian Philippe de la Rosel was canon and treasurer of Rouen, archdeacon of the Petit Caux. He had been vicar-general (1440-43) and *official* (1439-43). He was elected vicar-general *in regale* by the chapter on Raoul Roussel's death but like Longueil was disappointed in his expectations of the archbishopric. Uncompromised by a Lancastrian past (as for instance one of the judges of Jeanne d'Arc), he sat on the bench of 1454.

Some men had their own ties to the Patriarch, though their closeness cannot be determined. Roger d'Etampes was canon and dean du Sépulchre in the church of Bayeux, and the bishop's *official* in the 1450s and 1460s. Bessin noble Fouques de Bailleul – *conseiller lai* in 1456 – was brother to Guillaume, dean of Bayeux. Jean le Beauvoisien (*conseiller clerc* in 1456) was dean of the Harcourt foundation of La Saussaye. The Patriarch's *procureur* to take possession of his see in 1460 was Hector de Coquerel. Most striking of all, his uterine brother Georges Havart seigneur de la Rosière sat on the bench in the mid-1450s. The son of Marguerite de Preullay and Charles VII's household man Jean Havart (*bailli* of Caen and the Caux in the 1450s) Georges was a major Norman and Vexin lord by virtue of his maternal inheritance and d'Estouteville marriage. He was a royal *maître d'hôtel* and notable legal troubleshooter of Charles VII and can be found witnessing accords in troublesome cases within the Norman high nobility.

The *Echiquier* deserves attention in its own right and not merely as a precursor body. If the men who owed attendance actually came, the court was a more than a lawyer's talking shop: it was a kind of minor provincial estates in itself. The political potential of the *Parlement* emerged in the next two centuries but was already latent in 1450, and this would have been enhanced had the work of the *Echiquier des comptes* been coordinated with that of the *Echiquier ordinaire* and the *grande sénéchaussée*. In any case, the court's willingness to issue and re-issue edicts and to rationalise Norman customary law made it a legislative as well as a judicial body. The extent of its appellate *ressort* made it the apex of ordinary jurisdiction in the province.²²

at Rouen which by 1525 had given his title to the Rue du Patriarche (which with numerous intercedents is now Rue Beffroy; Periaux, P., *Dictionnaire des Rues de Rouen* (Rouen 1819), p17-18).

²²Lot/Fawtier 1958 III, p490ff; affords a rather blinkered glance at the *Echiquier*. In general, the executive function of sovereign courts is well understood. By the seventeenth century, although the attendance of the nobility had long lapsed, the *Parlement* of Rouen had largely eclipsed the Estates as a provincial focus. Dewald, in pursuit of the point that the sixteenth century saw a dramatic expansion of the

Management, control and the Norman courts

The lines of ordinary jurisdiction ran from the *Echiquier* through the *bailliages* to the *vicomtes*. The nature of these royal offices was rooted in Norman customary law, and it would be wrong to see them in too rigidly hierarchical a light. The actions of officers were constrained by the culture of respect for counsel (more or less expressed in councils made up of other royal officers and notables). The action of higher authority, circumscribed by a profound legalism and local specificities, was often either reactive or propagated through structures outside the formal institutions of royal government.²³

Many royal officers owed their positions to a superior whose own office carried powers of nomination either by its nature or by the terms of the grant to the holder. Attempts to codify such powers probably always lacked currency outside the minds of jurists: patronage was highly specific to the officer and the office. It is at any rate clear that lieutenants of *vicomtes* and *baillis* had not escaped from their origins as the personal adjuncts of their titular superiors. Although legislation existed protecting them from destitution without cause, their metamorphosis into royal officers was still incomplete. This, it might be thought, would have anchored them firmly into patronage networks. In practice this was mitigated by venality and by the fact that lieutenants were the workhorses of the system, and never more so than when the nominal superior had himself been granted the office in maintenance.²⁴

numbers and significance of *parlementaire* families, polemically exaggerates the situation on the eve of the creation of the Rouen *Parlement* when he says that in 1499 'only one sovereign court existed at Rouen. ... Only one other judge at Rouen, the lieutenant général of the *bailliage*, was of comparable importance and status'. Moreover, given the lack of evidence on the identities of *conseillers* and other officers of the later fifteenth century *sénéchaussée*, it is unsafe to rely on his figures on how many *parlementaires* were the sons of other officers and practitioners of the court: Dewald 1980 p69.

²³Any decision enhanced its legitimacy by being taken after counsel: when Guillaume le Coq, *lieutenant général* of the *bailliage* of the Cotentin, was confronted at the assises of Coutances in 1452 with a strong case for abandoning a royal claim to the homage of the seignury of Mesnil-Drieu, he assumed the burden only after consulting 'les gens et officiers du roy et du consentement du Procureur d'icelui seigneur oudit bailliage et de son advocat et conseillers audit Coustances'. He was not submitting to an institutional constraint but guarding himself against the *Chambre des Comptes*: BN PO 480 *du Homme* 34914, n°10.

²⁴For general points on the crown's use of office for maintenance see Stocker 1971. Dupont-Ferrier drew up lists of offices nominally in the gift of *baillis*; in the Midi, the lieutenants of the *juge-mage* but not the *juge-mage* himself; *lieutenants général* of the *bailli* or *sénéchal*; in the north, *prévôts* were farmed by election from a panel to which *baillis* had rights of nomination, and he could also name lieutenants of *prévôts*: Dupont-Ferrier 1902, p116, 124, 177-8, 182-3. Sovereign courts were beginning to trespass on the relations between *baillis* and their *officiers en chef*, and thus to give meaning to royal legislation prohibiting destitutions of the *baillis*' subordinates 'sans cause raisonnable': Maugis 1906 p6. For a complex 1480s case of a *lieutenant général* resisting the will of the *bailli* see Maugis 1906 pp14-16: the former had recourse to the *Parlement*, the latter to main force.

A memorandum in the Bourré papers datable to 1461-2 gives the names of those officers at 'la doneacion de monsieur le bailli d'Evreux'. The *vicomtes* of Evreux, Conches and Beaumont-le-Roger, the *procureur* and *avocat* of the *bailliage*, the two *élus* and their *greffier*, and the *grenétier* of Evreux are all here. If interpreted literally, this is a much more extensive and impressive range of offices than Dupont-Ferrier was prepared to concede as normally in the gift of *baillis*. It would have amounted to the Flocques, father and son, dominating the royal patronage in their *bailliage*.²⁵

There is nothing systemic about such situations: if such office was in Flocquet's gift this was not because it was so everywhere. His position at Evreux was rooted more firmly than the norm, for he was one of the conquerors of the region and his son Guillaume acquired the bishopric.²⁶ Nonetheless, we should be aware of the patronage potential of the offices held by men identifiable as the provincial leadership.

Flocquet is a parochial instance. The *grand maître des eaux et forêts de France*, or his provincial subordinate the *maître enquêteur et reformateur*, had formal oversight of the forest. Each *bailliage* had its lieutenant of the *grand maître*, *verdiere*s for each forest, sergeants, a host of lesser officers and a long train of farmers speculating on royal rights. The patronage which the *grand maître* might exercise was constricted by the inertia of already extant *fermes* and *fieffes*, for many sergentries (and not only of forest justice) had been annexed by local seigneurs, who regarded them as integral to their packages of rights, prerogatives and service obligations. Even *verderies* might be formally hereditary. Nonetheless, much of the importance of the forest *maîtrise* lay in its extensive patronage in the network as a whole, and its administrative desuetude led contemporaries with a penchant for reformist ideas to hold it in low regard.²⁷

²⁵BN Ms fr 20495 p10, 'Cy apres les noms de ceulx qui ont les offices a la doneacion de monsieur le bailli d'Evreux'. The document can be dated by the names of *avocat*, *procureur* and the *vicomte* of Beaumont-le-Roger. Jean de Barville was *avocat du roi* 1459-73: GR12759. Jean Chevestre was *procureur du roi* from 1450 to at least 1459 and probably 1461: BN Po 2950 Chevestre 65517, n°28 'nagueres procureur...' 1470; n°29 seems to refer to 1461. He had been replaced by 1463: GR12522-3. Richard Postis was replaced as *vicomte* of Beaumont some time in 1462: GR12608-9. It is likely that the document was generated in connexion with consiliar debate on the fate of the *bailliage* and its officers, either at the accession or on the death of Robert de Flocques in December 1461. Like the Flocques in the *bailliage*, these officers survived the accession in post. The Evreux list is paralleled by another of royal officers at the 'nominacion' of the count of Nevers. Including as it does the *élu* of Rethel, this must be prior to the loss of Rethel to Charolais (1465). Such a list might have been compiled by Bourré either for consiliar discussion or in response to a request from the duke that the already agreed confirmation of his officers be expedited. Similarly on 8 Aug Jacques d'Armagnac interceded with the king to secure the confirmation of various named royal officers of the haute-Auvergne: BN Ms fr 20427 p7; Ms fr 6968 p78.

²⁶This may be related to the king's cession of regalian powers after the fall of the town: *Ordonnances* XVI p571.

²⁷More than thirty *verdiere*s owed a duty of attendance on the *Echiquier*, the registers of which contain numerous lists, e.g. *Echiquier* 1454 p12v°. Many had actually been enfeoffed. It is possible to name the incumbents of most of the *verderies* under Charles VII, though they form no sort of corps: most were nobles of purely local significance or bourgeois lawyers. Beaurepaire tried to compile a series for the

Such office structures were under the more or less effective control of courtier-magnates. The supreme Norman example in the generation after the Reduction was Jean de Montauban, who in the early 1460s held both the admiralty and the *grand maîtrise des eaux et forêts*, and in the latter office certainly enjoyed 'faculte et puissance de mectre et Instituer officiers ydoines et souffisans pour faire et excercer les offices deppendents desdis Eaux et Forests comme gruiers verdiers sergens et autres officiers ainsi que plusaplain est contenu es lectres que sur ce ledit seigneur nous a donnees'. As a general fact Montauban's influence is not in doubt: alongside the bastard of Armagnac he was the most important man around Louis XI between the accession and the Public Weal. His cumulation of these two great positions was undoubtedly of strategic significance but there are confusing factors. It is difficult to separate the patronage he might wield informally from that which pertained to his offices, a distinction glossed by Harding as that between brokerage and patronage. Additionally, Montauban's offices appear to have been exploited for profit, though further research into the admiralty or the *maîtrise* may well sharpen the outline of his political purposes.²⁸

Unfortunately the records of the *table de marbre* do not survive for the 15th century, so detailed examination of how the powers of Montauban's great offices were deployed is not possible. We can be more positive with regard to the great provincial office of Brézé. The opportunities for maintenance on the part of the incumbent of the *grande sénéchaussée* were substantial. His court remains obscure as an institution, but the curious double act of *sénéchaussée* and *Echiquier* is deserving of more study.

In the letters by which the office was recreated under the Lancastrians, a role in the disciplining of officers was explicit. There are examples of the *sénéchal* in this role after 1450. Henri d'Orenge was tried 'en la court du conseil du Roy n.d. seigneur a Rouen', for having

fifteenth century, but was defeated by the patchiness of the data and the dispersion of the sources. His notes are in ADSM 6E 13 p98ff. Basin was critical of Montauban's exploitation of his patronage and of the habits of forest officers (*Louis XI* I p34-36), and Jean Juvenal des Ursins thought that *verderies* 'ne sont que mengeries': cited by Dupont-Ferrier 1902 p280. Sergeantries are ubiquitous and multiform. Investigations into their worth undertaken at the instance of the *Chambre des Comptes* concentrated on antiquity and title; royal rights beyond the *rente foncière*; appurtenanced real property; whether its worth resided solely in rights accruing from the sergeantry itself; whether a *ferme* existed and to whose profit: *DLN/10* p7, on the sergeantry of le Tourneur in the *vicomté* of Vire, is a particularly clear instance. Suits over possession or the *ferme* of sergeantries are the commonest suits over office – the categorisation is problematical, of course – for which evidence exists in the Norman legal records; *Appointements* 1453 p41v°, 44v°, 78, 168, 256v°, for a sample of accords. Louis le Conte *écuyer* seigneur de Nonant, Rugles and Bailly in the *vicomtés* of Conches and Breteuil, regarded the sergeantry *à cheval* of the forest of Bretueil (worth L30 a year to him) as integral to his portfolio of local rights and perquisites: he was taken to task for the laxity of his attitude to his responsibilities in a complaint of 1456 to the *Chambre des Comptes* about inefficient paperwork: BN Ms fr 20436 p69.

²⁸BN PO 2007 *Montauban* 46056 n°13. Harding 1978 pp29-39.

accepted payments in installing *franc-archiers* in the *vicomté* of Vire. Brézé as *sénéchal* fined the lieutenant of the *vicomte* of Vire L50 in 1452 for abusive peculation. A case of abuse of power by the *lieutenant général* of the *bailli* of Gisors was determined before Louis d'Estouteville and inscribed in a large hand in the *Echiquier* register for 1462. In returning a suit to Gisors, the *sénéchal* had ordered the lieutenant of the *bailli* to investigate faults in royal letters used by one of the parties. This officer went beyond his powers in subjecting the man to torture. When called to account for this he presented depositions by his subordinates, allegedly 'pratiqué' and untruthful. He was investigated, tried and found guilty of these and other offences before the *sénéchal*.²⁹

The competence of the *sénéchal*'s court ran wide and in odd directions: it may be considered one of the specifically Norman roots of the provincial governorship in the following century. Its life and functioning were indistinct from that of the *conseil du roi* at Rouen, and the designation 'cour du conseil' appears to have referred to the *sénéchaussée*. The Gisors case above was determined in the *sénéchaussée* but the penalty was referred to the *Echiquier*, making it appear as a kind of executive arm of the superior court. Yet in the early 1460s the *sénéchal* was arresting suitors who appealed from his jurisdiction to the *Echiquier*. Whatever uncertainties this reveals, the court repudiated the pretensions of Louis d'Estouteville, ordering that 'les doleances que dudit Senechal ou son dit lieutenant ont este et sont prinses et octroyees en sa chancellerie seront executees realment et de fait selon leur fourme et teneur non obstant l'empeschement ou contredit que y veulle mectre ledit Senechal'.³⁰

Boundaries of competence between the *Echiquier* and the *grand sénéchal* may have been as unclear in the 1450s as they are to modern historians. In the long term the *Echiquier* would win, of course, but our awareness of this is heightened by the fact that we have the records of the *Echiquier*, but virtually nothing for the *grande sénéchaussée*. It may be salutary to remind ourselves that when in the 1490s the king turned to the creation of a standing *Echiquier* he did so

²⁹Orenge's fine was accounted for on the roll of *amendes* for the court of the *grande sénéchaussée* for 1452: *DLN/15* p317, 301. *DLN/15* p301. *Echiquier* 1463 p245v^o.

³⁰On the Rouen *Grand Conseil*, Prentout 1925 I, p166, 177-9. On its Lancastrian antecedents, Massey 1987 p272; Allmand 1983 p150ff. Appointment regarding a suit pending in the 'cour du Conseil de Rouen': *Echiquier* 1462 p121. Guillaume Maugier was indifferently described as *greffier* of the *cour du conseil* and the *sénéchal*'s court: *Rouen* 7 Jul 1458. For an instance of the court supervising the marriage of a ward, either by commission or on behalf of the *Chambre des Comptes*, see the case discussed under Malortie in appendix 3. The commission as 'juge en derrain ressort sur le fait des aides en icelui pays de Normandie' for 1462 was in the context of reforms in Norman taxation discussed below, chapter 5: *Rouen* 16 Jan 1462/63. Jean le Chileur had been unable to execute royal letters in his favour due to the *sénéchal*'s assertion that 'de sa court ne pouvoit estre prinse doleance'. Robin Eudes had also been imprisoned for his temerity in trying to appeal from the *sénéchal*: *Echiquier* 1464 p23.

by amalgamating the standing court of junior resort with the superior court sitting by commission, to produce the body which would become in due course the *Parlement* of Rouen.

The judicial function of the *sénéchaussée* was to give rapid access and provision: in this too it was the successor of the Rouen *Grand Conseil* of the Lancastrians. An accord of October 1460 seems to show one case moving from first proceeding to an appointment brokered in the *sénéchal*'s court in little more than two months. The logjam in Norman justice, becoming ever more pronounced, enhanced the court's importance in giving provision pending substantive trial before the *Echiquier*. As the legal queue grew a tail decades long, the *grand sénéchal* quickly became the only alternative to private settlement.³¹

Little is known of the process of impetrating the *mandement* of the *grand sénéchal* necessary to bring a case before him. It could certainly be obtained from the court itself, from the *sénéchal* or his lieutenant. In one case the necessary letters were impetrated from the chancellor. A notarial contract of 1461 shows *lettres de respite* being impetrated 'a la cour du roy' to delay the implementation of provision granted by the *sénéchal*. These letters were examined by the court. It could however be risky to challenge his jurisdiction in too thoroughgoing a fashion. Mention is made above of the complaints of Jean le Chileur and Robin Eudes, who found themselves in prison for deploying royal letters against the *sénéchal*, his lieutenant, or his *receveur des amendes*. They had resisted fines by means of royal letters and *doléances* to the *Echiquier*. Eudes and Jean Massue complained at the *Echiquier* of 1464 that they feared further harassment when the court had ceased sitting.³²

³¹Allmand 1983 p147. Shortly before August 1460 Jean Porquet and Jean de la Lande seigneurs *jure uxoris* of Mont-Pongnant confiscated a *vavassourie* in default of homage. Tenant Jean Hays sought deliverance of his lands from the sergeant of Le Neubourg, but his lords forestalled this by pledging property of equal value. Failing to have the *vicomte* of Beaumont-le-Roger annul the counterpledge Hays appealed to the assises, where the case was evoked by his lords to the *Echiquier*. In the meantime la Lande was prevented by *haro* from entering the *vavassourie*. It was in respect of this clamour that Hays obtained the *sénéchal*'s adjournment of his lords, both for provision while the case was pending at the *Echiquier*, and for hearing over the *haro*. It was therefore probably by commission of the *sénéchal*'s court that Laurens Guedon (*procureur du roi* in the *bailliage* of Rouen) brokered an accord of the principal, by which he was assigned by the parties to assess the levies of the last two months: Rouen 13 Oct 1460. This speed may have been exceptional, but see Rouen 28 Apr 1460, a case originating an unspecified time after January 1459, settled (perhaps on the basis of the provision awarded) in 1461 by an accord again brokered by Guedon. The course of the suit had certainly taken less, possibly much less, than two years. There is no clear instance of evocation before the *sénéchal* in provision from an assise court without a corresponding evocation to the *Echiquier*, but the issue is complicated by the fact that private appointment might be brokered by officers of the court or the court treated as an arbitral panel. In accords in which any reference to the *grand sénéchal* is made, the language of provision is used except when competence was by commission or agreement between the parties. The fact that the principal was left for the *Echiquier* to rule on (usually implicit) is explicit in the accord made between Louise de Caval and Robert Bernard over her paternal inheritance: Rouen 31 Jul 1462.

³²There are numerous instances of the *sénéchal* himself or his lieutenant issuing adjournments: in the forgoing example Hays adjourned his lords before the *auditoire* of the *grande sénéchaussée* by means of a

It would be facile to argue that the court of the *grand sénéchal* was simply an instrument of Brézé's will. Its functions responded to perceived need and the jurisdiction cannot be shown to have been held in contempt. Indeed, in 1462 it was to the *sénéchal* that the provincial Estates looked to for an institutional specific against undisciplined soldiery. Nonetheless, the court was an instrument apt to its holder's hand: Brézé used it in affairs related to the Crespin inheritance even in the lifetime of Jean Crespin. Its officers, where we can identify them, were in the 1450s Brézé's officers. They witnessed his contracts, married within the circle of his retinue, served in his household, and much of the best evidence of its operation is contained in the accords of suits involving Brézé's own men.³³

As Dupont-Ferrier saw, there was no sharp line between acceptable and unacceptable profits of office. The authors of a memorandum to Louis XI on the parlous condition of the *Cour des Aides* regarded the high annual value of the perquisites flowing to the judges not as abusive but as occasion to retrench on wages. Such benefits need not be financial. When Guillaume le Coq *lieutenant général* of the *bailli* of the Cotentin made request of the *gens des comptes* in 1452 that they allow him to assume the rights of a vacant fief at nominal *ferme*, the *lieutenant commis* of the *bailli* reported to Paris that it would indeed be to the profit of the king to accede. Le Coq was exploiting local knowledge in combination with local and perhaps central contacts: a commonplace and acceptable opportunism. Jacques Garoul, lieutenant of the *vicomte* of Rouen between the Reduction and the accession of Louis XI, used his acquaintance with the apparatus. We find him resorting to the courts for the purposes of passing *decrets* with striking frequency, and sometimes in respect of very small sums. He may have been particularly burdened by bad debt, but a simpler

mandement of the *sénéchal* to this effect: Rouen 13 Oct 1460. For impetration from the chancellor and for attempts to delay implementation of provision by means of 'certaines lettres ... obtenues a la cour du roy', presumably the *grand conseil*, see Rouen 9 May 1461, *Echiquier* 1464 p23.

³³Amongst the articles presented to Louis XI by the Estates in 1462 were several relating to 'le fait des gens d'armes'; the king agreed to order 'aux bailliz et juges ordinaires ... que des malfaiteurs facent bonne justice et leurs cappitaines contrains a les livrer a Justice sur paine d'en repondre et estre punis Et lesdiz bailliz ou cappitaines n'en font leur devoir Ilz en soient punis par nostre Grand Seneschal de Normendie': *Echiquier* 1462 p31. The Brézé affinity and three cases involving its members are discussed in chapter 4. See Rouen 6 Jun 1451 for the court's intervention in Crespin affairs: this is an accord between Jeanne d'Aunou and Jacques de Poissy *écuyer*. In 1441 she had passed the fief le Berguet in the *vicomté* of Pont-Saint-Pierre by *decret* for arrears of a *ferme*, and registered sundry other claims. The tenant (Louis de Cormeilles, future *vicomte de l'eau* at Rouen) resisted, summoning Poissy as guarantor. On the Reduction, the case was pending at the *Echiquier* by Poissy's appeal: Aunou adjourned Poissy in provision before the *sénéchal*. The Crespin were heirs of Aunou's late husband, Jacques d'Auvrechier *chevalier*, and Poissy's delaying tactics had centred on summoning Jean Crespin to declare his interest. Brézé obviated this by himself issuing Aunou's letters of summons: by the accord, Poissy gave way all along the line.

explanation, not exclusive, is that his office afforded ready access to the machinery of foreclosure, the sergeants and the courts.³⁴

We need not assume abuse, but there were reservations even within the legal establishment over this kind of use of the courts. When they moved to regulate the process of *decret* the judges of the *Echiquier* made some revealing stipulations. Royal officials were forbidden to pass *decrets* on their own account in the courts where they officiated or where 'ilz ont accoustumé de postuler'. They were also forbidden to charge creditors for their expenses in passing such *decrets*.³⁵

We have occasional signs of much more serious abusive practices. After 1450 Roland de Couvran (sometime lieutenant of the *ordonnance* of Geoffroi de Couvran) was locked in struggle over the Cotentin fief of Montes, which he resumed after the Reduction on the basis of his wife's hereditary claims. When it came to Rouen in 1456, the case had become very complex, involving *marchie de bourse et lignage* in reversal of *decret* for debts which were themselves disputed. According to his opponent before the *Echiquier*, Couvran dispensed with the niceties to seize the fief 'par voie de fait', then further simplified the case by suborning the *lieutenant général* of the *bailli* of the Cotentin. It appears that the court was in sympathy with the complainant, for Couvran lost both suit and fief, and was fined to boot.³⁶

If one takes it at face value, the agenda of the trial of Charles de Melun reads like a list of every minor and major abuse and peculation he had ever committed. Here is a hundred *écus* extorted from a *greffier* of the *Parlement* who feared dismissal. Here is pressure on *parlementaires* to coerce them into delivering the correct sentence. Here is a profitable laxity in inventorying confiscated goods. Here is the abstraction of prisoners awaiting sentence from the Conciergerie. Here are pledged jewels being arbitrarily recovered at Paris. We should assume

³⁴The report on the *Cour des Aides* is printed in *BEC* 2e serie V (1848-49). See appendix 3 on le Coq. The fief was Saint-Jean-le-Thomas in the *vicomté* of Coutances: *DLN/18* p324. Abusive behaviour of *bailliage* lieutenants: Dupont-Ferrier 1902, p129ff. Garoul: *GR19401*. He was no longer styled lieutenant after October 1461 and died in the summer of 1462: *Rouen* 28 Sep 1462, his testament. The debts were generally owed to his wife Jeanne Ango: he was her second husband, and they were childless, so considerations of jointure may have made securing payment urgent. For a sample of his suits for debt, *Rouen* 2 May, 13 May, 26 Oct 1454, 7 Dec 1456, 28 Oct 1461. One imputation of abuse may be discerned. In May 1451 Garoul was forced to buy off Laurens Roussel with L30 after the latter had threatened him with a *clameur de deception* on a *decret* passed at Orbec in late 1449. Roussel claimed that his lands just north of Bernay in the parish of Lieurey had been auctioned at below the market price. It was another 5 years before Garoul could secure Roussel's ratification of the *decret*: *Rouen* 20 May 1451, 12 Apr 1456.

³⁵The regularisation of *decret* procedure which took place in 1462 survives only in later copies: it is printed *Sou det* 1929 p127.

³⁶His wife Marie de Cambray claimed to be heiress of Fouques de Cambray and Jeanne des Montes: *Echiquier* 1456 p208.

neither that Melun was innocent of these imputations nor that he was remarkable in such practices. Even if one may draw the lesson that it was unwise to be seen as graspingly ruthless, Melun had more or less convincing accounts of the royal instructions he was acting under for each instance. What was really remarkable about his case was less the sins that gave rise to the charges, than that he became vulnerable enough for them to be laid.³⁷

In the early years of the reign of Louis XI the disgrace of key members of the provincial elite gave a brief opportunity for comparable accusations to surface. The grievances of Guillaume d'Harcourt count of Tancarville against Pierre de Brézé dated back to the mid-50s, but only become visible in the first of Louis's *Echiquiers*. Towards 1455, after Brézé's acquisition of the Crespin inheritance, Tancarville had taken Mauny and other lands held of him into his hands in pursuit of *treizièmes* and other feudal dues. At the Pontauthou assises Brézé recovered possession by arguing that the homage was disputed between the king and Tancarville, which issue he placed *au mains de justice*. The effect of this was to break Tancarville's feudal rights over Mauny. In both the 1462 and 1463 sessions of the *Echiquier* the case over the homage was stated to be pending at the *Parlement* between the *procureur du roi* and the count.³⁸

By 1464 Brézé was fully reintegrating himself in Norman political society. In the *Echiquier* of that year he registered his royal letters (dating from November 1462) uniting Mauny, Touberville, Vivier and Plasnes in barony under one high justice. Tancarville's *procureur* intervened to point out that, notwithstanding registration in *Parlement*, no prejudice should be caused to the count's claims.³⁹ Tancarville appealed from the Rouen assises, the *lieutenant général* having granted the deliverance of the seignury 'à l'instance desdis de Breze et le Procureur du Roy'. In particular he argued that the lieutenant had delivered the fief 'sans le oyr' and without taking cognisance of documentary proofs of his rights to *treizièmes* and reliefs. He complained that he had been 'tenu en proces' at the *Parlement* because of the *procureur du roi*'s interventions since the 1450s, and asked the court not to permit Brézé and Jeanne Crespin to depart

³⁷BN Ms fr 6975 pp87-93. The disgrace into which he fell to his death was a matter of high politics. He had gone wrong in one of two ways; he had either pursued Antoine de Chabannes too rigorously in 1461-62, or he had flirted too ineptly with the Ligue in 1465.

³⁸*Echiquier* 1462 p83v^o; 1463 p66. There were doubts as to whether Paris was the proper arena, generating communication between *Parlement* and *Echiquier*: *Echiquier* 1464 p48v^o.

³⁹*Echiquier* 1464 p21v^o. Others entered similar reservations in respect of their own claims. At the 1466 *Echiquier* Tancarville gave an account of this intervention in the following terms: 'au derrain Echiquier s'est oppose au lecture des lectres de creacion de ladite baronnie voulant deffendre que icellui creacion de Mauny ne lui portant preiudice pourcequil disoit la seigneurie dudit lieu de Mauny estre tenue de lui par hommage, et entendoit estre saisi par sadicte oposicion ...'. Jeanne Crespin was summoned as *baronne* but excused attendance; the court temporised in the face of Jacques de Brézé's demands for the registration of the letters: *Echiquier* 1466 p7, p19.

the court (thus leaving him in the same position as before, facing the crown and not his alleged vassals the couple) since 'les choses dessusdites avoient estes faites a leur pourchas'.

Much of this language is formulaic, and an accord was drawn up in respect of Brézé's obligations. These facts should not blind us to the substance of Tancarville's allegations, the procedural interest of which does not depend on the justice or otherwise of his case. For eight or nine years, as Tancarville's *procureur* had it, Brézé had evaded payment of the *treizièmes* and reliefs due on his acquisition of those parts of the Crespin inheritance held of the count. He also owed for earlier transports made by the Crespin family to Olivier de Mauny. The nature of the machinations of *lieutenant général*, royal *procureur* and *grand sénéchal* are not now apparent, but it is clear that Tancarville did not see Brézé as an innocent caught up in the dispute over homage between king and count. The count had been unable to effect sequestration and had been bogged down in the *Parlement* to no good purpose, fighting the wrong party, the crown.⁴⁰

If we are to take the charges against him at face value, *ordonnance* captain Guillaume de Rosnivinen was (like his compatriot Roland de Couvran) more direct in his methods. In 1463 his brother-in-law Jean d'Aurray pleaded that a settlement between them which had left Rosnivinen seised of the Bessin barony of Courseulles had been imposed 'par forces bateries et menaces faites audit d'Aurray et ses gens et telement qu'il lui a convenu laisser le pays et si avoir este deceu'. Under this pressure d'Aurray had agreed that Rosnivinen would draw up the lots of the succession disputed between their wives. In case of delay he agreed that one lot would be surrendered to Rosnivinen by provision if d'Aurray did not make his choice immediately.⁴¹

⁴⁰Note that Brézé had not been obliged to pay reliefs and *treizièmes* to the crown: in 1454 he had obtained letters offsetting all such dues on Maulévrier and the Crespin lands against supposed expenses in repair and fortification at Louviers and Evreux: BN PO 509 *Brézé* 11513 n°27. Compare these allegations with those made by René de Raiz seigneur de la Suze in *ibid.* n°33-36. This is a detailed account dated c.1458 (cf n°38) of the suborning of notaries and the corrupting of letters and contracts relating to a rent disputed by la Suze and Brézé and his late mother. It is marked by the same reluctance of judges in Brézé's own stamping ground (in this case Anjou) to intervene. The result was the same: the legal process was paralysed so far as two of the parties (Thibaut de Laval and la Suze himself) were concerned.

⁴¹*Echiquier* 1463 p139. In these same years, Rosnivinen became embroiled with other important men of whom by far the most prominent were Jean and Yves de Scépeaux *chevaliers*. Yves was a *parlementaire*, identified by Pilot du Thory as a Dauphinist since the 1440s, continued in office at the accession of Louis. The suit was over the fief of Farcy, held of the barony of Courseulles. See *Echiquier* 1466 p120v°, for the accord in respect of this. The suit had been before the *Echiquier* since 1462, when Rosnivinen (who had withdrawn to Brittany) had deferred the case through illness. The couple did the same the following year: *Echiquier* 1462 19v°; 1463 p24. Then in 1464 their *procureur* presented royal letters (10 May 1464) suspending all matters involving Rosnivinen for 6 months. The court deferred audience of the case to the next *Echiquier*. On the basis of *DLN*/10 p35, it would seem that by 1472 Rosnivinen had bought out the rights of the late Yves de Scépeaux.

The implication was that such provisions were extortionate. The pressure was expanded upon in the letters of appointment. Aurray and his wife 'disoient avoir este constrains par force et menaces de tuer ... faites de la partie dudit Rosenyvinan qui lors usoit de grande armee et avoit charge de gens d'armes et par puissance indeue joissoit contre raison' the lands. The accord into which Aurray had been coerced effectively allowed Rosnivinen to draw up lots and then take the one of his choice. Rosnivinen had taken lands exceeding half the value of the succession. Aurray had had to go to the king because he could not get Norman courts to act upon his appeals. This situation was attributable to Rosnivinen's position in the Caroline provincial establishment.⁴²

It was not only Caroline officers who had been purged in 1461 who came under attack thereafter. Men who were still in good odour with the regime, like Robert Biote, were also accused of misbehaviour. A contract of May 1463, for instance, shows how Biote had exploited his position in the regime to gain control of the fief of Montereul. The guardians of Nicolas Douville *écuyer* experienced acute difficulties when they came into conflict with Biote over this fief. Biote, Olivier d'Anquetonville and Jean Conteville acting in concert had made contracts without the consent of the guardians enabling Biote to pass the fief by *decret* at the assises of Carentan. The lieutenant of the *bailli* had declined to hear the guardians or to receive their opposition.⁴³

The guardians claimed that they had repeatedly found their appeals to the *Echiquier* blocked by royal letters impetrated by Biote in the name of their ward. The letters purported to discharge the guardians from their management of the suit, and left Biote seised of the fief. One of the guardians, Jean de Pierrepont *écuyer*, had been imprisoned at the instance of Etienne le Bis, a kinsman and servant of Biote, styling himself Douville's *procureur*. In May 1463 Douville came before the Rouen notaries to affirm the truth of the forgoing. He denied knowledge of Biote's manœuvres, annulled all procurations issued by him to Biote and his cohorts, withdrew all constraints against Pierrepont, and asked that the guardians be admitted to audience at the *Echiquier*.⁴⁴

⁴²*Motilx* 1463 p50.

⁴³For a comparable instance see *Rouen* 11 May 1462: Denis Semeu alleging that at the instance of Charles de Melun the *lieutenant général* of the *bailliage* of Rouen had delivered 'escroe d'autres moz et termes que plaide n'avoit este devant lui'.

⁴⁴*Rouen* 18 May 1463. This was not the end of the matter; we can trace the suit on in the *Echiquiers* of the later 1460s. Etienne le Bis was Biote's cousin through the latter's mother, Perrine du Bisson. He and his sister Raoullette had benefitted from gifts made by Biote of properties of the Bisson inheritance: *Rouen* 12 Jan 1456. Etienne also crops up witnessing Biote contracts relating to land purchase and estate administration: eg. *Rouen* 16 Apr and 19 Oct 1456, 8 May 1462, 4 Jun 1464). He can also be found witnessing contracts of members of the Calleville family into which Biote had married: *Rouen* 24 Apr 1460.

How was Biote able to work the system in this way? No full answer is available, but his weight in provincial government had been important and was increasing. An ex-Lancastrian, he had worked hard for the Caroline regime in Normandy in the 1450s, and had become a figure of some significance. He was a royal counsellor by 1452, and in the summer of that year he was acting as the duke of Orléans's *bailli* of Saint-Sauveur-Lendelin, a post he held to at least 1456. By the spring of 1455 he was sufficiently notable to be included in the very exalted ranks of those who brokered an accord between the Longchamps and Laurens de Boissay. Around the time of the accession of Louis XI he had been promoted to the post of *maître des requêtes de l'hôtel*. Despite flirtations with the men around Charles de France, he would become *bailli* and captain of Gisors after the Public Weal.⁴⁵

It is his importance in the administration of justice in Normandy which looks to have given him leverage against the Douville guardians. He had been *vicomte* of Carentan, where the *decret* was passed on Montereul. He first sat as *conseiller lai* in the *Echiquier* of 1462. He was one of the arbitrators in disputes between George baron de Clères and Blaise Gresle archbishop of Bordeaux. In the early 1460s he looks to have continued as royal trouble-shooter in important civil cases like this, a role not unfamiliar to the *maîtres des requêtes* of the royal household.⁴⁶

The documentation is too weak for us to detail the growth of clientage networks within the Norman legal establishment.⁴⁷ Political society took a level of maintenance to be natural and inevitable. There were certain proprieties to be observed, and it was possible to offend: the *lieutenant général* of the *bailliage* of Gisors lost his place, either for subjecting the wrong man to torture, or for trying to mount a cover-up in the face of inquiries by the *grand sénéchal*. In the Douville case above we glimpse the implications of the influence which enabled Biote to rise so high, and which no doubt he extended as he rose. The more inclined we are to take such accusations of chicanery at face value, the more significance we should attach to the control and management of royal judicial institutions. By this route we can still address the issue of patronage in the Norman courts. Judicial influence was available, with suitable circumspection, to an effective and successful patron. Whole corps of officers owed their positions to courtiers who held the great commensal offices of the crown. In the present state of knowledge, we cannot easily restore political significance to the authority which officers like the admiral, the provincial *maître*

⁴⁵See appendix 3 on Biote.

⁴⁶*Echiquier* 1462 p1. Rouen 4 Jun 1462.

⁴⁷See notice under Guillaume de Marigny for a case which sheds light on the difficulties of separating legitimate from illegitimate manoeuvres in a property suit.

des eaux et forêts or (in Normandy) the *grand sénéchal* formally enjoyed. Yet it is inconceivable that the empires of patronage which are visible in the sixteenth century were then novel.

Such networks were a fact of political and social life. Kings had no choice but to work through them. They were still able to choose among magnates as conduits of royal power, and normally capable of acting to strengthen particular local clientèle as against others. In the large instance of Breton ducal penetration of Lower Norman office in the 1450s we may discern the uses to which royal design might put the accroachment of influence in royal government.

Brittany in Normandy: royal patronage and strategic logic

The 1449-50 campaign was the product of a crisis not in French royal politics, nor even in relations between the two royal courts in England and France. It was the outcome of a peculiarly ill-judged English intervention in a struggle within the Breton ducal family.⁴⁸ The Reduction was therefore as much a resolution for the Montforts as for the Valois. One consequence was a closer relationship between the two houses in the 1450s. While acknowledging a certain importance in royal military command, Michael Jones concluded that Breton penetration of civil office was slight in the later middle ages: 'unlike other great provincial medieval rulers the dukes of Brittany were either unlucky in placing their servants about the royal court, or in royal employment, or they were less concerned to do so'.⁴⁹ This needs qualification in the light of Lower Norman office in the generation after 1450.

On 6 May 1453 at Lézignan near Narbonne Charles VII confirmed all provisions to offices in the Cotentin made by the late François I.⁵⁰ The confirmation was said to be in respect of the duke's 'bon et parfait vouloir' in entering into campaign in Normandy in 1449, and for having reduced cities, towns and other places into the French obedience. Many of the duke's appointments had been specifically confirmed by the king. He expressed concern, nonetheless, at the 'grans involucions de proces' in which those provided to office had become engulfed at the instance of those with other title to the same office. This general confirmation superceded the claims of rivals, for example those in the garrison of Mont Saint Michel who argued that they had held these same offices 'continuellement' during the *de facto* English occupation of the area.

⁴⁸Bourdeaut 1920 and Keen/Daniel 1974.

⁴⁹Jones 1981 p65.

⁵⁰*Ordonnances* XIV p256, from AN JJ 185 n°296.

This act can be placed in more than one context. It belongs in a framework outside Franco-Breton relations: it was not the first time the king had set on one side the claims of those who had title to office arising in the long years of English occupation. He had already annulled all such title so far as it might affect the new grants he was making as he progressed through the province in 1449-50. This on the grounds that he had wished to provide to 'offices et estas a ceulx qui nous servoient a icelle recouvrance et a ce les preferer afin que chascun feust plus curieux et enclin de soy employer en nostre service et en continuant'.⁵¹ The setting aside of earlier grants notwithstanding, rival claimants had been making much of the fact that 'au commencement de son entree en ladicte Basse-Normandie et a l'eure desdictes provisions ou d'aucunes d'icelles', François I had lacked 'pouvoir de nous par escript de pourvoir es dis offices'. It is uncertain whether the position was regularised by the subsequent creation of the duke as royal lieutenant-general in May 1450, but the king may have felt an interest in re-iterating his own right to dispose of office freely in the context of defending the provisions of his lieutenant.⁵²

More contingently, Lézignan was a response to pressure from duke Pierre II: already in 1451 the duke had remonstrated with Charles VII over 'le fait de plusieurs offices royaux concedés par le feu duc Francois ... a plusieurs ses serviteurs et autres'; rivals of these appointees had obtained royal letters derogating from the royal acts of confirmation. In terms prefiguring Lézignan, he protested that his servants were thus 'molestez et tenus en proces au Parlement et ailleurs'.⁵³

Lézignan took the form of simple confirmation of a previous act. At the abbey of Ardennes before Caen on the last day of June 1450, Charles had been presented with a roll by two of the duke's *chambellans* and captains, Henry de Villeblanche and Michel de Parthenay. They were asking him to confirm men in those offices to which they had been provided by the duke. The offices listed present no uniformity of character, stretching as they do from the *bailli* down to local

⁵¹*Ordonnances* XIV p90, dated 27 May 1450. He would continue to encounter resistance over this matter in *Parlement*: he ordered the registration of the Lézignan confirmation without qualification on 25 Aug 1453. In April 1454 he renewed and clarified his annulment of grants of office made while he was not seised of Normandy and not yet re-granted: *Ordonnance* XIV p261, 315.

⁵²*Ordonnances* XIV p91. By the date of the siege of Avranches which ended in May 1450, the duke was being referred to as 'Nostre Lieutenant General sur le fait de la guerre ou pays de Basse Normandie'. The king accepted in June 1450 that the duke had explicit powers of provision by the time of the ¹⁶16th siege of Valognes (Sep-Oct 1449). But already in letters issued on Sep 18 1449 the duke was claiming 'pouvoir de pourvoir aux offices' in Coutances which had fallen on 11 Sep: *DLN/75* p93-95.

⁵³Morice t.II col 1609.

sergeants, seventeen different kinds of office, granted to eighteen different men. All the posts are in the Cotentin, with a certain focus on Coutances: in this they reflect the campaign of 1449.⁵⁴

Many of the nominees were ducal courtier-officers: Villeblanche and Parthenay were both on the list, the former as *verdier* of Valognes and the latter as captain of Vire. René Rouault was placed in the captaincy of Valognes; he was a long-serving ducal household man. Jamet Godart was ducal *secrétaire des finances* and *argentier* when he was appointed to the *vicomté* of Coutances on the fall of the city. Gilles le Cesne *écuyer*, who had obtained the sergeantry of la Haye de Valognes, was *valet de chambre* of the late duke. Roland de Carné, one of the *élus* of Coutances, was Pierre II's *maître d'hôtel*.⁵⁵

There were others on the Ardennes list whose office-holding in the royal administration can be traced, and for whom preferment under Breton auspices was only one stage in their career. Nicolas le Sage was one of the trio to whom the duke had confided the mint at Saint-Lô. Later in the decade he was acting as the *bailli*'s lieutenant at Coutances. Jacques Burdelot, named *receveur des aides* at Coutances by François I, was holding the same post at Avranches by 1455, and was *vicomte* of Avranches by 1459.⁵⁶

This was also the context in which the long career of the Carentan man Guillaume de Cérisey began. He was a ducal secretary when in June 1453 he was provided by Charles VII to the *vicomté* of Carentan. He gained this office by the resignation of the ducal *argentier* Mathelin

⁵⁴In addition to men discussed here, the following were confirmed in their posts: Artur de Montauban (as *bailli* of the Cotentin); Lienart Malenffant (*procureur du roi* in the *bailliage* of the Cotentin); Ursin de Neuville (*avocat du roi* in the *bailliage* of the Cotentin); Hardouin du Bois (*élus* of Coutances); Huguet Viau (*greffier* for the *élus* of Coutances); Bremor de Troloy dit Estoy Pourset (*garde des sceaux* of the *vicomté* of Coutances); Yvonnet du Laurit and Henri du Corré (*gardes de la monnaie* at Saint-Lô); Guillaume Buchy (sergeant of the forest of Bur-le-Roi).

⁵⁵Rouault was *enfant de chambre* of the duke of Brittany: Morice II p1371. His links with a Lower Norman noble family of the same name (lords of Neuville in the Auge and la Maladerie near Caen, themselves linked to the Orbec, Goudouin and Carbonnel families) are unclear, but he was a distant cousin of Louis XI's future marshal, Joachim Rouault: Anselme VII p97ff. He was captain of Valognes during the English siege of the place in 1450, during the English revanche aborted at Formigny: Bouchart II p345. Godart: DLN/75 p93; confirmation by duke François I dated 18 Sep 1449 of a grant of this office made a week earlier by himself and the constable; this 'en consideration des bons et loyaux services que son bien ame et feal conseiller et secrétaire Jamet Godart a fais audit seigneur Roy au recouvrement de ladite ville'. See also Kerhervé 1987 *passim*. Le Cesne: DLN/75 p127. There is later evidence linking him to Jean de Montauban: he was an accomplice of Amaury de Plumaugat (*homme d'armes* of Montauban and surely a kinsman of his *maître d'hôtel* Alain de Plumaugat) in violent intimidation of rival bidders for the *ferme* of forest rights in la Haye de Valognes in the early 1460s. He still held his sergeantry and may have also been in Montauban's company: BN PO 2305 *Plumaugat* 52102, n°9. Carné had been ducal counsellor, was captain of Moncontour and held office in the duke's forest justice: Kerhervé 1987 p489 and *passim*. His family was very prominent in ducal service.

⁵⁶For le Sage and Burdelot see appendix 3.

Hervé, who had held the office by provision of François I. Cerisay went on to rise high in the counsels of Louis XI, with the attendant material rewards.⁵⁷

The roll of duke François's appointees is not comprehensive of those who obtained provision or confirmation: Pierre Lendet had secured in March 1453 royal confirmation in the office of *receveur des aides* in the *élection* of Valognes which he had held under the English and in which he had been continued 'attendu ses bons et agreables services a la recouvrance de la ville'. The roll makes no reference to François I's nomination of Louis d'Estouteville to the captaincy of Avranches, in which he was continued. Nor does it refer to the brief tenure of the *vicomté* of Valognes by Breton courtier Eustache de l'Espinay, instituted by the king at Jumièges on 17 Jan 1450, the same date as Jamet Godart's confirmation, which is suggestive of a ducal role. If the Ardennes roll covered only those obstructed in taking possession of (or transporting) their offices, our knowledge of how deeply the 1449-50 campaigns had driven Breton ducal influence into the Cotentin remains haphazard.⁵⁸

The Lézignan act can also be seen in the light of Charles VII's readiness to allow his captains the fruits of their own efforts, a feature of the whole French revanche since the 1420s. The king indeed stressed that the duke was providing to office in areas he had recovered by his own means. So participation in the Reduction of Normandy gave the Breton duke a share in the patronage the Valois were recovering: his use of it to reward his own courtier officers meant that the territorial interest thus established was not ephemeral. The king's concern that Breton collaboration in Normandy be sustained ensured that warm relations were unaffected by the unsettlement at the Breton court consequent upon the murder of Gilles de Bretagne. Charles's willingness to stand aside from Breton mutations may partly account for this. The spill-over was limited, in part by the continuity which constable de Richemont supplied as a conduit of Breton influence in Lower Normandy.

⁵⁷See appendix 3 for notice on Cérisey.

⁵⁸DLN/24 p113. BN PO 1083 *d'Estouteville* 24901, n°154. GR7441. The inference that the Ardennes roll was not a complete picture of François I's provisions is strengthened by the fact that the king had been issuing confirmations on the application of individuals, as for instance to Jamet Godart on 17 Jan 1450: DLN/75 p93-94. Gilles le Cesne secured individual letters of confirmation in his sergeantry on the same day as the duke's roll was presented (30 June) and perhaps in consequence: DLN/75 p127. Similarly, Villeblanche secured letters in respect of his appointment as *verdier* of Valognes on the same day, and installation from Jean Crespín as *maître enquêteur et reformateur des eaux et forêts*, on 6 July: DLN/75 p95. Parthenay was named *écuyer d'écurie* of Charles VII on 11 Aug 1450 and was exempted from reliefs on Rouvray: BN PO 2202 *Monteauquier* 49802, n°19. Other Breton courtiers were being rewarded in other ways: ducal *conseiller et chambellan* Pierre de la Marzelière received confiscated lands and other property in the Avranchin in 1450: Morice II 1520-21; Bertrand IV Goyon seigneur de Matignon was made a royal *chambellan* at Ardennes on the same day the roll was presented: Anselme V p392.

This is relevant because of the magnitude of his Norman role in the early 1450s, which was general, if broadly military. In September 1450 he was given command of the 600 lances then in garrison in Normandy. We find him in October 1452 ordering repairs to the fortifications of Caen in response to reports of an English descent. He was certifying the discharge of payments drawn on the *aides* of Alençon and Caudebec in 1453. In August 1454 four Jersey men were brought to him at Carentan for interrogation on the army said to be massing in England. The same year he had Christophe Paillart, *vicomte* of Orbec, report to him on the depredations of royal troops lodged there. In August 1456 he was authorising payments for repairs to the castle at Falaise. As constable he routinely accepted homage owed to the crown from the Norman lesser nobility, and we find traces of this throughout the decade.⁵⁹

He was the king's lieutenant with the usual deliberately indefinite authority, but he also had important judicial commissions, for example in the matter of confiscations. Cosneau hypothesized that he occupied himself with Lower Normandy, basing himself in Caen. He held the *vicomté* of Vire to his death, nominating its officers and enjoying its revenues. Some secondary figures on the Norman scene attended his joyous entry into Rennes in October 1457; these included Jean de Lorraine and Jean Carbonnel, Raoul seigneur de Brully captain of the Cotentin *franc-archiers*, and Guillaume de Dampierre *sénéchal* of Saint-Lô.⁶⁰

He had his own train of captains to place, notably the three Bretons with *ordonnance* companies in Lower Normandy – Geoffroi de Couvran, Olivier de Broons and Guillaume de

⁵⁹He was expected to reside in the province; when the king granted his widow a final instalment of the pension and other sums he had been drawing to maintain himself there, he forbade the *gens de comptes* to obstruct payment on the grounds that he had been absent prior to his death: BN Ms fr 6487 f°1. Ms fr 20405 n°37, 42, 44, 55; ADSM *Fonds d'Anquin*, C 5 Etats, n°8, 9. DLN/16 p163. Innumerable acts of homage made to Richemont as constable may be sampled in DLN/34, p230-40 (1454-56).

⁶⁰BN Ms fr 20405 n°38, 40. Cosneau argued that Dunois attended to Upper Normandy. In the emergency of 1452 this division of responsibilities is explicit: Dunois went to Dieppe and the constable went to Caen: Cosneau 1886 p424ff, 434; Gruel p217. Gruel talks of Richemont receiving in 1452 the charge of overseeing the musters, and 'de scavoir comme tout le païs estoit gouverné et de y donner provision': p215-17. GR16201 has him entering upon the functions of royal lieutenant in October 1450 at wages of L6,000 additional to his pension. Jean Gillet (*vicomte* of Vire 1450-59) was excused attendance at the *Echiquier* of 1453 as being on Richemont's service: *Echiquier* 1453 p13. The constable had captured Vire during the campaign of 1449, and held the captaincy: his lieutenant was his brother-in-law Jacques de Luxembourg seigneur de Richebourg: GR4840, 4844. Richemont made grants in the *vicomté*. In 1458 he ordered the *bailli* of the Cotentin and the *vicomte* of Vire to support Pierre de Montalembert and Perceval Pelourde in seisin of grants of confiscated land: Morice II 1709-1422. Guillaume de Montalembert was *clerc de l'écurie* of the duke of Brittany in the later 1460s: Kerhervé 1987 p256. Richemont was succeeded in the captaincy of Vire by Guillaume de Rosnvinen: Anselme IX p582. He also had a grant of the *châtellenie* of Gavray, the revenues of which he supplemented with assignations on the *vicomté* of Coutances: Ms fr 20405 n°39. Gavray had been taken by the constable and Richebourg in 1449: the latter may have held the place initially: Gruel p200-201. On attendance at his joyous entry, Morice II 1723.

Rosnivinen. There is plenty of evidence to link Couvran and Broons, at least, to the constable. Both had been Richemont household men in the 1440s. On securing a royal grant of Gavray Richemont provided Couvran to the captaincy, and after his accession to the duchy of Brittany, provided him to the captaincy of Moncontour. Archers of Couvran's retinue were garrisoning Saint-Malo on the constable's death. Rosnivinen's uncle Jean had been in Richemont's household.⁶¹

The Breton presence in Lower Normandy was not static of course, but change occurred in an organic way. Richemont's weight as constable, provincial lieutenant, *commissaire sur le fait des confiscations* and finally duke of Brittany, was unique. His passing did not signal the end of Breton influence, however. The companies of Couvran, Rosnivinen and Broons continued to be quartered in the area, and all would continue in Breton service after the accession of Louis XI aborted their careers under the crown.⁶²

What influence were those captains in Breton orbit capable of wielding in Normandy? Not much, it must be conceded: they were professional soldiers of unexalted background. They and their kin picked up limited portfolios of lands and office in the 1450s. In addition to Gavray, Couvran held the captaincy of Coutances and his company was often mustered there. Rosnivinen had succeeded his uncle Jean as *premier échanson* and *maître des eaux et forêts* outside the province, and had acquired a Bessin barony. Nonetheless, if he is any guide, the Norman roots of

⁶¹His captains were not exclusively Breton; it was seemingly at the provision of the constable that the future marshal Joachim Rouault became captain of Saint-Lô (*CMSM* I p52, 55), though Rouault was seen by Contamine as having been a client of Louis Dauphin. He considered that the captains in Richemont's orbit were Coëtivy, Couvran, Broons, Rosnivinen and Tristan l'Hermite: *GES* p402. Couvran is qualified 'de la maison du Connestable' when he was knighted at the siège of Montereau in 1437. Both he and Broons are described as 'de sa maison' on the occasion of his marriage to Jeanne d'Albret in August 1442: *Gruel* p137, 178-79. In 1463 Couvran was described as 'nagaires capitaine' of Gavray in a dispute with the inhabitants of Saint-Denis-le-Gast whom he had been constraining for *guet*. Couvran lost and was fined, but Eustace d'Espinay and his lieutenant Michel de Couvran would again raise the issue by constraining the inhabitants after the return of a Breton captain to Gavray in 1465-66: *Echiquier* 1463 p173, 1462 p187v^o, 1466 p168. Moncontour and Saint-Malo: Morice II 1710, 1727. After his accession to the duchy, Broons became the constable's captain at la Guerche, and Jean de Broons was a ducal *chambellan*: Morice II 1709, 1722. Jean de Rosnivinen began his career in the constable's service, and was one of the agents of the Chinon coup against Georges de la Tremoille in 1433 which opened the way for the constable's return to favour (Morice II 1685); thereafter he rose in royal service too. He was *premier échanson* in 1442, resigning this office into the hands of his nephew in 1446. However, Michael Jones does not detail any links to the constable of Guillaume de Rosnivinen himself: Jones 1991.

⁶²Broons and Couvran had been in Richemont's household in the 1440s: *Gruel* p178-79. Couvran was captain of Coutances, where he had been placed after its fall to the duke and the constable in 1449: *GR*7644; *Bouchart* II p343. Broons and Couvran both accompanied the Breton household to France to see François II do homage in March 1462. In 1463 Broons was captain of Dol and Couvran was in receipt of a ducal pension: Morice II p1756, III p65. For Rosnivinen's career, see Jones 1991.

captains in the Breton orbit were shallow and vulnerable even where they had married into Norman property.⁶³

If we are to get closer to their weight in Norman affairs it must be to the standing of their men we turn, for it is here that we will detect traces of the local influence they had carved out. In terms of local significance, their primary importance probably derived from links to the Breton ducal house, rather than *vice versa*; such links may have sensibly diminished after Richemont's death. Many men are too obscure to place precisely, but patronyms place many in the ranks of the Breton lesser nobility.⁶⁴ Many names occur in the ranks of Breton ducal servants in the 1450s and to a lesser degree, in the 1460s. The Norman roots of Breton *hommes d'armes* appear slighter than for any other large company. This impression is probably exaggerated by, but not a figment of, the paucity of documents from Lower Normandy in general and the Cotentin in particular.

Couvran's company offers a number of instances of interaction between the constable's service and the Norman garrison. Among the other Richemont men in its ranks were Jean de Pontbriant and Jean de la Haye *chevaliers*, and the squires Philibert de Digorne, Guillaume du Parc and Jean du Haultbois. All benefitted by Richemont's accession to the duchy in 1457. Pontbriant was placed in the captaincy of the *franc-archiers* of the bishoprics of Dol, Saint-Malo and Saint-Brieuc. La Haye obtained the captaincy of nobles in the *bailliage* of Chastelaillon. Digorne now became a ducal *échanson*, du Parc a *chambellan*. Haultbois was in the duke's train when he did homage for the duchy. Similar patterns (if less pronounced) can be discerned for the companies of Broons and Rosnivinen.⁶⁵

Some of the members of the Breton companies were local landholders and others were officers. Rosnivinen's man Jean de Mauhugeon married the rich Cotentin widow Marguerite de Mauny, holding in her right the barony of Torigny. Members of the du Parc lineage were rooting themselves in land as well as office in the Avranchin. Couvran's man Jean de la Haye was *élu* of

⁶³Coutances; GR7644, giving him in office 1456-67: his tenure was certainly interrupted 1461-65, and probably goes back to 1450. Rosnivinen's men were usually mustered at or near Bayeux; Broons's at or near Avranches. Outside Normandy, Olivier de Rosnivinen was captain of Lagny-sur-Marne east of Paris in the later 1450s: *Rouen* 8 Nov 1458, and referring to a procuration of 20 Jul 1457. We may hypothesize that he had succeeded his uncle, the late Jean de Rosnivinen (d.1454), captain there in the late 1440s and early 1450s: GR15317. On the descent of Jean's commensal office and *grande maîtrise des eaux et forêts* to his nephew Guillaume, Anselme IX p582.

⁶⁴Broons: Angoulevet, Jaan/Jahan, Raguene, Karmené; Couvran: du Breil, Caladieux/Karadieux, Fouquet, Lescœt, Rosenarhou; Rosnivinen: la Boissière, Cahideuc, Callac, Goyon, Langala.

⁶⁵Morice III p1722-24. See footnotes in appendix 1(i) for other Breton *hommes d'armes* in Breton ducal service.

Valognes. The most dramatic instances have already been mentioned; Rosnivinen's broils over Courseulles and Roland de Couvran's troubles over Montes.⁶⁶

The course Charles VII followed in his relations with the dukes was aimed at anchoring Breton commitment to the continued defence of the kingdom, and particularly the Norman duchy, against any possible English revanche. To this end he gave the Montforts a stake in the provincial regime. He issued commissions of various kinds to constable de Richemont. The duke's own courtiers and servants were allowed to enjoy royal office. The tradition of Breton service in the crown's military cadres (of which Richemont's position was just the supreme example) was continued. It was given a particular Lower Norman slant in the 1450s by the granting of captaincies to Bretons or those in a ducal orbit, and by the local deployment of *ordonnance* companies with Breton captains.

The Norman military establishment 1450-61

The Bretons took their place in a broader Norman garrison, men 'ordonnez et establiz au pays de Normendie pour la garde et seurete d'icellui'. The Norman *ordonnance* is heavily represented in surviving musters for the period. An autonomous and coherent system of payment came into operation for the companies ordained for the defence of the province. It evolved piecemeal, on the basis of practice during the 1440s truce, stabilised after the campaign, and was definitively codified in 1466. The starting point was the urgency of clearing the countryside of those troops living off the peasantry. In the summer of 1450 the sergeants of the *vicomté* of Arques were being mobilised to this end. They were under the direction of Guillaume Cousinot *chevalier bailli* of Rouen, and Charles Desmarestz captain of Dieppe, 'commis par le roi au gouvernement des gens de guerre vivans sur le plat pais en ladite vicomte envers la coste de la mer'. The aim was to deploy them under their captains 'es lieux ordonnes pour leur charges'. This was probably one of several local commissions under the auspices of the more general commission of Richemont and the archbishop of Narbonne.⁶⁷

⁶⁶See notes in appendix 1(i) and 3 under Mauhugeon and la Haye.

⁶⁷The phrase is from a commission to take musters at Dieppe in 1451: BN PO 2843 *de Tillay* 63145, n°4. Over the decade the phrase contracted as it ceased to be novel and became formula. Solon 1976 pp91-99; *GES* p291-. *DLN/17* p27. Periodic flurries ensued when companies were moved; see BN PO 2604 *Le Sage* 57958, n°66 for measures taken by the constable and the Patriarch as *commissaires du roi* relating to the 1452 re-organisation of the companies lodged in the *bailliages* of the Caux and Gisors. Louis's edict on the companies is BN Ms fr 18440 p167.

A number of 'Estats' of the Norman *ordonnance* survive, beginning with a commission of May 1451 to the *généraux* in respect of the payment of the provincial garrison. This document was not the only such being floated at this point: other schema were generated, perhaps in discussions over who should be left to garrison Normandy during the Guyenne campaign. Thereafter modifications were to be on points of detail only.⁶⁸ In the early 1450s Charles VII's *écuyer de l'écurie* Jamet de Tillay *bailli* of Vermandois was in overall charge of taking the musters. His *commissaires* were Guillaume de Bigars, Jean de la Varende and Jean de Loncelles. Marshal de Lohéac stepped into Tillay's shoes after his death, but the trio of *commissaires* were undisturbed. From about 1455, payment was made through the apparatus administered by Thomas de Lourailles, Norman *trésorier des guerres* from April 1453. A Cotentin notary, Jacques Courtin, is frequently found attesting to the general quittances given by the companies, regardless of location, so may have been dedicated to this work.⁶⁹

Large *grande ordonnance* companies were concentrated into the hands of a few captains, with the same commanders also controlling the most important *petite ordonnance* garrisons. In April 1451 Dunois is listed as having one hundred *petite ordonnance* lances at Harfleur, and eighty *grande ordonnance* lances. Brézé was stated to have been in command of eighty *petites payes* in the château, Pont and Palais of Rouen and at Touques. In addition to Flocquet's hundred *grande ordonnance* men, forty *petites payes* were stated to have been in garrison under him at Honfleur. In Upper Normandy, the only large garrison command not in the hands of a senior *grande ordonnance* captain was Dieppe with its sixty-odd *petites payes* under Charles Desmarestz.

In Lower Normandy, admiral du Bueil had eighty *grande ordonnance* lances and fifty *petit payés* at Cherbourg. The pattern is less distinct, however: Jean d'Estouteville seigneur de Torcy had his hundred *grande ordonnance* lances at Caen, but only ten *petit payés* at Arques, at the other

⁶⁸Several *états* are tabulated in appendix 1(a). See also the comments of Solon 1976 p101ff.

⁶⁹Solon 1976 p100-105: this article describes the development and operation of the system from the 1440s. For reasons of space I do not footnote specific reference to Norman musters 1450-61. See appendix 1 for an abstract of the sources, by company and date, and for alphabetical lists of *hommes d'armes* of the Norman *ordonnance*. The points made in this paragraph stem from analysis of the rubrics to each muster, which specify the *commissaire*, his lieutenants or *commis*, the assignee (by definition, in the case of the Norman *ordonnance*, the transfers from the Norman *recette générale* to the *trésorier des guerres*) the captain, date of review, payment quarter and sometimes location. For Courtin, see BN Clairambault 220 and 221, *passim*. He was the only notary assigned to the five *commissaires pour faire les monstres* named in Louis's 1466 edict on the subject; he appears as the notary 'pour Normandie'. The provisions in this legislation seem largely derived from the stabler conditions of the 1450s and explicitly so as regards remuneration. Guillaume de Bigars was still one of the *commissaires*, and though there was room for variation, he was probably dedicated to Normandy as well. The *commissaires* now had a staff: as well as the notary, a clerk of the *trésorier des guerres* would travel with each to actually make the payments; it was envisaged, but the provision was later excised, that a lieutenant of the *prevôt des maréchaux* would accompany them to liaise with local royal judges of ordinary jurisdiction.

end of the province. Distributed through the Bessin and the Cotentin were a number of lesser companies – Geoffroi de Couvran's forty lances, Guillaume de Rosnivinen's thirty, Olivier de Broons's thirty and Odet d'Aydie's twenty. Large *petite ordonnance* garrisons under Jean de Lorraine and Louis d'Estouteville held Granville and Mont-Saint-Michel. Amanieu d'Albret seigneur d'Orval (who had a full hundred *grande ordonnance* lances outside Normandy) captained Bayeux with its garrison of ten *petites payes*.⁷⁰

The captaincies of other minor places, with or without garrisons, were held by these captains or by leading members of their companies. This may be explicable as a hold-over from the accidents of the campaign, and as a rationalisation of arrangements for quartering troops. Additionally, lucrative *guet* payments supplemented the maintenance of *ordonnance* lieutenants and acted to integrate local and *ordonnance* command.⁷¹

In the great raid which Pierre de Brézé led against Sandwich in August 1457 we see the Norman *ordonnance* acting with the combined purpose for which it had been intended. We have a detailed, vivid and probably eye-witness account of the engagement by Berry Herald. It was a large-scale venture: most of the Norman companies were represented amongst the (perhaps four thousand) participants. Only Torcy's men and the Cotentin companies are absent. Any strategic purpose is unclear, though it certainly belongs to a period of intense channel warfare. The Burgundians feared that it was directed against them and their shipping, and certainly the landing was preceded by much perambulation.⁷²

⁷⁰GR4783; *Echiquier* 1454 p113. Torcy held the captaincy of Arques from April 1450 to the accession of Louis XI: GR6274. This was his own territorial stamping ground and a centre for the recruitment of his company. For Orval's captaincy of Bayeux and its garrison, BN Ms fr 21496 f°71. These are the two captains unnamed in the 1451 *état*. For the distinctions between *grande* and *petite ordonnance*, GES pp278-94.

⁷¹Louis d'Estouteville garrisoned his men at Tombelaine as well as Mont-Saint-Michel, and held the captaincy of Avranches: GR7586. Odet d'Aydie was *bailli* of the Cotentin and his men were often mustered at Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte where he was captain for Antoinette de Maignelaiz. Jean de Brézé held the captaincy of Fécamp (see below). Guillaume de Bigars, *commissaire* to take the Norman musters, was captain of Pont-Audemer: DLN/75 p229. Mery de Coué acted as du Bueil's lieutenant at Cherbourg and in the captaincy of Valognes: *Echiquier* 1463 p194, 221; BL Additional Charters 12433. Flocquet man Guillaume de Laz was captain of Conches 1454-73: GR12846. Raoul de Gaucourt held the captaincy of Gisors in the 1450s: GR13277-78. Marshal de Xaintrailles was captain of Falaise: his *ordonnance* company was not stationed in the province, but its lieutenant, Mathurin Brachet, was the marshal's lieutenant in the town. In July 1451 Poton's company was in Falaise. Although he remained captain of Falaise, his company followed him to Guyenne: GR4811, 4827; *Mancel* XIII p42; BN PO 489 *Brachet* 10971, n°4. Brachet was a longtime associate and affinal kinsman of the marshal and had succeeded him in the *sénéchaussée* of Limousin: GR14061-62. Aydie's receipts in *guet* as captain of Domfront and Saint-Sauveur amounted to a striking L1,400 *per annum* by his own estimate: BN Ms fr 20430 p44. Hunger calculated that the 96 parishes subject to the *guet* of Vire were generating about L500 *per annum* in 1429: Hunger 1925 p18-19.

⁷²*Héraut Berry* pp407-11. La Roncière hypothesised that the aim of the operation was to isolate Warwick in Calais to the benefit of Lancaster in the ongoing English crisis: Bourel de la Roncière 1899

With Brézé were four of the six Norman *baillis*: Flocquet, Cousinot, Jacques de Clermont and Jean de Brézé. Thomas de Louraille led the *franc-archiers* of the *bailliage* of Caen into action. He was *commissaire* to pay the Norman companies, had been Lancastrian *vicomte* of Caen, and was lieutenant of the *bailli* in the late 1450s. Of the *grande ordonnance* captains, only Flocquet appears to have led his own men: they formed the rearguard, along with the *franc-archiers* of his *bailliage*. Brézé's *grande ordonnance* was in the charge of his lieutenant Guillaume Vallée. Dunois's *grande* and *petite ordonnance* companies were present but the count himself was not: his men were led into battle by his lieutenants Jacques de Clermont, Thibaut d'Armagnac and Hector d'Ussel. The admiral's *grande ordonnance* men were led by Guillaume Carbonnel and Guillaume du Pérrier. The broad participation of the Norman military establishment, and its overlap with the general administration of the province, is clear.

The multiplicity of lieutenants is a clue to the internal articulation of companies. There were probably always more than one lieutenant in any large *ordonnance* company, as indicated by the leadership of the companies of the admiral and Dunois. Berry Herald also shows us Pierre Michiel and Guillaume Chenu leading their own followings, probably men detached from the parent companies of Flocquet and Dunois, to whose *grande ordonnance* they belonged. Fifteenth century musters do not indicate internal organisation of companies but close examination, particularly with regard to changes over time in the distribution of groups of names, suggests that there were subordinate groups. This is an arcane topic, dimly visible only when companies were divided, but the point is strengthened by Berry Herald's account.

In addition to Dunois's Harfleur garrison, the *petite ordonnance* of other coastal towns turned out. The men of Dieppe were led out by Jean de la Heuze, one of Desmarestz's *hommes d'armes*, shortly to be knighted. From Touques came Jean Carbonnel with his men. Additionally, autonomous companies were present. The man named by Berry Herald as Raoul seigneur de Barrilli may be identical with Raoul de Brully *chevalier*, captain of the *franc-archiers* of the Cotentin. Other *franc-archiers* present were to some degree integrated with the *ordonnance*: those of the *bailliage* of Rouen were under one of Brézé's *hommes d'armes*, Philippe Luillier.⁷³

p293. On Channel piracy see Paviot 1995 p153-62, and sources there cited. Also ADSM G 881 p8, a dossier dated 1463 showing Dunois *homme d'armes* Jean de Saint-Georges involved in coursing out of Dieppe in the later 1450s.

⁷³There is nothing implausible about this integration of *ordonnance* and companies of *franc-archiers*: Contamine discusses examples of the latter being led by ex-*hommes d'armes* as though these were exceptional: *GES*, p360-63. In fact the overlap was substantial in this period. Jean de Versailles, captain of the Caen *franc-archiers* in the early 1450s was *homme d'armes* under Torcy throughout the decade. Pierre Auber or Osber, captain of the Cotentin *franc-archiers* 1466-75, had served under Carbonnel. Robinet Hural (Caux 1467-75) had served under Estouteville, and his successor Guiot des Essars under

Companies whose link with the *ordonnance* is obscure were also present on the raid. Jean Blosset seigneur de Carrouges participated with thirty men. He would shortly find place in Brézé's *grande ordonnance*, but may have been at Sandwich as an independent. There were also contingents from the Caux and the county of Eu.⁷⁴

The Sandwich raid reveals a complex, if perhaps *ad hoc*, articulation of the *ordonnance*, and an involvement with the venture not confined to the standing companies alone. This makes the issue of patronage within and among the companies even more important. That lesser men were imbricated in the clientèles of the greater can scarcely be in doubt. This is apparent even if we confine ourselves for the moment to the ranks of the *baillis*. Around 1460, Dunois's men filled the posts of *bailli* of Alençon (Jean du Pallais), the Caux (Prunelé), and just outside Normandy, Chartres (Florent d'Illiers) and Mantes (Arnaud-Guilhem de Bernède). Other captains held the *bailliages* of Evreux (Flocquet) and the Cotentin (Aydie), and Brézé's *ordonnance* lieutenant and brother Jean held that of Gisors. This was a pattern of long standing, and one which was to become entrenched.⁷⁵

The problem is to detail the overlap between *ordonnance* and clientèle at a lower level, and to discern overall patterns. Three figures were particularly salient: the constable, Dunois, and Brézé. Apart from these men, the most important foci of independent significance were admiral du Bueil and Torcy. The former was *ex officio* a great man in the Norman establishment, captain of Cherbourg. His *grande ordonnance* lances were quartered in various places in the Cotentin. His position is comparable to that of Brézé: both were great provincial officers with garrison and *ordonnance* command. Du Bueil had been granted proprietorial rights in the *vicomté* of Carentan, though his origins were Angevin and his principal landholdings Berrichon. Torcy was captain at Caen, where his *ordonnance* (later only part of it) was garrisoned. He was a Norman and his company reflected his provincial origins and a more than usual degree of local prestige.⁷⁶

Dunois. Both Jean and Guillaume Mannourry (Rouen 1471-80) served under Guillaume Vallée: BN Ms fr 25779 n°39.

⁷⁴One Guillaume de Villiers led the men of the Caux, and those from the county of Eu were present under the count's lieutenant David Bouchart. It is unclear whether these contingents were *franc-archiers* or local nobles raised informally or by *semonce des nobles*.

⁷⁵GR426, 5886, 7071, 12433, 13004-6. The two who were not in companies were Guillaume Cousinot *bailli* of Rouen and Jean Havart *bailli* of Caen: GR18926, 4247. For Havart see appendix 3. Before Prunelé, Jacques de Clermont, Dunois's late *ordonnance* lieutenant, had held the *bailliage* of Caux, and Caen before that: GR5885, 4246. See also Contamine, *GES* p600-1.

⁷⁶All the references to locations of musters in this paragraph come from BN Ms fr 21496, 21497 and Clairambault 235. For the personnel of companies see appendix 1. Contamine has recently dressed Torcy's biography: Contamine 1994. Du Bueil was *usufruitier* of Carentan 1449-61, and again by April 1465 and after 1466. Charles VII, having resumed Issoudun, granted him the *vicomté* in 1449 up to an

Nonetheless, our trio was the centre of gravity in the Norman garrison. Brézé is dealt with in detail later. The constable's patronage structure in the Norman *ordonnance* was, as we have seen, obvious but localised, perhaps even limited. A full account of Dunois's service connections would require extensive study. A major Norman landholder by virtue of his county of Longueville, he held several garrison commands of which Harfleur, with its large *petite ordonnance* garrison, was the most important. His wife Marie d'Harcourt, sister of the count of Tancarville, possessed the captaincy of Pont-de-Meulan. In terms of *bailliages*, captaincies and other office held by his men, his remit stretched beyond Normandy into the other area of his landed interest, the Beauce.⁷⁷

His company was cohesive, in terms of kinship and intermarriage between lineages represented among the *gens d'armes*, involvement in each others' financial dealings, and vicinage. These characteristics appear to have been general among Norman companies, and are better brought out in the detailed study of a company, that of Brézé, offered in the next chapter. But Dunois's retinue was distinct in several ways. Captains of prominence in the past generation of warfare were represented in numbers among his men: Thibaut d'Armignac, Arnaud-Guilhem de Bernède, Jacques de Clermont, Guillaume Chenu, Rigault de Fontaines, Galiot de Genouillac, Florent d'Illiers, Saguet de Jencourt, Guillaume de Prunelé, Hector d'Ussel. Such men had calls on royal gratitude and held charges of the crown in the Beauce, the Ile-de-France, and Upper Normandy. This partly accounts for the overlap between service under Dunois and current or future possession of royal office. But only partly; several *vicomtés* and *verderies* fell to lesser Dunois men in this period, and others went on to develop military or administrative careers over the next generation.⁷⁸

annual value of L1,400, with power to name officers, for services and in redemption of debts of L24,000: *DLN/75* p83; *BN Ms fr 20495* p42; *Ms fr 21405* p113.

⁷⁷*BN Ms fr 20382*, n°38, 39. *Mancel XIII* p60 shows the garrisons of Fécamp, Montivilliers, Harfleur and Caudebec under Dunois in the summer of 1459: quarters for his *grande ordonnance* company perhaps, but if he was formally captain he would have enjoyed *guet* and other payments. *BN Ms fr 21497* p157 shows his *grande ordonnance* mustered at Harfleur in September 1461. He was also captain of Vernon: *DLN/10* p41.

⁷⁸Bernède was captain of Houdan in the Vexin; Prunelé was captain of Bonneval in the Chartrain from 1447; Clermont was captain of Montivilliers; Rigault de Fontaines was captain of Compiègne in 1457; Ussel (Dunois's 1450s lieutenant of Harfleur) was to be captain of Meulan (1465-70). Cardin le Fevre held the office of *verdier* of Roumare in 1452-53 X 1462, and was pensioned at L120 until 'il lui ait meulx pourveu d'autre estat ou office que ladite verderie'. Jehannequin de Gaillarbois was to be *vicomte* of Beaumont-le-Roger by 1470-71. Jean de la Grange *écuyer* was *élu* of Montivilliers in 1452. Jean Hardi was *verdier* of Longchamp. Jean le Jeunehomme's homonym was *élu* of Montivilliers in 1474. Jean Chenu was *élu* of Caen and captain of 100 lances in 1474; Jean Cholet seigneur de la Choletière was briefly captain of Vire in the later 1460s and qualified *conseiller et maître d'hôtel* when he discharged his commission to muster the nobles of the Evreçin in 1470. Perrot Dany rapidly obtained advancement under Louis XI, securing the captaincy of Laon in 1461 and Fismes in 1462. Jean de Ligny was later captain of the *franc-archiers* of the *élection* of Paris. See appendix 1(b) for all these men.

In some cases we can show that the link between Dunois service and royal office-holding was not fortuitous. Charlot d'Allonville was the countess of Dunois's nominee in her captaincy of Meulan in 1464-65. Galiot de Genouillac was receiver of Mantes 1454-70 and at Pont-de-Meulan in 1469, probably at the nomination of Dunois or his wife. The same pattern appears amongst Dunois's familiars and estate servants. Legier Arnoul had been a royal secretary from 1444, held various fiscal posts in the late 1440s, and was *contrôleur général* of Normandy through the 1450s. He was Dunois's household man and *commis* in the captaincy of Vernon in 1451. Jean Jabin was Dunois's 'serviteur' in October 1449 when he was granted (in Dunois's presence) the office of *vicomte* of Gisors for his services. Jean Blancbaston, Dunois's *vicomte* of Longueville after 1450 was royal *vicomte* of Arques and receiver at Dieppe before 1447 and after 1448.⁷⁹

The company was also notable for the high landed status of its *hommes d'armes*. Independently of the Dunois link, the Harcourt-Bonnétale and Guillaume Chenu (an Angevin who was investing heavily in Cauchois lands in the 1450s) were in the provincial *noblesse seconde*. Of local importance in the Bray, the Roumois or the Auge were the Bigars, Cardot Malortie, the Caruel, the Jencourt, the l'Estendart, the Cintray and the Grouchy. The deployment of his company in the 1450s, his possession of Longueville, his marriage, his captaincy of Harfleur and the involvement of his men in Channel piracy, all focussed Dunois's attention on the Caux. This was reflected amongst his men: the Auffray, Ayeul, Bataille, Blancbaston, Dany, Dyel, la Croix and des Essars were all Cauchois lords.

From outside Normandy came members of the Longueval, the Monchy and the Pisseleu; major Picard lineages. Jean de Ligny seigneur de Raray was descended from the Picard house of Ailly and hence kin to major Picard lineages including Mailly and Longueil. The Illiers were a great Beauceron family, male cadets of the Vendôme vidames de Chartres who had assumed the name and arms of Illiers in the late 13th century. The d'Allonville were a Dunois family, seigneurs de Perruchay and Bouville. The Avaugour were major Breton lords, though Dunois's man probably belonged to a cadet branch of the family holding Norman lands. The Chastellier were barons of Marcé and Linguievre.

⁷⁹See notes and notices in appendices 1(b) and 3 on these men. Dunois's patronage could interact with venality: Gacien Mulart was qualified as 'serviteur du Comte de Dunois' when he resigned his office of *procureur du roi* in the Caux to Bertrand Guillas in March 1450. He had been provided to this office in September, confirmed in November, for his services at the fall of Vernon: *DLN/18* p43. Michelet de Couldre, Dunois's barber and *valet de chambre*, bought the office of *mesurier de sel* at the *grenier* of Falaise for 25 *écus* in late 1452: Merlet 1886 p22. And of course Dunois was providing to office in his own lands: *homme d'armes* Jamet or Jeannet Autier was Dunois's captain of Fréteval, qualified *écuyer de son écurie* in late 1452.

The way Dunois entrenched his position in Normandy requires further research. The status and service patterns of his *ordonnance* retinue points to the probability that he was the central figure, political and military, in post-reduction Normandy: a remarkable point, since he held lands all over the kingdom and in Dauphiné, and if he had a primary focus, it was not in Normandy but rather in the Beauce. Charles VII's grant to him of the county of Longueville in the Caux thus appears as a dramatic extension of his influence. Although the lands were located in perhaps the most war-damaged zone in Normandy, they had immense potential.

Conclusion; disruption and opportunity

It is not always easy to translate into political influence the patronage potential of great royal office. Indeed, possession of certain offices often equated with a proprietorial interest in a package of royal rights rather than a means to political ends. But office is an object of competition even on that restricted reading: under certain circumstances we can go further in the attempt to show office operating as an instrument of power. As more local studies are done, the clientage affiliations of officers can be identified with greater certainty. The clientage identity of a given officer established, his tenure of a given office can with due caution indicate the influence of the patron. The military establishment in the province was a crucial factor in the way Charles VII planted his men in Normandy, regardless of the roots they might claim by nature of marriage or inheritance. But for the mid-fifteenth century it has another importance: muster lists are the major source for the clientèles of courtier magnates in the absence of household *états* and estate documents.

Contamine used the extraordinary career of Antoine de Chabannes to illustrate how vastly the rewards of royal service exceeded those of a sedentary landowning life. In 1478 Chabannes derived £25,000 a year from various posts, pensions and offices. An estimate of his landed worth dating from after his death put it at an annual £10,000. Out of this total of £35,000, Contamine observed, '*ses biens personnels ne lui apportaient pas 30%*'. Moreover, his patrimonial inheritance was negligible, so even this landed income had itself come to Chabannes directly or indirectly through royal service. He had received substantial gifts in land from the crown, and had purchased more with the ready royal cash to which he had such access. His 1439 marriage to Marguerite de Nantueil laid the basis of a durable fortune, for she brought him considerable possessions, notably the county of Dammartin. At the time of the marriage these lands were wasted by the war, or in the hands of the English. Contamine explained the logic of the match in terms of the heiress's need for capital. Chabannes was to free the lands from the charges upon them, and to commence the

process of material reconstruction. And of course, this capital flowed from his role as *chef de guerre*, either on his own account or in royal service.⁸⁰

Who were the counterparts to Chabannes in post-Reduction Normandy? Given the economic expansion between 1461 and 1478 Brézé and Chabannes were not so very far apart in material terms. Other Norman instances can be pointed to, from Breton warlords like Guillaume de Rosnivinen acquiring a barony, to Rouen bourgeois pouring cash into a wasted Cauchois seigneurie.⁸¹ Perhaps the foremost was Jean bastard of Orléans count of Dunois. This extraordinary career in royal service enabled a princely bastard to lay the foundations of the position that his heirs would enjoy in the next two centuries, as one of the greatest princely families in the kingdom. Few could aspire to empire-building on this scale, but the profits of service underlay a fierce competition to serve.

⁸⁰*GES* pp440-48.

⁸¹The movement of members of the Rouennais notability into landholding in the Caux and the Roumois, an obvious phenomenon to a researcher in the Rouen *tabellionage*, is not considered in this thesis. It was not new but there is every reason to think the generation after 1450 particularly intense in this respect: for general considerations of this phenomenon see Allmand 1976 p349; Dewald 1980 p114-15 and 124-26.

AFFINITY AND ORDONNANCE: THE EXAMPLE OF BREZE

In action, the provincial garrison was messier than it appears in the *états* generated by royal government. The organisation into well-defined companies imposed by king and council in the 1440s was a fiscal and police reality, and a patronage straitjacket of great political importance.

The emergence of a standing army at royal wages funded by extraordinary taxation was grafted onto cultural patterns and social institutions of more ancient standing. Royal legislation imposed some constraints on the free exercise of the captain's patronage, and habits of venality penetrated even the greatest of companies, but the Norman *ordonnance* continued to be overlaid by a web of connections essential to make it work as an enterprise of war. The captain's household was at the centre of every company and his kin were never unrepresented. The greater men had arrangements tailored to their own situations. Torcy was allowed to keep four of his lances in his hôtel. Only 80 lances of Dunois's company were ordained by the king to be lodged in Normandy, and he also obtained letters patent dispensing six lances from attending the musters as 'il lui est besoing mener et tenir avec lui continuellement six gentilshommes d'armes' and their archers. It is difficult not to see such dispensations as a means of subsidising captains' households.¹

The captain commanded in the field, but also acted as a focus of his men's more pacific activities. 'Même s'ils ont issus de la petite noblesse, même si leur fortune patrimoniale est médiocre, les capitaines de l'ordonnance ont un train de vie largement comparable à celui de seigneurs de haut rang'. For Contamine, this subsidised lifestyle prefigured aristocratic domestication *à la Versailles*. A consequence of equal importance was that an able captain could make of himself a pole of attraction on a par with much greater magnates. The obligations of the table and the hall supplemented those of the camp, and the model of good lordship which served here extended to intervention in debt, lawsuit, ransom and other difficulties. Men like admiral du Bueil, Brézé or Flocquet interweaved their companies with the jurisdictional and patronage aspects of their own offices, reinforcing their authority in both spheres. The private-public opposition was at best a lawyer's rhetorical device: as Mark Greengrass wrote of Henri IV's constable Henri de

¹BN Ms fr 20382, n°8, 14. Dunois's personal retinue was to be paid by the *trésorier des guerres* on his simple quittance (e.g. n°9, quarter ending June 1451). For examples of the interaction of Torcy's household and company, see appendix 1(e) under Robinet le Seneschal, and appendix 3 under Guebienfay, St-Maard and Hermanville. Du Bueil also had a personal retinue composed of *hommes d'armes* nominally part of the company: appendix 1(h). On venality in the *ordonnance* see the notice on Guillaume des Hayes in appendix 3; compare with Merlet 1886 p33 (an accord between Thomas Dubois *homme de guerre* and Bertrand du Fresne *écuyer* over replacing Dubois in Dunois's service); Harris 1994 p39.

Montmorency, 'he could employ no-one, recruit no soldier nor solicit any advice without necessarily becoming a patron'.²

Identifying Brézé's men

The *grand sénéchal* was, like Dunois and Richemont, a point around which the Norman *ordonnance* was organised. This appears in the number and importance of his garrison commands and in the strong role he developed in the continuing war against the English, but above all in his association with certain captains. There were strong links between his companies and those of Robert de Flocques, his brother-in-law and longtime comrade. Flocquet held both *bailliage* and captaincy of Evreux, and the captaincy of Honfleur. His men were often mustered in the Auge. Brézé's brother Jean was *bailli* of Gisors, captain of Fécamp and had succeeded Brézé himself in the captaincy of Louviers. He was also very prominent in his brother's *grande ordonnance* company. Brézé's cousin and client Jean Carbonnel seigneur de Sourdeval had garrison commands at Touques and Pont-de-l'Arche, where he was succeeded by another lieutenant of Brézé's company, Guillaume Vallée.³

The muster rolls of Brézé's *grande* and *petite ordonnance* companies give us the names of nearly 250 men-at-arms who were in his service after 1450. These musters can be interrogated by means of other sources. We can show in detail what kinds of links gave Brézé's circle coherence. Occasionally we get snapshots of particular relationships, and we can classify those we know about. So far as the most interesting are concerned, we can develop a prosopography which fits Brézé service into their careers. We are able to do this because Brézé was so prominent a courtier-magnate, but also because his concerns were centred on Rouen, where the *tabellionage* allows us to see members of the retinue in action on their own and others' account. This means that the lower reaches of his *ordonnance* retinue are dimly visible in a way which is not true for a greater man like Dunois. We can also widen our scope to include some of his household men, legal and administrative officers, kin and allies. Above all we have a kernel of documents concerned with the

²Contamine, *GES* p442ff. Charitable or religious foundations, or ambitious building projects were natural concomitants. Contamine proceeds to give examples of captains who 'entretiennent en plus grand nombre que les simples hommes d'armes, des valets, des palfreniers, des serviteurs, des pages qui peuplent leur hôtel'. He quotes Antoine de Baissey's failure to distinguish clearly between military expenditure and 'tenant bonne table et maison ouverte a tous ceux de sa compagnie', and other instances follow. Greengrass, M., 'Noble Affinities in Early Modern France: The Case of Henri I de Montmorency, Constable of France', in *European History Quarterly* 16/3 (1986), p277.

³Jean de Brézé held Fécamp in 1453 and Louviers in 1459-60: *Echiquier* 1453 p11; GR12880, 13004-6. On Vallée at Pont-de-l'Arche, *Rouen*, 18 Jan 1456/57, 8 Nov 1460, GR19646. Sourdeval is dealt with in detail below.

territorial base Brézé was carving in the province and other matters central to his interest. The agents mentioned and witnesses listed in these identify Brézé's intimates.⁴

Brézé's prominence had its origin in two factors: one is the strength of Brézé's influence at court as the *ordonnance* companies were being formed in the mid-1440s, a subject outside the scope of this thesis. The second is his continuous engagement in the war against the English. Although he was active in the 1430s, his greatest exploits came on the Norman march in the early 1440s. He captured Louviers and Evreux and was count of Evreux while the war denuded the title of meaning; his associates (his uncle Jean de Brézé, and his brother-in-law Robert de Flocques) shared in great rewards. In 1449, he and Flocquet engaged in hostilities in the name of the duke of Brittany even before Charles VII had decided to move.

His close relationship to Charles d'Anjou count of Maine was important. In the 1440s Maine's household included Norman exiles, and Brézé's marriage to Jeanne Crespin was probably brokered in this circle, as one of Maine's men was her brother Jean. The marriage may have influenced his choice of Upper Normandy as the main arena of his war enterprise, for she brought him title to lands in the Vexin. His maternal Carbonnel inheritance in the Cotentin did not bring him into that zone alongside the Estouteville.⁵

Against this background Brézé gradually became a magnet for Norman exiles. The less prominent of these men may be assimilated to that flux of adventurers from every French province and beyond. There were Flemings, Scots and perhaps Spaniards in the company in the 1450s. Their commitment may have been rooted in happenstance, as is suggested by some of the career histories contained in interrogations of *gens d'armes* after the Public Weal.⁶

We can rarely say much about such men, though surviving grants or other marks of favour can shed occasional light: Jacques de Bouloy appeared in the musters to 1460, and his commitment went back before the truce: in 1444 Charles VII remitted a small rent due on a house in Louviers which he had bought, intending to make his residence there. As soon as he was able to bear harness

⁴Particularly important are: *Rouen* 25 Jun 1452, 20 Jun 1454, 10 Jul and 8 Dec 1454, 31 Oct 1456, 18 Jan and 13 Mar 1456/57, 15 and 24 May 1463.

⁵BN Clairambault 816 p329 is an *estat* of Maine's household for the first quarter of the year 1441: Brézé is listed as waged, as are Cauchois exile Cardin de Essars and Guichart de Vallée, perhaps kin to the later Brézé lieutenant Guillaume.

⁶Noel Terrible had a patronym which is identified by Arnaud as Flemish. Robin Teste is qualified 'homme d'armes et natif d'escosse' in BN PO 574 *de la Chapelle* 15778, n°55. Benyhton de Salmencque: presumably Salamanca, though whether his filiation with the place was recent or distant is unknown.

Bouloy had served the king in arms under Brézé. The grant was in return for this service, during which 'il a grandement frayé du sien (et) perdu grand partie de ses biens'.⁷

In the 1440s and 1450s Brézé had the weight at court and the military reputation to attract men more substantial than petty adventurers. Yet large gaps in our knowledge remain. Trying to establish who were the greater men in Brézé's entourage is not easy. Identification itself is not a trivial task, given orthographical variation and the obscurity of the subjects themselves. Many men will remain mere names, either because they were the flotsam of war, or were possessed of too outlandish a soubriquet, too common a name or too many agnatic homonyms. Yet those we cannot identify should not be assumed to be nobodies: even lords of some local significance may have left virtually no trace in the record. Too many families failed before the great game of genealogifying got going from the sixteenth century on. The baldness of description in the musters (where knighthood was the sole qualification invariably recognised), disables us from distinguishing a man from his kin by toponym. Take the instance of Hardouin de Maillé. This Angevin lord was a very prominent member of Brézé's *grande ordonnance* company, consistently listed early in the musters (but without reference to him as *messire* or *chevalier*) and resident in Rouen.⁸

Unfortunately the Maillé were a ramified clan and the family name of choice for males was Hardouin. No fewer than four men named Hardouin de Maillé were alive and active in this period. The head of the main line was the Angevin knight Hardouin IX baron de Maillé. *Maître des eaux et forêts* of Touraine by 1453, vicomte de Tours and seigneur de Frontenay, Rillé and la Rochecorbon, tutor of the children of Alain de Rohan: he was surely too great a man to crop up without qualification in the musters. A distant collateral, Hardouin seigneur de l'Islette and de Ville-Romain in Anjou was active by 1437, and died in 1484; he too seems excluded by the fact of knighthood.

A representative of another cadet line, seigneurs de Brézé in Anjou, would seem to be a promising candidate. Brézé's own patronym derived from Brézé, though the kinship links between them were very distant. Like Brézé himself, this lineage had deep associations with the house of Anjou: Gilles de Maillé seigneur de Brézé was *chambellan* and *maître de la venerie* of king René. His son Hardouin (d.1508) was in his twenties in the 1450s, not yet knighted. A fourth Hardouin de Maillé was seigneur de Bénéhart, la Crèche, Ruillé et Champagne-Hommet, the uncle of Hardouin de Maillé-Brézé. His father died in 1426, so he was a near-contemporary of Brézé. He

⁷DLN/75 p33.

⁸He was resident in Rouen in 1454-5 and in the winter of 1455-56: BN NAFr 8607; BL Additional Charters 1244.

can be shown to have still been active in the 1460s. We cannot at present be sure of which of these was the Brézé *homme d'armes*, though Hardouin de Maillé-Brézé might be thought the faster runner.⁹

Even where identification can be posited with confidence, it does not follow that the significance of a man's place within the retinue can be determined. Brézé's *grande ordonnance* company did not contain men holding royal offices of the prominence of Dunois's *baillis*. Yet some of his men were considerable lords and others were to make careers for themselves of wider importance. Philippe Lhuillier, of a prominent Parisian family, was to rise to become captain of the Bastille in Paris. Guillaume Vallée would be a notable recipient of Louis XI's favour in the early 1460s and go on to command his own *ordonnance* company, as would (in the 1470s) Jean le Beauvoisien.¹⁰

The greater men: a Roumois/Cauchois group in Brézé's service

Jean de Dreux *chevalier* seigneur de Beaussart, a Brézé man in the later 1450s, was the son of Robert de Dreux vidame d'Esneval. Dreux-Esneval was significant enough to attend the Estates in the 1460s and to figure in the Public Weal; he was one of the most important Upper Norman land-holders in Brézé's circle, and head of the name and arms of the Capetian house of Dreux. He was in receipt of a royal pension of L1,200, which he stated in 1460 to have been granted by the king 'jusques a ce qu'il m'ait pourveu d'office ou autre provision convenable, Considere les services par moy faiz ou temps passe, et aussi la grant diminucion de la Revenue de mes terres qui ont este occupees par les Anglois oudit pays de Normandie durant l'occupacion d'icellui pays ...'.¹¹

⁹Ledru 1905 I, p124-135. The affinal link between Maillé-Brézé and Brézé dated from the late twelfth century (marriage of Macé de Maillé and Catherine de Brézé): *DBF sub* Brézé n°1. The reasons for preferring Maillé-Brézé are: that, like Brézé, he had a strong background in Angevin service; his brother-in-law was Olivier de la Chappelle, whose patronym was shared by other members of the company; in the next generation Hardouin married his daughter Marie to Jean, third son of Jacques de Brézé.

¹⁰Lhuillier would be captain of Meulan in the crisis of the Public Weal, then of Amboise 1465-68: *GR*15058, 507. A homonym qualified *avocat en Parlement* was granted the office of *bailli* of the conciergerie du Palais in 1455 and became *concierge* in 1461, but the Philippe Lhuillier who became captain of the Bastille in 1468 was *écuyer* then *chevalier* (c.1490), baron de Cailly. This is probably our man: *GR*16757, 16991. For le Beauvoisien see Contamine, *GES* p598-99: Contamine ascribed him socially to a *classe inférieure*, but this is a matter of definition. He was likely a cadet of a Norman baronial house, Courtômer.

¹¹See appendix 3 under Dreux.

In 1519 the notional value of Esneval was given as L2,500 'communs ans', but his Cauchois lands were indeed in the zone of serious war devastation and must have required considerable investment and reconstruction. There are many signs of financial strains in his dealings in the 1450s, some banal, some highly complex. He was seeking to recover old rents and debts and we can show him using the proceeds of these efforts to disencumber himself of cash calls upon his own lands. He was also relying on other men in the Brézé orbit: in 1451 he raised L400 by selling rents to Brunet de Longchamp *chevalier* seigneur de Neville.¹²

Dreux's sons were distributed in the 1450s across the service of three great Norman lords: Charles d'Artois count of Eu; Jean d'Estouteville seigneur de Torcy; and Brézé. Nonetheless, Dreux is much more visible in the Brézé circle than in dealings with other lords. This is probably more than the result of Brézé having been based at Rouen.¹³

The Dreux-Esneval were joined in Brézé's retinue by representatives of other great local lineages. The Longchamps were Cauchois knights of some standing. The head of the family was Roger or Brunet de Longchamps seigneur d'Ermenonville, who witnessed the reception of Brézé as captain of Rouen in November 1449 and was still living in the 1460s. Two of his sons were Brézé men in the 1450s. Jean seigneur de Noville or Neville, also called Brunet and also a knight, was a senior figure in the *petite ordonnance* company in Rouen. Colinet, who we find lodging in the same hôtel at Rouen as Jean de Saâne in 1454, was in the *grande ordonnance* company.¹⁴

Jean was the elder and more important of the pair. He too witnessed the Saâne-Dresnay marriage settlement brokered by Brézé in 1452, and the first *partage* of the Crespin inheritance made between Brézé and Flocquet in 1454. He was acting as Brézé's lieutenant in the Palais of Rouen at the moment of Charles VII's death. The *tabellionage* contracts of both Jean and his

¹²Esneval p276. Rouen 17 May 1454, 7 Sep 1460, 24 Feb 1454/55, 1 Mar 1454/55, 15 Jan 1456/57, 13 Aug 1456, 29 May 1456, 30 Nov 1463, 31 Dec 1462.

¹³Jacques de Dreux was *échanson* of Eu in 1465: AN JJ 1021 n°53, BN Ms fr 6972 p147. There were in fact two men called Jean de Dreux in Brézé's company. Guillaume or Guillot le Barbier was a Brézé archer when he witnessed a Dreux-Esneval's sale of rent to Jean de Longchamps (Rouen 13 Aug 1451, 6 Aug 1456). The kin of Dreux's wife Guillemette de Segrie were beneficiaries of Jean Crespin's testament. The vidame was one of those former Brézé men to cross into the service of Charles de France after the old *sénéchal*'s death: he was very likely one of the Brézé circle holding Rouen for the king in the late summer of 1465, who opened the city to the rebels in September. Gauvain de Dreux was briefly in the service of the duke of Bourbon in this period: Stein 1919 P.J. 24. On the fall of the ducal regime Dreux made it to Flanders; he was subsequently a *pensionnaire* of the duke in Guyenne, where his sons Jean, Jacques and Gauvain also went on to serve Charles de France: BN Ms fr 21477 p44; Ms fr 32263 p485.

¹⁴See notices on the Longchamp in appendix 3.

father were often witnessed by Brézé man Jean de Torcy *écuyer*, nicknamed Gallivet, and Flocquet man Jean Charetier.¹⁵

Another Cauchois noble lineage represented in Brézé's service was that of the Braquemont. Guillaume or Braquet de Braquemont was Brézé's lieutenant in the Palais de Rouen in his second spell as *grand sénéchal* in 1464-65. The family held lands in the Caux (Braquemont itself was just outside Dieppe) and the Bray, and had been of some standing in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Guillaume de Braquemont was on the famous 1415 embassy to England. Lionnet de Braquemont, sometime chancellor of the duke of Orléans, was one of the defenders of Harfleur during the 1415 siege, and his brother Robert was admiral under the disintegrating Armagnac regime of 1417-18. As Orléanists, they were partisans of Charles VII from early on, and Guillaume de Braquemont his heir was *échanson* of Alençon in the duke's most active campaigning period. They suffered confiscation at the hands of the English: Robert de Braquemont's lands were held in succession by three Englishmen up to 1432. Louis seigneur de Braquemont, a pensioner of Charles VII in 1421, was killed at Verneuil.¹⁶

The Braquemont were therefore the creatures of resistance to the Lancastrians. Associations of long standing were continued. Guillaume de Braquemont had been in the company which took Rue in 1435 alongside the *sénéchal*'s uncle Jean de Brézé and Charles Desmarestz. The latter's Dieppe garrison company included Charles de Braquemont, Guillaume's cousin, and it is in this circle that members of the family figured in the 1450s. Guillaume de Braquemont owed his prominence in Brézé service to the latter's disgrace and progressive rehabilitation after 1461, which distanced him somewhat from his 1450s *ordonnance* companies. He was the *sénéchal*'s lieutenant in the château of Rouen in the fourteen months between Brézé's rehabilitation and his death, continuing thereafter to serve Jeanne Crespin and Jacques de Brézé.¹⁷

The garrison company in the Palais and château of Rouen was noticeably close to Brézé and appears to have been the centre of gravity of his entourage. Its attendance on the persons of Brézé and his wife when they were in residence at the château may explain this state of affairs.

¹⁵*Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Communales ... de Rouen* (Rouen 1887) t.I p63. Rouen 3 May 1452, 10 Jul 1454. B.Mun. Rouen A8, *Registre des Deliberations*, pNN and p237-237v°. Appendix 1(c) and (d).

¹⁶*Harcourt* II p1568ff, BN Ms fr 26267 n°429. Anselme VII p818. *Monstrelet* III p72, IV p196, V p117. Le Cacheux II p372, p335. Appendix 3 on the Braquemont.

¹⁷Charles was the husband of Anne des Essars, kinswoman to Desmarestz's wife, Marie sister of Cardin seigneur des Essars and Guyot des Essars *écuyer* seigneur de Croismare. In 1451, the three siblings were godparents of Charles's son Richard: *DLN*/11 p267, viscomital inquest (28 Oct 1486) into the majority of Richard de Braquemont.

One can show some of these men acting in official capacities related to the *grande sénéchaussée*. This is not surprising, but the garrison may even have been effectively his household in arms at royal wages, for several of its *hommes d'armes* were demonstrably his household officers.¹⁸

Guy Affourd for example, an *homme d'armes* from 1460, was also qualified Brézé's *maître d'hôtel*. Pierre de Vieuxchâtel was described in the early 1460s as one of the 'gentis hommes de monseigneur de Maulevrier' when he was returning from Brézé's venture in the service of Queen Margaret in Northumberland. In the previous decade he had been a member of the Rouen garrison, an officer of the court of the *grande sénéchaussée*, and *élu* of Rouen. Jean le Prince was a member of the Rouen garrison in the early 1450s, *lieutenant général* of the *bailli* of Gisors Jean de Brézé, and Pierre de Brézé's *maître d'hôtel* in 1451.¹⁹

Pierre le Bouteiller was the *sénéchal*'s lieutenant in Rouen. His responsibilities may have varied according to Brézé's delegations at particular times. He is named as lieutenant in the château and town of Rouen in the summer of 1461, and had been holding this position since before 1459, when he was described in an *Echiquier* case as lieutenant at the Grosse Tour du Chastel, deciding whether or not to release prisoners into the hands of the bishop of Lisieux. Le Bouteiller was not alone in holding a lieutenancy, and is consistently named after Brunet de Longchamp in surviving *petite ordonnance* musters. He was perhaps the second most important Brézé officer in Rouen after Brunet, but may have been more consistently resident.

Pierre had been high in Brézé's service for many years. He is named first (ahead of Brézé's *maître d'hôtel*) in the witness list to an important contract of May 1451, by which Brézé assumed large debts of the Merbury. He witnesses many of Brézé's transactions notarised in Rouen, invariably alongside – usually ahead of – intimate servants of the *sénéchal* such as Vieuxchâtel, Guillaume Maugier *greffier* of Brézé's council or le Prince. He witnessed most of the contracts relating to the transport of the Crespin inheritance, including Brézé's accommodation with Flocquet. His family was indeed remembered in Jean Crespin's testament with a small cash gift.²⁰

This kind of activity continued. We can find traces of him being used in less banal capacities: he bought up letters of obligation in rents and debts *mobiliaire* to employ in Brézé's legal contest with Robert des Champs and his wife Jeanne de Rouvray over the fief of Vivier.

¹⁸There are some signs that the garrison was broken up when Brézé fell in 1461, which would reinforce this contention: one member, Jean le Prince, left Rouen to reside in Andelys. He disposed of his property in the city to Guillaume Picard in 1462: *Rouen* 30 Apr 1462.

¹⁹See appendix 1(c) and 3 for these men.

²⁰*Rouen* 29 May 1451, 25 Jun 1452, 2 Jun, 20 Jun and 8 Dec 1454.

Decret proceedings begun by him forced the couple to an accord with Brézé in 1458. He was still in Brézé's service when the *sénéchal* fell at Montlhéry, and was in the audience watching his son succeeded to the captaincy of Rouen, alongside Jean Havart and Brézé men who had anchored the regime in the 1450s: Jean Carbonnel, Brunet de Longchamp, Nicolas le Normant, Robert de Dreux and the rest.²¹

Pierre may have been one of the lesser poles of attraction around which the affinity was articulated. Pierre de Boisyvon *écuyer* nicknamed 'Soubtil', was one of Brézé's *hommes d'armes* in the Rouen garrison: he was qualified servant of Pierre le Bouteiller in a contract of October 1466, which also mentioned his brother and heir Guillaume de Boisyvon, archer of Brézé's *grande ordonnance*, 1454-1460. If Pierre was kin to Guy le Bouteiller, an *homme d'armes* in the *grande ordonnance* company in the later 1450s, then this picture would be strengthened, for Guy was linked by blood and marriage to the Dampont and Maugier families, both of whom had their own links to the *sénéchal*.²²

Maintenance, patronage and credit

Local prominence yielded Brézé – and by extension his clients – many advantages. When Brézé intervened in the problems of Marguerite de Ganzeville, widow of his man Jean Basset, he was able secure a discount of about one third on her debts. The creditors were anxious to gain or retain Brézé's favour, and quit the widow debts of L730 for 'honneur et reverence et a la faveur et Requeste de noble et puissant seigneur monsieur Pierre de Breze, Comte de Maulevrier et Grand Senechal de Normandie que pour la bonne amour qu'ilz avoient a ladite damoiselle'. The *sénéchal* paid or promised to pay the principal of rents owed, and the arrears were abandoned.²³

²¹Other contracts he witnessed included *Rouen* 20 Jun 1454 (redemption of a rent assigned on the Crespins lands), 16 Jun 1456 (marriage gifts to Marie Carbonnel), 31 Oct 1456 (purchase of the seignury of Pommereul), 13 Mar 1457/58 (acquisition of the Hôtel de Cleres). The Vivier accord is *Rouen* 1 Dec 1458. B.Mun. Rouen *Registre des Deliberations* A8, p237-237 v°, 27 Jul 1465; unlike some of these men, he remained in the service of Jacques de Brézé, and there is no evidence that he dallied with the ducal regime over the winter of 1465-66.

²²*Rouen* 1 Oct 1466. The Boisyvon connection was an affinal one dating back before the Lancastrian conquest: *DLN/13* p269-73; Marguerite daughter of Jean le Bouteiller and Marie de Boisyvon resumes lands of her parents in the *vicomté* of Caudebec but granted elsewhere by the Lancastrians, before Michaelmas 1450.

²³*Rouen* Jul 7 1456. The creditors were two Rouennais bourgeois, Colin Pivain and Nicolas le Grant. Le Grant obtained Brézé's promise to pay the expenses of voiding a suit at the assises of Gisors. Compare their situation with the willingness of the clergy of Notre Dame d'Ecouis to give the *grand sénéchal* preferential rates. A clear example of the same deference is Guerouldin Naguet's malleability in the summer of 1461. This Rouen armourer sold his rights in a variety of rents and the arrears owed by Robert de Granville in a complicated transaction involving several parties. His losses were not on the scale

Brézé's biographer believed that he made of the *sénéchaussée* 'une charge puissante et effective'. There is no reason to doubt this, but comment is needed. His office base was broader, for his captaincy of Rouen and his *ordonnance* companies were sources of important additional authority. Moreover, his position at Rouen was not strongly formalised on the basis of a single office or specific delegations of powers. Rather, it exemplifies how personal energy and royal confidence could make the most of a given portfolio of charges and attributions.²⁴

Brézé's energy necessarily extended into maintenance of his own men. We can cite several examples of the *sénéchaussée* being used in such support, though no attempt is made here to argue that Brézé was transgressing cultural norms, and the degree to which legalities were being infringed cannot be estimated on the basis of these accounts. One is left with the impression that Brézé's court was a convenient place for Brézé's men to do business.

Against the background of depressed seigneurial revenues consequent upon the war, Robert de Dreux vidame d'Esneval fell after 1452 into dispute with the inhabitants of the town of Pavilly. As lord of the place, Dreux-Esneval had imposed various dues on goods entering the town, which the townsfolk sought to have set aside at the assises of Rouen. An arbitral commission decided for him, but the townsfolk appealed to the *Echiquier*. Dreux-Esneval sought provision before the *grand sénéchal*. Brézé issued the letters permitting the case to be brought to his court, where the judges awarded provision, instituted a commission to broker an accord, and imposed its ratification by means of fines.²⁵

In November 1452 Brézé delivered his arbitral sentence in a suit between two *demeurant* lineages, the Argouges and the Clamorgan. The dispute sprang from an opportunist exploitation of the Reduction to overturn a marriage settlement. Jean d'Argouges *écuyer* 'incontinent apres la Reduction ... s'estoit empare des fieffe terre et seigneurie de Cosqueville' in the Bessin, which he claimed by hereditary right and which he had been unable to secure under the occupation. His sister Katherine and her husband Thomas seigneur de Clamorgan said that the fief and other property had been granted them 'ou traittant de leur mariage' by her mother and cousin. They claimed to have been seised of it for twenty-seven years. Argouges, ironically a prominent former Lancastrian, was taking advantage of the confusion of the Reduction to abrogate his sister's marriage settlement. Nonetheless Brézé maintained a man who had recently entered his

suffered by Pivain and le Grant, but he did throw in arrears on one rent being redeemed by the count 'pour demourer en sa bonne grace' and for services rendered (*Rouen* 13 July 1461).

²⁴Bernus 1906. No copy of Bernus's thesis survives in public hands, but he did publish two articles derived from it: Bernus 1908, 1911.

²⁵*Rouen* 13 May 1463.

ordonnance retinue, upholding Argouges in possession of the fief and compensating the couple with other lands of the maternal inheritance.²⁶

Jean de Billy was also an *homme d'armes* of Brézé's *grande ordonnance*. He had made execution on the revenues of Pierre de Tournebu in respect of letters of obligation which had passed between their respective fathers. Pierre had resisted at the Conches assises and then at the *Echiquier*. Billy obtained a *mandement* from the *grand sénéchal* or his lieutenant, adjourning his rival before the *sénéchal*'s court where he obtained provision. This enabled him to resume executions upon the fruits of Pierre's lands. Tournebu halted these by impetrating royal letters of *respit*, and again Billy adjourned him before the *sénéchal*. Tournebu threw in the towel at this point, and came to an accord which conceded all Billy had required, and met his expenses.²⁷

The occasions for maintenance the *sénéchaussée* afforded made it an important string to Brézé's bow as a patron, but this was supplemented by the rights of nomination it gave him. The places and charges, as *conseiller* or *commissaire*, which he might dispense to the Rouen legal establishment enabled him to carve out a distinctive position within the Rouen notability. This is exemplified in the associations between Brézé and members of the Gouel family.

Two members of this family of Rouennais drapers were in Brézé's service. Roger Gouel was one of the most prominent lawyers in Normandy. Born with the century or soon after, he was seigneur of Epouville in the deep Caux, attended meetings of the Norman Estates, and was already marrying his daughters into Cauchois noble families. While his kinsman the Rouen bourgeois Jean Gouel was more intimately enmeshed in the Brézé entourage, Roger was a senior figure, heading the administration of Brézé's lands as *bailli* of his county of Maulévrier.²⁸

Although his service to Brézé was never exclusive – he was also in the service of Dunois and the Estouteville brothers – he was a general and high level legal adviser to Brézé. He acted as witness to important contracts registered before the Rouen notaries; to the marriage settlement which Brézé brokered between the Saâne and the Dresnay; to the Crespin transport and to the subsequent Brézé-Flocques *partage*. He was also present at credit transactions by which cash was raised for the expeditions to England in 1462. Not all of his appearances in this capacity were at

²⁶On the Argouges see appendix 3. The sentence was rendered in the presence of Brézé's *maître d'hôtel* Pierre de Vieuchâtel and ratified by the parties before the Rouen notaries in the presence of Jean de Saâne *chevalier* and his son, and Jean Houel, all Brézé men: BN PO 91 *Argouges* 1892, n°179.

²⁷Rouen May 9 1461.

²⁸DLN/9 p406. BN PO 1365 *Gouel en Normandie* 30915, n°11: quittance for attendance 'avec autres conseillers assemblez en ceste ville de Rouen ou mois de Decembre mil cinquante huit derrain passe pour le paiement et sould de certain nombre de gens de guerre'. Rouen 6 Dec 1463.

the same level of significance. In the early 1450s he is not uncommonly found witnessing the purchases of lands and rents by which Brézé was rooting himself in Norman landed society in this period.²⁹

Jean Gouel's activities were mainly in the lower reaches of the legal infrastructure in Rouen, where his known alliances were focussed. He was *garde des sceaux* of the *vicomté* of Rouen from 1449 to 1456 and farmed the *tabellionage* of Rouen from the 1440s to 1463, continuing to farm its hinterland sergentries thereafter. Jean's career in royal office had commenced under the Lancastrians. He was *receveur des aides* in the *vicomté* of Rouen by 1440. In May 1446 Henry VI granted him the office of *procureur général sur le fait des eaux et forêts* in the *bailliage* of Rouen.³⁰

It was through the forest jurisdiction that he came into the service of Jean Crespin, who became *maître des eaux et forêts* in Normandy after the Reduction. By the end of 1451 he was sufficiently close to Crespin to witness *partage* agreements he was entering into, and to pledge him in substantial obligations to Louis de Cormeilles, *vicomte de l'eau* at Rouen. After Crespin's death, he continued to pledge Brézé in this debt. We thus have a fairly clear idea of the route Jean Gouel took into Brézé's service: it ran from Lancastrian fiscality via Crespin's forest justice.³¹

He became a close and trusted adviser. Throughout the period 1450-65 he was perhaps the principal business agent of Pierre de Brézé and Jeanne Crespin in Rouen, acting as their *procureur* in a string of important transactions recorded by the Rouen notaries and the *Echiquier* clerks. He sometimes went further afield, as in 1461 when he was negotiating over the seignury of Mauny

²⁹Roger Gouel was the archbishop's *bailli* of Dieppe 1451-64 (at least) and can be shown acting as his temporal *sénéchal* in 1462 (*Rouen* 14 Jan 1455, 29 Sep 1458, 7 Sep 1461, 12 Aug 1462, 4 Nov 1464, 24 Dec 1462). He succeeded Jean du Quesnay as Dunois's *bailli* of Longueville by 1461 (*Rouen* 11 Nov 1461). Brézé rent and land purchases witnessed by Roger: *Rouen* 8 Dec 1451, 16 Dec 1451, 10 Dec 1451, 6 Dec 1463.

³⁰*Rouen* 3 Oct 1456, 26 May 1463; BN PO 1365 *Gouel en Normandie* 30915, n°2, 3, 8; *DLN/24* p99. The Jean Couel who had graduated in law from the University of Paris in 1434 mentioned by Lapeyre and Scheurer fits this man: *Secrétaires* p102.

³¹BN PO 1365 *Gouel en Normandie* 30915, n°6 (12 Oct 1453, Gouel serving as Crespin's lieutenant in the forest jurisdiction). The forest office was perhaps venal or becoming so: Gouel (or perhaps his son) was acting as lieutenant for Guillaume de Casenove, *visamiral* and *Maître enquêteur et reformateur des eaux et forêts* in Normandy in c.1480: ADSM 6E 13 *Notes de Beaurepaire* p16-20v°. *Rouen* 18 Dec 1451, 24 Jan 1451-52, 25 Jun 1452. Gouel may be compared with Pierre Nyvellet: he was resident at Mauny by 1456, the count's *receveur général* by the 1460s, but had earlier (1450-52) been in Crespin's service as, for example, provincial lieutenant *des eaux et forêts*: ADSM 6E 13 p13; *Rouen* 19 Dec 1456, 27 Jul 1452; Lempriere 1924 p155n; *Echiquier* 1453 p256.

with Jean de Mauny at Avranches. In the early 1460s he continued to appear in Brézé contracts through the period of his disgrace and rehabilitation.³²

Jean Gouel also involved himself with other men in the Brézé entourage. In 1455 he witnessed a marriage settlement between the Marquis de Mauny and the Poulain family, probably as the agent of Brézé or Jeanne Crespin, though this is not explicitly stated. In 1460 he witnessed an accord over the redemption of a rent involving Guillaume de Vallée, captain of Pont-de-l'Arche and Brézé's *lieutenant au fait de la guerre*, but we should not necessarily presume that he had an independent relationship with him.³³

From 1461 he appears as seigneur of Bellengues in the parish of Saint-Aubin-sur-Mer (north of Caen), and we should probably regard this fief as one of the rewards of his service to Brézé. The career of Jean Gouel is less visible than that of the more prominent Roger, but was probably equally important in the establishment of the family in the highest Rouennais legal milieu.

The Brézé connexion is the earliest known *exemplum* of the family's association with the *sénéchaussée*. Roger may well have been a *conseiller*: he appears as arbiter or in other capacities in cases which had been before the court. This was a family on the rise: Roger was purchasing lands, and his son Guillaume was to become *premier président* of the *Cour des Aides* at Rouen.³⁴

The *sénéchaussée* was central to royal governance in Normandy in the 1450s and allowed Brézé to extend his affinity beyond the military nobility into a milieu of prominent lawyers in Rouen and beyond. It also enjoyed an organic link to the *Echiquier*. Brézé's strong association with Robert de Flocques on the military side are paralleled by his relationship with the Caroline

³²Rouen 15 January 1456/57, 18 January 1456/57, 4 Nov 1460, 13 Aug 1461. He witnessed Brézé's procuration for his wife on the eve of departure for Scotland in 1462: Rouen 25 Aug 1462. In 1465-66 he witnessed both the agreements reached by Jacques de Brézé and Jeanne Crespin governing her dowry: Rouen 19 Aug 1465, 31 Jan 1465/66.

³³Rouen 21 Feb 1454-/55, 8 Nov 1460.

³⁴It is likely, but not certain, that the Jean Gouel who was a royal secretary by 1466 was identical with our Rouennais: he was allowed in 1464 to administer his office of *élu* in the Alençon apanage through a substitute, he being retained about the person of Etienne Chevalier *trésorier*: *Secrétaires* p102. Jean's namesake in the next generation was *lieutenant général* of the *bailliage* of Rouen in the 1470s: GR18956, 18977, 18994, and other members of the clan, now somewhat ramified, were *procureurs* and *avocats du roi* in the *bailliage* of Rouen in the 1480s and 1490s: BN PO 1365 *Gouel en Normandie* 30915, n°13, 15. Rouen 8 Mar 1454/55 shows Roger Gouel as one of a large and prestigious group of arbiters and witnesses to a dispute between Laurens de Boissay and the Longchamp family. Rouen 8 Nov 1458 shows him a member of a panel of prominent judges adjudicating in the Sacquenville succession. Rouen 9 May 1461 shows him and and Robert de Villeneuve settling legal expenses for the Billy-Tournebu accord. Roger, qualified seigneur d'Epoville, purchased in 1469 a portion of the fief of Yauville: BN PO 1365 *Gouel en Normandie* 30915, n°12. His sister married Guillaume III Jubert seigneur de Vesly, successively *substitut procureur du roi* in the *bailliage* of Rouen, *Echiquier* counsellor, *conseiller au Parlement de Rouen*: Frondeville 1960 p136.

président, Louis d'Harcourt. The Patriarch was involved in Brézé's private dealings: he acted for the *sénéchal* in the acquisition of the rights of Jean Bureau in the barony of Briouze for Guy Affourd. He had witnessed Charles VII's grant of the captaincy of Mantes to Brézé in 1450, and would witness the letters by which Louis XI raised Mauny and other Crespin lands in barony for Brézé in November 1462. He headed the list of those who treated with Spanish sea captains in respect of the invasion of England in the summer of 1461, alongside Antoine Crespin, le Boursier, Brézé and Sourdeval.³⁵

Antoine Crespin may have been the link between the two men: he and the Patriarch brokered the Briouze deals. On Harcourt's translation to Bayeux, his former see of Narbonne passed to Crespin. He retained his bishopric of Laon, and went on to acquire the abbey of Jumièges in the mid-1460s. He had become a great churchman in his own right.³⁶

The retinue as a social unit

The heart of any company was commensal: many lesser units of sociability coordinated themselves around the link with the captain. The life of these groups is now inaccessible, but traces of commensality remain. Pierre de Brézé's officers were present at the conclusion of marriage contracts involving his men and their kin, and also in the settlement of dowries and marriage-related lawsuits. This does not prove that the initiative in making these marriages belonged to him as patron, but suggestive instances can be given.

Jean Poulain was an *homme d'armes* of Brézé's *ordonnance* company from prior to the Reduction campaign and throughout the 1450s. In 1454 he married Jeanne Crespin daughter of the Marquis de Mauny. Although his main interests were around Caen, by this match Poulain acquired the seigneurie of le Mareschale in Perche, and rents on the Hôtel de Bellengues in Rouen. These properties had been gifted or bequeathed to the Marquis by his kin, Jean, Antoine and Jeanne Crespin. Men associated with Brézé and Jeanne Crespin can be shown to have played a rôle in the dealing around the marriage: Jean le Prince witnessed cessions of property and acted as *procureur* over rents contracted in the marriage settlement. Brézé's agent Jean Gouel was present at the handing over of part of the Marquis's cash *don du mariage*.³⁷

³⁵Rouen 29 Jan 1458/59; DLN/75 p115, /1 p412; BN Ms fr 26089 n°369.

³⁶ADO *Inventaire Sommaire* series H, Archives Ecclesiastiques (Clergé Régulière), H8.

³⁷Rouen 11 Jul 1454, 21 Feb 1454/55. Thibaut Poulain served in the company of Jean Carbonnel. Jean Poulain had been rewarded for his military service during the Reduction by a grant in 1451 of a sergentry in the forest of Lucy (DLN/75 p125).

Brézé was certainly not passive in the case of the Saâne-Dresnay marriage. Regnault de Dresnay was a prominent courtier-officer and soldier, *bailli* of Sens, and the son of Brézé's paternal aunt: the two men were longtime allies. Just as the *sénéchal* might be considered an Angevin client, Dresnay was linked to the house of Orléans, for whom he served as *bailli* of Asti in the 1450s and 1460s. His son Guion was a Brézé *homme d'armes*. Jean de Saâne was a Cauchois knight who had been an important native Lancastrian. In May 1452, Brézé brokered the marriage of Regnault de Dresnay's daughter Marguerite to Saâne's son. He acted as one of Dresnay's *procureurs*, and on his own account found the money for the marriage festivities.³⁸

A more vexed instance is that of Jean bâtard de Graville, whose marriage to Guillemette d'Estelan ended in formal separation by the 1460s. She was an heiress, and amongst other perquisites her seignury of Estelan brought with it the hereditary *sénéchaussée* of Brézé's county of Maulévrier. The bastard was in the *ordonnance* company, and acted as *sénéchal* of the county. There is no direct evidence that the marriage had been brokered in Brézé's circle, but both parties to it can be tied to other figures in the entourage.³⁹

The bastard of Graville's position as Brézé's *sénéchal* of Maulévrier raises the question of the extent to which tenorial bonds and service in his estate administration supplemented other links within his retinue. An archer of the Rouen garrison, Jean Auber, obtained the office of *verdier* of Trait-Maulévrier by the resignation of Nicolas Basin in 1452. A 1469 accord reveals Jean du Moucel nicknamed 'Mouchellet' as *fermier du pasnage* of the forest of Trait-Maulévrier for 1467, and Sandret Houel as an officer or agent in the same forest (perhaps *commis* or *procureur* of the forest *sénéchal*). Both men shared their patronyms with 1450s Brézé men: Pierre Houel and Jacques du Moucel.⁴⁰

³⁸On the Dresnay see GR21195; Beaucourt V and VI *passim*; *Milanais* IV p318 (see also II p63); *Lettres* V p290.

³⁹Guillemette d'Estelan was the heiress of Antoine seigneur d'Estelan, and she brought Estelan, Monville and Saint-Denis-de-Blangy to the bastard. The couple were married in the 1440s and had at least one son, Jean (adult by 1469): *Rouen* 28 Jun 1454, 9 Jul, 9 Aug and 10 Sep 1464; *Echiquier* 1469 p99-103. Sandre Valens was a Brézé *homme d'armes* throughout the 1450s. He was kin (perhaps father) to Jean Valens *écuyer*, who married c.1463 Marie le Cauchois dame d'Esmainville, the bastard's cousin: *Rouen* 4 May, 6 Jun 1463, 9 Jul 1464. The couple were involved in 1463 with numerous other parties (including erstwhile Carbonnel man Jean Prieur seigneur de Nytot) in a shuffle of rights in the fief of Frontebosc in the parish of Limesy; interestingly, Brézé's servant Jean Gouel held the same fief or portion thereof: *Rouen* 6 Jun 1463; Frondeville 1960 p36. The same couple came to an accord in a dispute with Robert de Dreux in May 1464: *Echiquier* 1464 p45v°. In 1464 Guillemette was involved in financial dealings with Jean Pinguet, *receveur des aides* at Evreux and formerly a Brézé man: *Rouen* 10 Sep 1464.

⁴⁰Roquelet 1984 I, p137. *Echiquier* 1469 p99. On Auber see appendix 1(c) and 3. The *verderie* was a royal rather than comital office, but rights in the forest were shared between king, count and other seigneurs.

Other men can occasionally be identified as tenants of Brézé: Guillaume Malherbe appears to have been a vassal of Brézé in his wife's seigneurie of Plasnes in the *vicomté* of Orbec. Patronyms listed as tenants in a 1419 *aveu* for the barony of Esneval correspond with several of the more prominent men in the company, but it is likely that our attention should be focussed on vicinage rather than vassalage, though this picture might change if archers were included and especially if other fiefs, such as those on the Norman borders, were examined.⁴¹

Both the Saâne and Poullain had other connections to men in the Brézé circle.⁴² The picture is of a social world in process of construction around the framework supplied by the *grand sénéchal*'s political and military cadres. But it was a social world centred in Brézé's personal designs: this is obvious when the royal *ordonnance* company of Brézé's client Jean Carbonnel seigneur de Sourdeval followed its captain into heavy engagement in Brézé's effort to realise his Lancastrian grant there. Sourdeval became his commander in the Channel Islands when in he took the Jersey château of Montorgueil in 1460.

After 1461 the Sourdeval company remained in garrison there and the island was run in the early 1460s by men drawn from its ranks. Brézé depended on these Lower Norman kinsmen and well-wishers for military support, but he drew on his Rouennais clients and well-wishers as legal and administrative agents. When on 21 August 1462 Brézé ordered the summons of the assises on Jersey for 4 October, he addressed himself to Jean Carbonnel *chevalier* seigneur de Cerences, Guillaume Carbonnel seigneur d'Audeville, Guillaume de Braquemont and a mixed group of Cotentin lawyers, headed by the *vicomte* of Carentan. Guy baron de Briouze *écuyer* was to preside: he succeeded to the positions of *lieutenant général* and *gouverneur* of the island when Sourdeval followed Brézé on the expedition to the north of England in 1462-63.⁴³

⁴¹DLN/45 p3. In 1419 the Longchamps, la Chappelle, Saâne, d'Espinay, Blosset and Thieuville were listed amongst the vassals of Marguerite d'Esneval: *Esneval* p250-53. The Brézé companies drew some men from the vicinity of Mauny in the *vicomté* of Pont-Audemer. *Pont-Audemer* p230-39 lists men named de la Haye, Gouel, le Normant, de Mambeville (Manneville?), de Morsenq (Morchou?), Esneval, various Poisson and various du Fay. A slightly higher proportion of names correspond with the Flocques company.

⁴²Jean Pinguet or Pingual *écuyer* was a Brézé *homme d'armes* 1453-61, and can be shown in associations with other Brézé men. In 1456 for example, he witnessed the sale of a manor to Brézé's poursuivant Jean Bosseau by Brézé's man Jacques Poulain and his wife Jeanne Crespin: *Rouen* 24 Dec 1456.

⁴³Nicolle 1920; see also the documents published by Lempriere 1924 p102ff: among other officers we can name was André de Vieuxchastel *écuyer* marshal of the château (p115) and Pierre Nyvellet *receveur général de monseigneur de Maulevrier* (p155n). Guillaume Carbonnel (now qualified *chevalier*) was Sourdeval's *lieutenant général* at the château (p115).

It is in connection with this expedition that we can show the retinue operating as a credit or finance network. The most important of the financial transactions which preceded and helped bankroll the adventure involved the Patriarch, who had remained one of Brézé's few friends through the 1461-62 disgrace. In October 1462 he purchased Jeanne Crespin's dowry, the Villes-Saint-Denis, from the couple for 4,000 *écus*, 'pour leur cler et evident prouffit mieulx faire que laisser et subvenir a aucuns leurs affaires necessaires'. They stated that they owed him half this sum 'pour cause de prest par lui a eulx autrefois fait sur certains gaiges'.⁴⁴

When the Patriarch delivered the money two days later, one fifth of it was in English pennies. Brézé notarised a very sweeping procuration for his wife on 9 September, in the presence of, *inter alia*, Guy de Briouze, Nicolas le Normant and Jean Gouel. Others with Brézé links can be shown raising funds on the Rouen rent markets in the same period. Richard de Thieuville sold rents to Richard de Brumare *grenétier* of Caen and to Rouen merchant Henri Hurel. Abraham Fremin, Brézé's *vicomte* of Maulévrier, sold property. Sourdeval sold the large rent of L80. The buyer, Hurel again, was ceded two months later the fief of Mesnil-Durescu in liquidation of unspecified debts by the new *lieutenant général* of the *bailli*, Gauvain Mauviel. His long association with the Dreux-Esneval may be in play here: the fief was held of the barony of Esneval and Mauviel was also engaging in rent sales and deals with the du Bosc family. In 1462-64 Jean Auber *verdier* of Trait-Maulévrier raised nearly L500 by selling property (including fiefs) and rents.⁴⁵

The point that Brézé was set upon carving out a substantial base in the province through the exploitation of the *grande sénéchaussée*, land purchase and royal grant of office and privilege can be rendered less banal when light can be shed on his tactics in the legal and fiscal skirmishing which such a strategy involved. Men in his service were drawn into related activities. When he took over the Crespin inheritance, Brézé acquired a dispute with Robert Leschamps *écuyer* over the seignury of Vivier. His retainer Pierre le Bouteiller *écuyer* began buying up debts of the late Guillaume de Bellengues *chevalier*. Leschamps's claim was in right of his wife, who claimed to be

⁴⁴Rouen 5, 7 Oct 1462: Antoine Crespin witnessed the contracts.

⁴⁵Rouen 25 Aug; 13, 24, 25 Sep; 31 Dec 1462; 3 Jan, 20 Feb 1462/63. The Auber contracts are: Rouen 14 Mar 1461/62, 3 Aug and 15 Sep 1463, 21 Feb and 11 Mar 1463/64. Men without clear links to Brézé in the previous decade were in Rouen and involved in similar transactions: they were in Rouen, raising funds and surely participating in the expedition. One such is the destituted *ordonnance* captain Pierre Louvain *vicomte* de Berzy, who can be found selling lands in the *bailliage* of Evreux to Charles de Melun. Jean du Mesnil *seigneur* de Normare and Rosay, heir of Charles VII's late *pannetier* Hervé, was selling rents: Rouen 12 Aug, 20 Sep 1462. The Longchamps also seem to have been involved, notarising a succession settlement: Rouen 17 Sep 1462. Others involved in money raising at this point include Jean Blanchart and Jean du Fay: Rouen 18 Aug, 10 Oct 1462; see also contracts involving Jean de Heudreville, Colart de Mainieres *chevalier*, Florent des Moutiers, Michel le Caron, Nicolas Aux Coulombs, Jacques Auber, Tassin de Chisy of Beauvais, Girard de la Lande, Colinet de la Fontaine, Thomas son of Guillaume bâtard de Courcy: Rouen Oct/Nov 1462.

the heiress of Guillaume's daughter, the late Jeanne de Bellengues. When le Bouteiller began the procedure to pass a *decret* on the disputed fief while it was still sequestered because of this dispute, Brézé and his wife appeared to register their prior claim. This intensified the legal pressure on Leschamps and his wife, but also had a number of procedural effects which may have been advantageous to Brézé. For instance, when the principal was evoked before the *maîtres des requêtes du palais* at Paris, the matter of the *decret* remained before the Rouen assises. In December 1458, Brézé accorded with the couple, buying them out of their rights for 500 *écus*.⁴⁶

The buying up of debts was, unsurprisingly, a standard part of the armoury. This can be illustrated from the defence of Jeanne Crespin's title to Mauny against the claims of Breton ducal courtier Jean de Mauny. Brézé bought up letters of his adversary's obligations. The Orgemont family had been seeking redress in respect of disputed rents worth a nominal L1,675. They sold these to Brézé for L1,500, and he employed them to harry Mauny with executions upon his goods and lands, ultimately forcing him to a settlement in 1461.⁴⁷

It was not only through obvious pressure that Brézé was able to secure advantage in such cases. In similar vein, we should not assume that Brézé was always paying the market price for his acquisitions. Take the instance of the fief of Troubleville which the *grand sénéchal* acquired in the summer of 1456 from Roger de Breauté. The price was L50, and 'bons et agreables services, courtoisies et plaisirs' rendered. Six months later the count threw it in as part of the price when he bought a third share in Touberville in 1456, in a transaction which may value it at L250 of revenue.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Rouen 1 Dec 1458.

⁴⁷The starting point for an analysis of this case is the accord between the parties reached at Avranches in June 1461, and ratified by Brézé and his wife in August at Rouen: *Echiquier* 1462 p229v°. Mauny's claims derived from his father's alleged acquisition of the seignury from Jeanne Crespin's father Guillaume, and the case had been pending in the *Parlement*. At the 1462 *Echiquier* Mauny was given *congie de court* to drop his *doléances* against adverse judgements at Caen. He had been ordered to pay the principal and arrears of two rents drawn on the lands of Charles de Mauny, his uncle. Before the *Echiquier* Mauny was represented by Brézé's man Jean Gouel, while Brézé's own case was presented by Guillaume Petit. Brézé's purchase of Orgemont's letters is Rouen 19 Apr 1461. Orgemont had been in dispute with Mauny over this rent and had had to obtain royal letters allowing him to sell the suit notwithstanding.

⁴⁸Rouen 18 Jan 1456/57 (Brézé's onward sale); 19 Jul 1456 (the original acquisition). Roger de Breauté had just recovered it by *marchie de bourse et lignage* from Gauvain Mauviel. Mauviel had acquired it soon after Easter 1455 from Roger's brother Jean. Given the short interval between the annulment of the sale and Roger's sale to Brézé, we may suspect that the fief had been recovered at the latter's instigation and perhaps with his money.

The ex-Lancastrians: avenues of rehabilitation

One of the practical constraints on Charles VII's patronage in the aftermath of the Reduction was the gratitude expected of him towards *demeurants* who had played a role in managing the collapse of Lancastrian Normandy: through intelligence work; through co-operation in negotiating compositions; or during internal debates over the decisions to open gates. Where appropriate they could expect ennoblement. Although the calls they had on royal gratitude continued to occasion requests of various kinds, initial material reward tended to be in the form of provision to royal office. The predisposition to use royal patronage in this entirely conventional way may have hardened into policy: this is implicit in grants of an annual pension pending provision to a suitable royal office, as yet unavailable. Rouen *bonnetier* Pierre Boquentin, 'batu, navré et mutilé' by the English for his role at the fall of the city, was granted a L40 pension pending such provision, and Richard Bosmer, religious of the Mont-Aux-Malades was also pensioned for his services until a benefice of equivalent value could be found.⁴⁹

A question mark must still remain over the extent to which the beneficiaries stayed within the clientèle of the particular captain with whom they had treated. The chances must have been increased where the captaincy remained to the *chef de guerre* who had taken a place. When Dunois captured Vernon he took the captaincy, installing one of his household men as *garde*. He also distributed royal office to men who had made themselves useful, but none can be traced in Dunois's service or wider affinity in subsequent years. On the other hand Pierre de Brézé had many *demeurants* in his service. In general Valois partisans *de la dernière heure* did not receive dramatic rewards. Nonetheless, Charles VII did not treat the Normans as a conqueror; men were offered chances to redeem themselves.⁵⁰

A high proportion of Brézé's men were of *demeurant* background. Of those already mentioned the Saâne, Longchamps, the Gouel and Jean le Prince were contaminated by Lancastrian service. We can rarely date with precision the point at which these men transferred their allegiance, and not all remained in the Lancastrian obedience to the bitter end. Nonetheless it is sufficiently noteworthy a feature of his entourage to deserve specific attention.

⁴⁹DLN/15 p305 for the two Rouennais examples. Jean Griselaine was ennobled in January 1450 for his services at the reduction of Berneville, at which he was 'principalis mediator gestor et executor', although the town had been put in a state of defence: DLN/1 p344, 158. See Jean Becquet, appendix 1(e); also notices in appendix 3 *sub* le Fevre; Dreux; le Roux, Bigars, Holet, Leudet. These examples should be seen in the context of Christopher Stöcker's observations on office as maintenance: Stöcker 1971.

⁵⁰DLN/15 p227, 325, 329, 331. Dunois's grants were made to Guillaume Daguenet, Gacien Mulart, Michel le Rouilly and Regnault de Bordeaux, on whom see appendix 3. Jean le Roux may be one of the Rouennais who was taken into Brézé's service. He was *commis* of Jeanne Crespin to collect monies due to her in 1465: BN PO 509 Brézé 11513, n°45.

A number of instances could be cited of the entourages of Valois *chefs de guerre* absorbing old enemies. Louis d'Estouteville, for instance, took his old sparring partner Thomas Chisenal into his service. The link between them was chivalrous and affinal: Chisenal was married to Estouteville's wife's cousin. With pleasing symmetry the Englishman was rewarded for his submission with a grant of the lands of a native Cotentin Lancastrian who fled to England on the Reduction (though his tenure of the lands was brief). Chisenal had been a considerable seigneur under the English – holding for instance the Montenay lands in the *bailliages* of Caen and the Cotentin. After the Reduction he retained in right of his wife the fiefs of Croisset and Chevhaul.⁵¹

The Thieuville offer another example. Durant de Thieuville *écuyer* seigneur de Gonneville was an Auge noble and Honfleur notable: a homonym, perhaps his father, moved from the service of Charles VI in the early 1400s to that of Henry VI in the 1420s. He was *contrôleur* of the *grenier* of Honfleur 1422-41 at least, lieutenant of the *bailli* of Rouen in the *vicomté* of Auge in the 1430s, and lieutenant of the *vicomte* of Auge in the 1440s. In 1445 he was York's *commis* as *bailli* of Evreux. He was a regular attender at meetings of the Estates in the 1440s, and headed the list of nobles summoned at the Estates of 1442. His lands extended over the *bailliages* of Rouen, Caen and the Caux, but he was resident normally at Honfleur.⁵²

He was in receipt of grants from the Lancastrian regime for good service, for example of lands in the *vicomté* of Orbec supposedly worth 60 *salus*. In 1443 the regime compensated him to the tune of L600 for the destruction of his lordship of Gonneville by Flocquet. The French captain was said to have acted 'par ire hayne et voy de vengeance' against Thieuville for his role in the execution of 'plusieurs larrons brigans et ennemis de la chose publique'. The French had 'fait bouter le feu ou manoir et hostel feodal ... ardre bruler et mettre en cendre le grange dudit Hostel en laquelle avoit grande quantite de froment comme de quatre a cinq mil gerbes qui a este tout mis a neant et en perdicion et semblément pour harnois et aussi bestes au mailles et oultre ce y aste rompu le coulombier par ce que le feu ny pouvoit bonnement estre miz ne boute esuelles choses'.⁵³

Since in the years before the truce he had been targeted for such special attention, it is interesting to find his son Richard serving in Flocquet's *grande ordonnance* company by 1452. In the second half of the decade he transferred to Brézé's service and was in his *grande ordonnance*

⁵¹Rouen 6 Jun 1456, 10 Jun 1463; DLN/4 p163; Echiquier 1454 p122.

⁵²GR19001. BN PO 2828 *de Thieuville en Normandie* 62827, n°18-40. On the *bailliage* of Evreux, DLN/4 p189, GR12434. BL Additional Charters 14452.

⁵³DLN/10 p13; the Orbec lands were actually worth only L28/14s of rent. BN PO 2828 *de Thieuville en Normandie* 62827 n°35.

company by 1459. He first witnessed an important Brézé contract in 1458, then the ratification by Brézé and his wife of an accord in August 1461 and the couple's transport of the Villes-Saint-Denis to the Patriarch in 1462. Rentsales to Rouen bourgeois Richard de Brumare and Henri Hurel in 1462 should be seen in the context of other money raising efforts by Brézé and his clients in preparation for the Northumbrian venture. Although the evidence is circumstantial, we should conclude that he had entered Brézé's household in the late 1450s.⁵⁴

Brézé's retinue offers us other good examples of the chivalrous absorption of Lancastrian enemies. The best known case is that of the English former captain of Mantes, Sir Richard Merbury. Like Chisenal, he reduced himself to the Valois obedience as Lancastrian France collapsed. He thereby preserved the inheritance of his wife and extracted their two sons from the French captivity into which they had fallen. He was treated handsomely, receiving a pension of L1,200 and serving his new king as *bailli* of Troyes and as captain *à vie* of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. His sons John and Edmund found place in Brézé's company, and the family was admitted to the benefits of good lordship. The *sénéchal* pledged the Merbury's debts and intervened to obtain favourable terms from their creditors.⁵⁵

Brézé took other native born Englishmen into his service. William Stroude's supplication to the king recounted how his mother, Cardine de Vieux, had been married by force to an Englishman, who had taken his children to England on the Reduction. Stroude represented himself as her 'seul heritier par sa demeure en nostre obeissance et service ouquel il a tousjours depuis este et la continue et continue en la compaignie de nostre Grand Seneschal de Normandie'. In May 1454 Charles VII restored him to his mother's fief of Marigny in the *vicomté* of Bayeux, and this Englishman-become-Frenchman from a broken home metamorphosed into Guillaume de Marigny.⁵⁶

The story of Guy de Briouze, born Guy Affourd, is a remarkable one. The Affourds had since the 1420s rooted themselves in Normandy through engagement with the Lancastrian effort in France. Guy's Norman mother had brought them a hereditary interest in the barony of Briouze.

⁵⁴In addition one Durandin de Thieuville was an *homme d'armes* in Floquet's Honfleur garrison. BN PO 2828 *de Thieuville en Normandie* 62827, n°42-44, quittances for *ustencilles* dated Jan 19 1452/53; Oct 2 1459; Feb 23 1459/60. The 1458 contract was in support of Guy de Briouze's claim to the barony, on which see below and *Rouen* Jan 29 1458/59, Aug 13 1461, Oct 5 1462; also Aug 25 and Sep 13 1462. BN PO 720 *de la Chaussee de Boisville* 16470 n°167 shows marriage links in the next generation between the Thieuville and other Brézé-background families in the Chartrain (Beauvilliers and la Chaussée).

⁵⁵On Chisenal and Merbury, see notices in appendix 3.

⁵⁶Brézé obtained a qualified grant of the succession in reversion, but this was revoked on the accession of Louis XI, and the lands were granted to Jean Bourré. This was reversed in Brézé's favour in March 1464, and the lands passed to Brézé, Stroude's heirs being in England: *DLN/25* p101; /2 p237.

On the Reduction John Affourd and his sons fled to England, and the barony was forfeited. Charles VII granted it first to his *échanson* Jean d'Escourches, later to his *trésorier* Jean Bureau. Sometime in the mid-1450s Brézé wooed Guy back to the French fold. In 1456 Guy returned to Normandy. Brézé later acknowledged that in 'le reduisant et recevant en l'obeissance du Roy' he had promised that he would ensure that he recovered his barony. To the end of liquidating Bureau's interest in the lands, Brézé committed himself to all the necessary payments, though this was not finally accomplished until 1459.⁵⁷

If we take these documents at face value, Brézé had paid out large sums and deployed considerable effort and influence in sustaining a promise given to a Lancastrian exile. Chivalrous culture aside it is difficult to discern Brézé's profit here. What he did get was faithful service: Briouze was his *maître d'hôtel*, a member of the Rouen garrison from 1460, and we can illustrate his service to his patron in many other ways, from managing building work at Mauny to witnessing transactions both important and banal.

Guy was a lawyer and had been an officer of the *Echiquier* of 1448 and at the Norman Estates in May 1449.⁵⁸ Perhaps Brézé's interest lay partly in Guy's experience in the Lancastrian administrative machine. Others come into the same category. The Cauchois knight already mentioned, Jean de Saâne, is perhaps the most prominent instance. He had served the Lancastrians in a number of capacities. He oversaw the artillery and works for the recovery of the Grosse Tour of Rouen after it was seized by pro-Valois conspirators in 1430. He was *conseiller du roi* at a pension of L200 by 1434, and one of the *commissaires* holding the Estates at Pont-de-l'Arche in October 1439.⁵⁹ At the Reduction he played a role in the capitulation of Rouen, and was rewarded by Charles VII.

These are not isolated examples: the Saâne may be compared to Brézé men like Jean II d'Argouges or Richard de Thieuville, whose backgrounds were also in the same curious world of Norman nobles on the political cusp of Lancastrian and Valois allegiance.⁶⁰

So as Brézé's military-diplomatic role in the French-Angevin-English triangle developed in the 1450s new figures were entering his retinue. At the same time the space he was making for

⁵⁷ Rouen 29 Jan 1458/59. See notice in appendix 3 under Briouze.

⁵⁸BL Additional Ms 11509 p42v^o; gifts dated Oct 15th 1448 to waged officers at the 1448 *Echiquier*; p62v^o-66, record of payments of expenses dated May 1449 to various persons for assisting at the Estates.

⁵⁹BN PO 2599 *de Saane* 57815, n^o4-19. DLN/4 p295.

⁶⁰See the notices on these men in appendix 3.

himself in the *grande sénéchaussée* was drawing him into less military associations, especially within the Rouen legal establishment. These impulses had many implications, but both made his entourage an avenue of rehabilitation for former Lancastrians. Brézé took these men into his service as *hommes d'armes* and as legal officers, with a slight lean towards the latter.

Nicolas le Normant offers a good example of the uses to which Brézé could put a man who might have expected to be compromised by a Lancastrian past. In the spring of 1451 he submitted a request to the king in which he briefly recounted his career. For twenty years he had served as Lancastrian *vicomte* of Domfront, until eighteen months since he was translated to the *vicomté* of Pont-de-l'Arche. Since the Reduction of Pont-de-l'Arche 'demoura ledit le Normant depourvu de tous estat et maniere de vivre'. At the fall of his native Pont-Audemer 'ses maisons furent arses et ung manoir quil avoit a ung lieu pres d'illec garni des bestiaux et labours en granges en grant valeur prins pillés et emportés parcequil estoit lors demourant en la ville de Rouen.' Then, after he had reduced himself to the obedience of the king at the fall of Rouen, his possessions at Domfront were pillaged by the English. He lamented his losses in the year of the king's great triumph; 'toutes lesquelles pertes ... montent a plus de quatre mille ecus'.⁶¹

The main purpose of le Normant's litany of woe was to enable him to escape the attentions of the *Chambre des Comptes*, which was threatening to compel him to render his accounts. He had lost all his papers during the different reductions, so would have had great difficulty in fulfilling such a requirement. He was keen to avoid any suspicion falling on his withdrawal into Rouen ('pour aucuns ses affaires') as the Valois forces swept over Upper Normandy, and to stress his good affections in rallying to the king on the fall of the city. He emphasised the loyal service he had done the king at his own expense during the *siège* of Caen.

Although he served at the French *siège* of Caen, his career continued to focus on the law. The first explicit citation of him as *conseiller* of the *grand sénéchal* is dated 1466, but he had almost certainly been in the same position in the early 1450s. As early as 1452 he presided over an investigation in the *auditoire* of the *grande sénéchaussée* at Rouen as lieutenant of Brézé, and in the presence of other members of the Brézé circle.⁶² He crops up witnessing appointments brokered by *Echiquier* counsellors, and clearly moved in the highest legal circles in the province in the 1450s.

⁶¹DLN/75 p37. See appendix 3.

⁶²Rouen 11 Oct 1466. DLN/9 p318 (Letters of le Normant as lieutenant of the *grand sénéchal*, associated with royal letters patent dated Jan 29 1451 in favour of Cardin Birel (Painel) dit Malortie *écuyer*, and with other inquests in respect of the same).

As with Briouze we can place him in Brézé's service both in documents arising from the functioning of the court of the *grande sénéchaussée*, and in the group of close counsellors who witnessed his purchases of lands and rents. He remained close to Brézé after his disgrace, witnessing the procuration drawn up for Jeanne Crespin when Brézé was going into Lancastrian service in 1462. This probably indicates a position in Brézé's household and/or council: some of his fellow witnesses were certainly household men.⁶³

We cannot say whether le Normant kept his place under Louis d'Estouteville's brief tenure of the *sénéchaussée* in 1461-64. He was present at Brézé's resumption of the captaincy of Rouen in November 1464. The late 1460s saw him weathering the political storm as a royal legal technician, sitting on commissions of the *sénéchaussée* investigating accounting procedures in the *vicomté* of Rouen, and brokering politically difficult civil cases.⁶⁴

In accepting the service of ex-Lancastrians Brézé was putting down roots into the Rouen notability: he thereby stabilised his own local position, but he was also making a valuable contribution to the more general pacification of the province under his Valois masters. And further, he was mining a rich seam of administrative experience, which would play its own part in the salience of the *sénéchal* on the Norman scene.

Clients and allies: Jean Carbonnel and Robert de Flocques

Two men holding positions in their own right in the Norman establishment of Charles VII can also be seen in the context of the Brézé affinity. Robert de Flocques was the more substantial of these figures, the ideotype of a Norman exile become *routier*, surviving on the winnings of war in the occupation to achieve great stature in royal service in the last decade of his life. Both he and the Cotentin knight Jean Carbonnel seigneur de Sourdeval were rooted in the Norman petty nobility and in the profession of arms. Sourdeval affords us an insight into the ways *demeurants* could create a context for themselves within the new establishment and a career in the process. He began with the advantage that he was Brézé's cousin, though in other respects we are ill-informed about

⁶³Rouen 9 Sep 1462: they included Briouze, Brézé's *maître d'hôtel*; a former member of the count's *petite ordonnance* company in Rouen, Guillaume le Comte *écuyer*; Jean Gouel and Philippe Fergeul. Le Normant's connexion with Brézé was sealed at some stage by the marriage of his second son Thibault to Jeanne de Brézé, presumably a bastard of Pierre, though the dating is unclear (*DLN*/11 p359; inquest into the wardship of Jacques le Normant *écuyer*, son of Thibault and Jeanne, 2 May 1496. The text is internally inconsistent; Jacques is stated to be 21 yrs old, but his father is stated to have died about 1470. Jacques's godfather was the late Jacques de Brézé, for whom he may have been named).

⁶⁴See notice on le Normant in appendix 3.

his lineage. The family story sheds interesting light on a history still much *banalisé* by nineteenth century nationalism.

The genealogical details of the Carbonnel are difficult to reconstruct accurately.⁶⁵ They were a ramified Cotentin clan, seemingly Orléanist during the civil wars before Henry V's descent, members of which went on to take Lancastrian service. Caries Carbonnel *écuyer* defended Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte against Gloucester during the Lancastrian conquest. The composition reached between them specified confirmation in his possessions; he was formally restored in November 1418. Others of his kin also secured such confirmations: Guillaume Carbonnel *chevalier* had defended Saint-Lô, but was confirmed in his lands as early as January 1418, and Jean Carbonnel *chevalier* was confirmed in his rights the same year, and restored in other lands on the marches of Brittany by the summer of 1420.⁶⁶

This situation was not stable: Guillaume defected fairly rapidly, and Jean's son Henry joined the Valois in the late 1420s: an inquest of 1451 described him as twenty-three years an exile in the obedience of Charles VII, and three times a prisoner. He had abandoned £3,000's worth of lands and laboured under debts arising in ransom and in other ways.⁶⁷

Others declined to make such sacrifices. Henry's father remained in Normandy and was still enjoying his lands in the 1440s, though they were debilitated: the 1451 inquest stated them to have declined in value by about a third. Caries was sufficiently well-affected to be provided to the *verderie* of Valognes, and died in 1426 still in the Lancastrian obedience. His close kin remained *demeurant* up to the Reduction and some kept faith with Lancaster even after. Guillaume Carbonnel *écuyer* seigneur des Marestz and Naqueville was one such. Jean, Caries's son by Jeanne de Velou, came of age only in the early 1440s when he held the seigneuries of Vauville in the

⁶⁵In administrative sources where no toponomial, matrimonial or genealogical qualification is made, it is not always easy to know which member of the family is being referred to. The ubiquity of the name Jean is very frustrating. Various members used different toponyms at different times. All genealogies I have seen of the family are demonstrably false in some particular, and those of Hozier are mythological until the sixteenth century. This is strange for a family which survived into modern times holding the marquisate de Canisy-Carbonnel. La Roque believed that the family divided in the generation around 1400 into four major lineages, a plausible thesis but, confusingly, the lines subsequently intermarried: *Harcourt* II p1258. His four lines were those of the knights Guillaume seigneur de Brevans, Richard who gave rise to the seigneurs de Chassegay, Hue seigneur de Canisy and Jean seigneur de Heuqueville (perhaps *recte* Naqueville).

⁶⁶DLN/3 p360, 182, 204; /26 p93. Caries may be the soubriquet of Richard Carbonnel *écuyer* seigneur de Barneville and Mesnil-Auber whose daughter Jeanne subsequently married Landry de Saucey *écuyer*. Landry was dead by May 1454 when she rendered *aveu* for Mesnil-Auber: *Harcourt* I p114.

⁶⁷DLN/3 p302; John Burgh the younger was granted lands of Guillaume Carbonnel *chevalier*, rebel, to the value of 500 *francs*. Guillaume may be identical with the knight of this name who served Maine in the Midi expedition of Louis Dauphin in 1442, BN PO 594 *Carbonnel* 13863 n°2. DLN/9 p250.

vicomté of Valognes and Arondeville or Audeville (perhaps Audouville-le-Hubert in the same *vicomté*). He fled to England on the Reduction, accompanied by his wife and children, and his forfeited lands were briefly granted to Thomas Chisenal. Within a year or two of the fall of Cherbourg, Jean submitted to Charles VII and had his lands restored.⁶⁸

The main relationships between the Carbonneaux closest to Brézé can be weakly inferred from a very complex case in the early 1460s over the fief des Essars in the county of Mortain. This shows that the senior member of the lineage in the 1450s was Jean Carbonnel seigneur de Cerences, chief of the name and arms, a man in his late twenties on the Reduction. His namesake Sourdeval was certainly *demeurant* in the later 1430s, for la Roque saw enfeoffements and contracts he was making in 1438-39. He was variously qualified seigneur of Chassegay, Mully and Marcelet, the latter in right of his wife, Perrine or Perrette des Bois. For clarity's sake I shall refer to him throughout by his later toponym, Sourdeval.⁶⁹

As the occupation dribbled to its pathetic end the loyalties of these men became uncertain. Sourdeval was almost certainly in French service during the Reduction campaigns. He was probably the Jean Carbonnel who in November 1449 gave quittance at Rouen for L90 'pour lui aider a supporter les affaires et despens' that he had sustained in the company of the king. This payment may refer to the moment when he entered Valois service, though his homonym had appeared at the Tours tournament in 1447. By the spring of 1452 he was commanding twenty lances in garrison at Pont-de-l'Arche. He accompanied the king on the 1453 Bordeaux campaign.

⁶⁸DLN/4 p207, p223. Allmand/Armstrong 1982 p103-108. DLN/9 p86, /4 p161 and p197 (delays of homage and of *aveu* dated 15 Apr 1445, 20 Jul 1447). *Echiquier* 1453 p38, 179, and especially 122; 1454 p146. At the 1448 *Echiquier* the following members of the family were litigating: Richard Carbonnel *écuyer* and his wife Colette de Vitenval; the widow of Guillaume Carbonnel *chevalier* seigneur de Brevans; the widow of Jean Carbonnel *chevalier* seigneur de Beny; three mentions of a Guillaume Carbonnel *écuyer*, one with a wife; Jean Carbonnel *écuyer* seigneur de Vauville; Jeanne Carbonnel dame de Brevans widow of Jean Carbonnel *chevalier*; the children of the late Fouques Carbonnel *chevalier*; Jean Carbonnel *écuyer* seigneur de l'Estre. Different toponyms do not signify different individuals and some may be dead.

⁶⁹*Echiquier* 1462 p231; 1463 p228; *Appointements* 1463 p2 and p9v°. *Harcourt* I p114. Jean Carbonnel *chevalier* had sold the fief des Essars to Jean le Cordier during the occupation. On the Reduction le Cordier's possession was challenged by Jean de Husson titular count of Tonnerre. Le Cordier convoked Jean's widow Jeanne Carbonnel and the couple's son Guillaume to the assises of Avranches in guarantee of his title. Guillaume and Jean Carbonnel *chevalier* seigneur de Cerences appealed to the *Echiquier*. The long list of parties included Cerences, Sourdeval, Guillaume, his younger brother Jean, and their mother. If the hypothesis that the fief was *don de mariage* of the widow Jeanne is accepted, then the challenge to le Cordier's title was an implicit challenge to hers. Cerences assumed the obligation explicitly as eldest heir of her side of the family, which would make him her nephew by an elder brother now dead, and Sourdeval her brother and Cerences's uncle. Cerences's age is given as 60 in inquests dated 1489 and 1492: DLN/11 p287, /6 p87. Qualified knight, he gave homage in May 1462 for his own lands and those of his wife Marie le Conte: he then held Cerenas (Cerences), Tourville, Oessy, Cuues, Douinière, Nicop, la Haye, la Brannièrre.

Early the same year he was commanding a garrison of forty lances at Touques. This is the first indication that he was associated with Brézé, for it had been the subject of a quasi-venal transaction with Dunois: shortly after the Reduction Brézé ceded his valuable captaincy of Pont-de-Meulan to Dunois's wife Marie d'Harcourt, obtaining in exchange the captaincy of Touques.⁷⁰

To this point Sourdeval's trajectory contrasts with Flocquet's career. The young Robinet was *pannetier* of Charles VII by 1425 and in 1432 he was in the company of a number of French captains, including the Norman Ricarville, la Hire and Xaintrailles in the Beauvaisis. He was active in the combats around Saint-Denis in 1435, and later joined the revolt of the commons in the Caux, briefly holding Tancarville. Thereafter he settled back into the normal activities of the *chef de guerre*, open then as now to denigration as *écorcherie*. These activities interacted haphazardly with the king's broader war aims, but as the 1430s drew to a close he was drawn more consistently into frontier warfare. In the early 1440s he was with la Hire, Xaintrailles, Pierre de Brézé and his uncle Jean, Chabannes and Panessac in the Oise valley under Eu.⁷¹

The first explicit link to Brézé appears when Flocquet's reputation as a *routier* captain was already made: in his 1439 *Ordonnance* Charles VII ordered Flocquet and Jean de Brézé, uncle of Pierre, to garrison Durtal and Baugé. More significantly, the following year both men were ravaging the Autunois under Maine and during the *Praguerie* Flocquet was with the Brézé in the royal camp. The association was strengthened during the early 1440s as the Brézé and Flocques emerged as crucial royal agents on the frontier, and began to make the Perche and Vexin a vulnerable zone for the Lancastrian regime. From the autumn of 1440 the situation in the Evreçin saw a transformation from the raiding of the 1430s into territorial conquest. Conches fell to

⁷⁰*Leseur* II p198. BN PO 594 *Carbonnel* 13863, n°26, 27, 28; *DLN/24* p93. BN NAFr 8607 p53, Ms fr 21496 p85, p94, p109 and Clairambault 234 p81 are explicit that his company garrisoned Touques (1455-1460). Musters of 1452 (Clairambault 234 p35) and 1454 (NAFr 8607 p12) locate the garrison only as being within Normandy, but *DLN/24* p441 lists Carbonnel as having forty men at Touques in 1453. Charles VII ratified the Brézé-Dunois exchange in March 1452, granting captaincy and revenues (assessed at 1,200 *livres parisis*) to Marie d'Harcourt *à vie*: *DLN/25* p93.

⁷¹BN PO 1167 *de Floques* 26583, n°14; Plaisse 1984, p37-38, p50ff. With Blanchefort, Antoine de Chabannes, Gautier de Bron and 2,000 horse he made war against Jean de Luxembourg count of Ligny, then raided into Hainault in 1437. In 1438 he was ravaging Touraine until ordered out of the province by Charles VII. He withdrew into Nivernais and Burgundy, eventually being bought off. He joined the captains in Lorraine fighting for Vaudémont in the winter of 1438-39, until they were bought off by the Lorrains. In 1439 he was part of a huge *routier* force which crossed the Loire at Gien heading south, but later that year he was in the army which raided into Alsace. In the late summer of 1439 he was at the siege of Meaux where he held joint command with la Hire of one of the three divisions of Richemont's army (p80).

Flocquet and Jean de Brézé in September 1440 (though it was not held); Louviers fell soon after, and Beaumont and Beaumesnil followed in the summer of 1441.⁷²

The 'grans exploits de guerre' of the Brézé uncle and nephew and Flocquet were recorded in letters patent issued in January 1442. Over the previous two campaigning seasons they had taken and re-fortified Conches and in garrisoning the place with men of their retinues, they had cleared them from the countryside in the king's obedience. The king recorded his gratitude for their great contribution to the late *seige* of Pontoise and their capture of Evreux, 'a la tres grand foulle et dommage de sesdits adversaires et au grant bien et honneur de lui et sa seigneurie'. The trio had collaborated in these efforts, expending 6,000 *salus* at the taking of Evreux alone, and obliging themselves heavily to the men of their companies and others.⁷³

The crowning glory was the seizure of Evreux by Pierre de Brézé, Jean de Brézé and Flocquet on 15 September 1441. Plaisse does not discuss the subsequent creation of Brézé as count of Evreux, other than to deny that it had any but honorific significance. This enables him to elide a certain ambiguity in Flocquet's emergence as royal *bailli* and captain at Evreux: he may have been less than independent of Brézé, lord of the place and the king's favourite and minister. They were joined together in a complex of other grants and gifts. In January 1442 they were granted in survivance the profits of the *greniers* of Evreux and Conches and the demesne revenues of the two *vicomtés*. After the fall of Evreux they presented to benefices in the king's name, including those adjudged to have fallen *in regale*, their incumbents being in the Lancastrian obedience.⁷⁴

That they were strong allies is clear, a relationship illustrated in the stained glass of the *Trois Maries* in Evreux Cathedral where, side-by-side, they face their Crespin wives and brother-

⁷²Plaisse 1984 p73, 87-9. On the conquest of the Evreçin, Plaisse p113ff and sources there cited. It was probably determined by the clearance of remaining Lancastrian strongholds in the Ile-de-France (Meaux in 1439, Creil in May 1440, Saint-Germain-en-Laye in December 1440, Pontoise between July and September 1441).

⁷³DLN/25 p75. The previous November the king had confirmed and expanded the terms of the bargain the three captains had struck with Thomassin le Mareschal, Lancastrian *élu* of Evreux, who had been 'un des principaulx moyens' of the fall of the town, at risk of his life and with great expenditure of his wealth: DLN/25 p77.

⁷⁴Plaisse 1984 p116. The comital title would normally have implied enjoyment of the viscomital demesne, which Plaisse argues convincingly was worthless. It was Flocquet who received the proceeds of various extraordinary taxes imposed upon the inhabitants for the upkeep of the walls by royal fiat in 1447: Plaisse 1978 p145, 272-74. Brézé abandoned to Flocquet the other granted revenues and his rights in a royal debt of 1,200 *écus* in 1450: BN PO 1167 *de Floques* 26583 n°32-34. DLN/25 p75; AN JJ 200 n°129, Louis XI's confirmation of their 1445 provisions in May 1467, printed *Ordonnances* XVI p572-75. This was the background to Guillaume de Floques's election in vexed circumstances to the see of Evreux in 1443: GC XI p604.

in-law. Jean Crespin actually commanded Flocquet's men during the Reduction campaign after Flocquet was incapacitated by a leg-injury. The strong links between the Brézé and Flocquet *ordonnance* companies are easily demonstrable, explicable by reference to the shared background of the retinues in the attrition of the Evreçin in the previous decade. The relationship culminated in Brézé's knighting of Flocquet in the field before Sandwich in 1457, and ended with the *sénéchal* sharing a death cart with his nephew Jacques de Flocques on the morrow of Montlhéry.⁷⁵

While Flocquet's relationship with the *sénéchal* was affinal, tempered by shared war enterprise over many years, Sourdeval's association with Brézé was predicated on their kinship through the *sénéchal*'s mother Clemence Carbonnel. The most plausible explanation of Sourdeval's appointment to Touques is that he was provided by his cousin. He went on to serve as the *sénéchal*'s standard bearer on the Sandwich raid in 1457.⁷⁶ As a senior kinsman Brézé was generous to Sourdeval's daughter on the occasion of her marriage. His gift of 800 *écus* was an obligation he could meet only by ceding the couple enjoyment of his maternal Cotentin inheritance.

The usufruct was converted rather quickly into a transport by Brézé of all his Cotentin lands to Sourdeval. Although formalised as a *clameur de marchie de bourse* upon the couple, weight should be placed on Brézé having put Sourdeval's request to proceed before his own council.⁷⁷ The two witnesses to the final transport exemplify the congruence of royal and Brézé interest in the matter: they were Guillaume Maugier, *greffier* of Brézé's council at Rouen, and Thomas de Louraille *trésorier des guerres* in Normandy.

Sourdeval was prospering greatly in royal and Brézé service, therefore. Before the death of Charles VII he was a royal *chambellan* and in receipt of a modest pension. Other members of the family were gaining place in the military establishment in the province: Etienne Carbonnel was captain of the *franc-archiers* of the *bailliage* of Rouen in the later 1450s. Guillaume Carbonnel

⁷⁵Plaisse 1978 p136; Beaucourt 1886 V p17; *Héraut Berry* p409.

⁷⁶*Héraut Berry* p409.

⁷⁷*Rouen* Jun 16 1456. Guillaume Carbonnel had married Marie Carbonnel daughter of Sourdeval, here qualified Jean Carbonnel *écuyer* seigneur de Marcellet. The lands transported include the fiefs of Beaumont, Mesnil-Lanu, la Guermaye (which, suggestively, had been in Sourdeval's own hands during the occupation: *Harcourt* I p114) and la Haulle. Following this cession, Sourdeval mounted a *clameur de marché de bourse et lignage* on this transport, to which his son-in-law submitted. Thereafter he complained to Brézé that the terms of the cession were so restrictive that he 'ne pavoit bonnement edifier & mesnagier ou mectre en estat de valleur lesdis heritages'. His request that these restrictions should be rescinded 'eust par mondit sgr le Conte este mise en son conseil et eu sur ce admis et deliberacion et tout considere ...'. The original conditions were relaxed and the lands quit to Carbonnel as his own inheritance: *Rouen* Feb 8 1456/57. He raised the cash with which to compensate his son-in-law and daughter by complex transports of his wife's seignury of Marcellet, which led to its falling, presumably by design, into the couple's hands. La Roque saw a 1472 contract of sale of the fief of Marcellet in the *vicomté* of Evrecy by the couple to Antoine de Batarnay seigneur de Vaugrix and Renée de Houllefort his wife. In this sale Guillaume Carbonnel was qualified *chevalier* seigneur d'Auderville: *Harcourt* I p114.

écuyer became a senior *homme d'armes* in the company of Jean du Bueil, and led the admiral's men on the Sandwich raid in 1457. Sourdeval's own *ordonnance* command was therefore only one entry into royal service for his kin.⁷⁸

In 1454 Sourdeval's company was joined by Guillaume and Emond Carbonnel, the former probably Sourdeval's son-in-law. Neither he nor Emond appears in musters of 1456, but Emond had returned by 1458. By 1460 they were joined by another Jean Carbonnel, probably the younger brother of Guillaume Carbonnel, both being sons of another *demeurant*, Guillaume Carbonnel *écuyer* seigneur des Marestz, brother of the Lancastrian Caries Carbonnel *chevalier*. All three were still on the roll in the first muster of the new reign. Sourdeval was probably also making place for the kin of his wife, Perrine des Bois: one Clement des Bois served him throughout the 1450s. The presence of the captain's kinsmen was a banal feature of such a petite *ordonnance* company. More interesting is the overlap with the Brézé company proper. This took two forms. First, some men had served Brézé before entering Sourdeval's company, and others left Sourdeval to serve the *sénéchal*. Second, men in both companies were linked by family and other links. In addition, the Sourdeval company was like Brézé's own in acting as an avenue of service by which members of lineages tainted by Lancastrian service could rehabilitate themselves.

Sourdeval's company was his own, not simply an extension of that of Brézé. A high proportion of its *hommes d'armes* were his kin. Others can be shown in close association with other members of the Carbonnel. A distinct group came of families – the Hamon, the Patry, and the Suhart – with lands in the Aure valley east of Bayeux and thus neighbours of one of the Carbonnel lines. Nonetheless there is no clear line of demarcation between the Carbonnel men and those of Brézé himself. In Brézé's company was Jean d'Argouges, whose mother was Charlotte Carbonnel, and who held land in the Aure valley; also Sourdeval's stepson or son-in-law Richard de Thieuville. In Sourdeval's company, Jean le Sec had served Brézé before his arrival. Guillaume Malherbe moved in the other direction. Jean de Paris witnessed Brézé land sales in the early 1460s. Men at arms sharing the names Poulain, Houvet and le Barbier were in both retinues. Mention has already been made of the role of the Carbonnel connection in Brézé lordship on Jersey.⁷⁹

The Sourdeval company had been born in Brézé service and long continued in it. Its membership had strong links with the Brézé *ordonnance* at Rouen. Its captain had emerged as a

⁷⁸BN PO 594 *Carbonnel* n°34, 133. For admiral du Bueil's *ordonnnce* men, see appendix 1(h). At Sandwich Guillaume Carbonnel shared the conduct of the admiral's men with Guillaume du Pérrier. Sourdeval was knighted on this raid: *Héraut Berry* p407, 409. Guillaume was probably a lieutenant of the admiral's company. Sourdeval's company is anatomised alongside that of Brézé in appendix 1(c).

⁷⁹See appendix 1(c) or 3 for all these men.

Brézé kinsman and client, remained an ally even in the hard times after 1461, and went on the Northumbrian expedition of 1462. His retinue may even have formed the basis of the new company to which the rehabilitated *sénéchal* was restored in 1464. The connection survived the upheavals of the early 1460s, an adequate demonstration of its strength: yet it was not immutable, and in the stress of the Public Weal the Brézé affinity was subjected to a decisive test.

Conclusion: affinity and ordonnance

Attempts to translate the insights of K.B. McFarlane into a French context have foundered on the marginality in France of the English indenture, so central to his original propositions. The disintegration of the McFarlane-derived consensus in England is useful for the French historian insofar as it has seen a strong revival of interest in other instruments of retaining. In the most recent synthesis the indenture becomes but one of the means by which a 'connection' was constructed: the household, estate administration and tenantry have re-emerged, and relegated 'extraordinary retaining' to a secondary and perhaps chronologically rather aberrant position.⁸⁰ Those who served and followed Brézé were attached to him in various ways: some, more than we can now know, were household men and estate officers – though this begs the question of where else Brézé might have looked for his servants than among those already close to him. Others were kinsmen, longstanding allies and occasionally tenants. Overall, however, this was an affinity built on clientage. Those with places in the *ordonnance* all served at royal wages, but it was not the king who had given them place and who would lead them in battle, but Brézé. It was Brézé who would broker their disputes, assist them in debt and legal problems and perhaps advance them in marriage. Stuart Carroll's work on the Guise following shows how extensively urban elites, local communities and aristocratic affinities interpenetrated each other.⁸¹ Their ancestor Brézé, with the reach into the Rouennais legal milieu which he quickly established, also exemplifies this.

The local credit of a courtier-officer did not derive from position in some notional royal office hierarchy. Any great man might be able to dominate a local situation out of his own resources, especially where the king was ignorant or indifferent. But this would be powerfully supplemented by a capacity to provide access to and to trade favours with powers outside the structure of royal office, including ecclesiastics, municipal authorities and secular lords. The capacity to exploit royal rights at a local level and to influence local royal courts, to provide access

⁸⁰Hicks 1995, chapter 2.

⁸¹Carroll 1995.

to fountainheads of royal authority at the centre, to influence greater officers and coerce lesser ones: these were for a magnate or courtier-officer a vital extra dimension of power on the ground.

It follows from this that for every member of our provincial leadership credit at the centre and in the locality were in symbiosis. Variations were a matter of the particular balance struck between the different components of local importance. One aspect of the Norman post-Reduction scene is precisely that the king did not have to take any of these components as he found them. He was quite capable of providing the landed and local context for an officer where it was previously lacking. He did this for Dunois in exempting his county of Longueville from his revocation of many other pre-Reduction grants. Other grants of lands and revenues do not have to be interpreted as maintenance conceived of only in terms of reward for services rendered. In the usufructuary grants of *vicomtés* to a Berrichon admiral, a Limousin marshal and Breton constable we see the king giving his men the tools for the job.

As we have seen, this applies to Brézé as well: without the liberality of the crown consequent upon his service he could never have transformed his wife's claims into a position of regional eminence. Yet he would have been of less use to the crown in Norman governance and English policy without that eminence. His affinity played a significant part in establishing him in the province. For all its military purpose, the life of the *ordonnance* company distinguished it imperfectly from the retinue of the magnate. In this chapter we have seen the retinue of Pierre de Brézé in its non-military context. By identifying members of Brézé's entourage one can show what kind of mechanisms gave it social coherence – vicinage, kinship and marriage links. These and other kinds of bond – household, feudal and tenurial relationships – show how it was integrated with other spheres of Brézé's service and with other companies. It is possible to illustrate what Brézé was doing for his men and what aid he might seek from them. As Brézé put down roots in Normandy, so did members of his entourage, in terms of land- and office-holding.

Berry Herald shows us the Norman *ordonnance* acting with discipline and cohesion. Its leaders, without exception, had a history of participation in the common enterprise of the English war, and there was a degree of interchange between the companies themselves. Their roots were in the comradeship of the Beauce, Beauvaisis and Upper Norman frontier. It had been here in the 1430s and 1440s, that Brézé, Flocquet, Jacques de Clermont, Thibaut d'Armagnac and Hector d'Ussel had made their careers. It should not be forgotten that the primary purpose of the retinues was always military. All other uses to which they might be put by their captains or lieutenants – as credit network, political base, private muscle – were secondary to and derived from an essentially chivalrous ethos. The coherence of the Norman *ordonnance* made it a force for stability in the

1450s. As such it was no threat to the crown but a tool of governance. This situation was to change after 1461.

LOUIS XI AND THE CAROLINE ESTABLISHMENT

The accession of Louis XI was accorded the most portentous of omens. The comet seen by the Parisians on the morrow of Charles VII's death was appropriate: the discontinuity between the two reigns has become an historiographical commonplace. Since the nineteenth century, and Michelet's vision of a bourgeois king camping in the Tournelles possessed by the demon of the future, this moment has been defined in terms of policy departures. Contemporaries expressed the rupture more by reference to Louis's attitude to his father's servants. It was left to historians from the nineteenth century on to distinguish policy from counsel. The notion that the accession disturbed the monarchy's cadres of political leadership was too strongly present in the sources for it to have been subsumed into individual policy reversals. Rather, it has taken its place as a distinct exemplar of the 'réaction, manifeste et systématique, contre la tradition du règne précédent'.¹

Although the impact of 1461 is not in doubt, no clear picture exists of how far down the office hierarchy Louis wielded his axe. No comparisons have been made between the experiences of different institutional complexes or those of different provinces. Comines's characterisation of the upheaval as stemming from Louis's obsession with 'vengeance' has not been examined, and no prosopographical conclusions drawn regarding those who lost, survived or won. There is room for an expanded analysis of the upheaval in royal office, taking in not only its scale, scope and regional disparities, but also how these relate to major policy issues in play in the early 1460s. These would include tax reform, certain popular disturbances in 1461-62, and reforms in provincial judicial infrastructures. There is also the difficult issue of the clientage alignments of those destituted, and how far an understanding of these might give us a more coherent picture of the disturbance.²

In the absence of dedicated studies of these issues, comment on the situation in Normandy is at this stage largely impressionistic. The province was probably not more dramatically exposed

¹Roye I p20. Michelet 1853 p2. Calmette/Périnelle 1930 p4. The historiography of policy departures is considerable: Calmette/Périnelle 1930, chapter I; Desjardins 1874; Combet 1903; Pocquet du Haut Jussé 1961; Calmette 1926.

²Quantitative assessment has been made for a few corps of officers. Dupont-Ferrier looked at the ranks of the *Cour des Aides*: Dupont-Ferrier 1932. Contamine assessed the impact on the ranks of the *ordonnance* captains as being of the order of 75%: *GES* p405-6. Recently his collection *Des pouvoirs en France 1300/1500* (Paris 1992), has appeared, containing the new piece 'Louis XI, la prise de pouvoir, la foire aux offices (juillet-septembre 1461)' (pp131-46). This is the only scholarly treatment of the subject available, and contains cursory assessments of different groups of officers for the realm as a whole. He puts a figure of 75% destitutions on the *baillis* and *sénéchaux*, *généraux des finances*, *receveurs généraux*, and *contrôleurs généraux* and compares the thirty royal notaries who secured confirmation with the ten newcomers (p136).

to change than others, particularly in the south. To judge by the offices listed in *Gallia Regia*, both Dauphiné and Languedoc were even more massively affected. Nonetheless, at the topmost levels of Norman office-holding change was substantial. The offices of admiral, *grand maître des eaux et forêts* and *grand sénéchal* changed hands, together with every *bailliage* and all but two of the *grande ordonnance* companies. The *trésorier* for Normandy survived, but the *général des aides*, the *receveur général* and the *contrôleur général* were all replaced. The provincial regime was all but decapitated.

Reform and revenge: the atmosphere of the early months

The sheer scale of the disturbance which Louis was engineering has pre-empted consideration of the underlying strategic thinking. The wrenching of Rouen from the grasp of the *grand sénéchal* demonstrates how highly focussed an exercise this was. Word of Charles VII's death reached Rouen on the morrow, 22 July. Three days later Jean d'Estuer seigneur de la Barde was despatched from les Roches in Hainault to manage the transfer of allegiance of Rouen and the *gens d'armes* in the vicinity. He appeared before an assembly of the town in the *hôtel de ville* on 29 July 'pour prendre ou faire prendre possession des ville, chastel, palais et pont et de par le Roy les bailler en garde ...'. Present to hear this were Brézé's lieutenants in each: a commission of twelve prominent bourgeois was deputed to take custody.³

The choice of emissary was not accidental. Up to 1452 la Barde had been a lieutenant of part of the company, before defecting to the Dauphin. He was now to assume command of Brézé's company, in which men known by his toponym were still serving. Guillaume de Vallée, Brézé's lieutenant 'au fait de la guerre' – that is, of the *ordonnance* company – had also appeared at the 29 July meeting. Vallée, in a pattern to be repeated, was retained as lieutenant and was to be the recipient of Louis's favour in the months ahead. His co-operation was bought early, before the Dauphin-become-king had ascertained that no resistance would be offered to his accession.⁴

³Beaurepaire 1887 I, p62. The commission was composed of the *vicomte*, the *procureur du roi* for the *bailliage*, five of the six counsellors and a notable former counsellor, and the four *quarteniers*. A similar process was probably underway in many other *bonnes villes*. It can be reconstructed at Tours from Dupont-Ferrier's notices: GR22147-49, 22167-68, 22224-26, 22243-44, 22386-22389.

⁴On la Barde and Vallée, see notices in appendix 3. La Barde also succeeded Brézé in his enjoyment of the revenues of the *grenier* of Louviers, worth £900 a year to him: BN Ms fr 23262 n°17. Among the senior *hommes d'armes* in other companies whose pensions were sensibly increased were Mery de Coué and Colinet de la Croix.

Louis's actions at Rouen have some of the character of a putsch. Brézé had probably already left for Brabant as the Norman Estates' emissary to greet Louis.

Chastellain's accounts of the behaviour of Brézé and Antoine de Chabannes at this critical moment in their fortunes is formalized. Certainly the manner in which Chabannes departed from his tearful *gens d'armes* has nothing in common with the hardfaced *realpolitik* of the count's servants as presented by the better-informed interpolator of the *Chronique Scandaleuse*.⁵ Chastellain's sources are second hand, his purposes didactic. Things were different when it came to describing Brézé's first encounter with his new sovereign, for he was drawing on personal knowledge.

The *sénéchal* was ordered to halt a few miles from the court: despite his virtues 'le roy ne le voulut oncques ne voir, ne ouyr'. To this Brézé 'respondi froidement que voirement ne partiroit jà sans le bon gré du roy; mais il estoit venu ambassadeur par devers luy, en quelle charge et durant ce temps, selon termes d'honneur, il ne devoit ne mal avoir, ne mal souffrir; te au fort, quand il plairoit le roy de le traiter en justice et non par volontaire rigueur, il se réconfortoit assez en tous périls, car ne se sentoit en riens mesfaits vers luy, sinon par avoir bien et loyaulment servi son pere'. If the chronicler chose his words carefully when describing this exchange his reasons were no less political and eulogistic (of Brézé), for being moralistic and literary. Chastellain's own recurrent emphasis on the wilfulness of the new king is here put into Brézé's mouth, and the incident is concisely but forcefully presented as a denial of justice.⁶ The avowal of having been a loyal servant of the father was on the lips of many nervous supplicants of the son. Its appearance in this context is the germ of the trope of a collective identity for the servants of the father, and their mistreatment by the son.

Brézé was under close arrest at Bavay for over a week. The hostile whispering campaign underway in Louis's entourage was interrupted by the arrival of the Cröy, who interceded for him. Jean de Cröy in particular expended much credit in having him set at liberty 'pour celle fois'. He was ordered to return 'en sa maison'.⁷ Chastellain is literary but detailed on subsequent events and may indeed be rendering a highly coloured transmission of a first hand account, for the two men met in 1463. Brézé did not await impending disgrace passively, but dissolved his household and put some of his goods beyond the king's reach before going into hiding.⁸

⁵Roye II p142-3.

⁶Chastellain IV p25.

⁷Chastellain IV p26.

⁸ This is one of the possible contexts for Chanson n°LVI in Gasté 1866, a mournful paean to a living *sénéchal* which may record pro-Brézé sentiment in the wake of the accession: Noble Seneschal de

This episode is less obscure than it might be thanks to the survival of a report to Louis by la Barde during the course of the subsequent manhunt. Dispatched from Montrichard, where Louis was in November, la Barde began with a raid on Mauny, arresting the only person he found, one 'Maistre Guy' – probably Guy de Briouze. Useful information was extracted from this prisoner: it was ascertained that Brézé had been for a time in Rouen, had since moved on to refuge in the Patriarch's lands around Bayeux, then returned to the Mauny area. In the woods here, an interview had taken place between the fugitive and a disguised Patriarch.⁹

The impact of Louis's accession on the fortunes of Brézé men now manifested itself. Failing to find Brézé at Rouen, la Barde widened the trawl to take in former members of the Rouen garrison, including le Bouteiller (probably Pierre) and Antoine le Champenois. These two and the others unnamed, by whom la Barde hoped to discover 'que le povoient le receler' were imprisoned at Louviers and Pont-de-l'Arche at the king's pleasure. Hastening towards Brézé's place of Nogent he met Louis's *premier écuyer* Garguesalle on the road coming from there. The net was spread towards Pontoise and into Perche, and more men were being arrested.¹⁰

Sourdeval was sufficiently close to the *sénéchal* to attract special attention. Brézé's replacement in the *grande sénéchaussée*, Louis d'Estouteville, dispatched his servant Jean Pevrel to take the musters at Montorgueil. Sourdeval was taken into custody soon after. We should link la Barde's arrests of Brézé servants to the new king's interests in the English strategy of his father.

Cousinot, who had been central to Charles VII's English diplomacy, was imprisoned in the same period. Guy de Briouze had told la Barde that so far as 'le fait d'Engleterre' was concerned, Sourdeval 'sait tout entierement comment il en va Et mieulx que nul aultre'. In somewhat cryptic letters of this period we find Louis expressing irritation with Estouteville's maladroit handling of the situation. Sourdeval was to be brought under guard and incommunicado to Amboise by Estouteville's son Bricquebec.¹¹

Normandye | Dieu vous doinct honneur et bonne vie | Nous vous aymons, dormant, veillant, | Comme nostre loyal amant. | Chantons trestous à joye ravye.

⁹BN Ms fr 20486 p112, letter of Jean d'Estuer seigneur de la Barde to Louis XI, Pont-de-l'Arche 29 Nov 1461. La Barde's informant, clearly a close household man, revealed what he knew of negotiations regarding the marriage of Calabria and Charolais's daughter, and between Brézé's son Jacques and a daughter of the house of Moy. He identified those within the court circle to whom Brézé was looking for support and information; Maine, Pierre d'Amboise seigneur de Chaumont and Bertrand de Beauvau seigneur de Preçigny.

¹⁰ Jean de Trousseauville dit Garguesalle seigneur de Coulaines and Bocé, married first to Marie de Nièvre and then to Jeanne Boucher. A Norman exile attached to the Dauphin in the 1440s, he became his *premier écuyer de l'écurie*, shared the exile and in 1461 became *bailli* of Troyes (to 1465) and captain of Chinon (to 1472): Pilot I p357; Anselme VIII p490; *Lettres* III p205.

¹¹Cousinot was in the custody of Lau at Montrichard over the winter: BN Ms fr 23262 n°5. Sourdeval appears on the payroll of his company at Montorgueil on Jersey in September: the company was at royal

The la Barde letter is a unique insight into the atmosphere of the accession: although few members of the Caroline establishment expected to be targeted in this extraordinary way, as the winter wore on the amplitude of Louis's determination to be rid of his father's servants became clearer. More and more of them fell by the wayside. Jean de Montauban displaced both Jean du Bueil from the admiralty and Louis de la Rochette from the *grande maîtrise des eaux et forêts* in the first week of the reign. This was a fairly clear matter of great courtier magnates of the old regime being displaced by a major figure in the new regime. Something similar happened at Caen and at Rouen, where the *baillis* were dismissed. At Caen Jean Havart was replaced by an old Dauphinist, the Scot Thomas Stuyer, while Guillaume Cousinot was replaced at Rouen by the Dauphinist courtier, Jean or Houaste de Montespedon. In the Cotentin, Aydie's place was taken by a significant Breton lord, Jean seigneur du Pont-l'Abbé and Rostrenen.¹²

At Gisors and in the Caux, the office of *bailli* may have been vacant before Charles VII died, since both Jean de Brézé and Guillaume de Prunelé were dead around this time. On 19 Sep 1461 the Dauphinist Louis de Crussol received the Caux, to be supplanted within weeks by Jacques Rouault, the brother of Louis's new marshal. The *bailliage* of Alençon lapsed on the restoration of the apanage.¹³

At Gisors Gilles (called 'Lancelot') de Haucourt became *bailli*. It is not clear that the office had been affected by the accession upheaval. Haucourt had served as lieutenant of part of the company of Torcy at Caen, which company was taken over by Antoine de Castelnau seigneur de Lau. Haucourt was named lieutenant of fifty lances of Lau's company in a document which as it survives is misdated to 17 July 1461. This draft over Louis's sign manual to the *trésoriers de guerre* post-dates the accession both because Lau is named, and because it is dated Saint-Thierry, where Louis was on 17 August. Uncertainties remain: Haucourt's provision to this office by Charles VII cannot be excluded, but we should see confirmation or new provision by Louis XI as part of the wooing of senior men in *ordonnance* companies.¹⁴

wages but now without mention of Brézé, and Pevrel was one of the named *commissaires*: BN Clairambault 235, p117. *Lettres* XX p166: undated, but written when Brézé was in custody, had made a confession, and was being threatened with 'force'. It is clear that Brézé's detention was closely connected with developments in Louis's English policy: Calmette/Périnelle 1930, chapter 1, esp. p20.

¹²Montauban was admiral before the end of July 1461, and became *grand maître des eaux et forêts* on 3 Aug: *Ordonnances* XV p2; *DLN/15* p171. GR16230; BN Clairambault 782 p178; Ms fr 21405 p138; Cotentin, GR7071-72; Rouen, GR18926-27; Caen, GR4247-48. On Montespedon, see the notice in Veyrat 1953.

¹³Caux, GR5886-88; Gisors, GR13004-7; Alençon, BN Ms fr 20430 p9.

¹⁴BN Ms fr 20497 p80. See appendix 3 for Haucourt.

At Evreux, Floquet escaped the taint of being Brézé's brother-in-law, to die in harness in December 1461. His position may be compared with that of Charles Desmarestz, captain of Dieppe. Both men had gained their offices through notable enterprises of war. It may be pertinent that they had both participated in the relief of Dieppe in 1442, where Louis made his debut in arms. Floquet was in any case put out of harm's way, along with the rest of the Norman *ordonnance*, by being despatched to Liège. He died on campaign and the complex of offices he had enjoyed passed intact to his son Jacques.¹⁵

The administration of extraordinary taxation was much changed in 1461. The *général des finances*, Jean le Boursier sieur d'Esternay, was replaced by Bruges-based Italian Giovanni Arnolfini. Simon le Bourlier returned to his old post as *greffier* of the *Chambre des Comptes*, and was replaced by Pierre Joubert as *receveur général* of Normandy. Norman *contrôleur général* Hugues Aubert lost out to Jean Bourré.¹⁶ These changes may be placed in the context of wider changes in Norman fiscality underway within six months.

The basis of the compact reached in January 1462 was that the Estates would grant L400,000 for the year from 1 January 1462, in place of 'aides, tailles, impositions, quatriemes, impositions foraines, et pour tous gaiges d'officiers, et autres choses et subvencions'. The administration of extraordinary taxation was ostensibly passed to the Estates: the king stated that these revenues 'nous eussions pour icelle annee baillé a ferme a nosdis subgets'. One reading of the Norman *ferme* is that the Estates had triumphed over the Parisian fiscal institutions. The *aides* and *quatrièmes* were to be administered by the *vicomtes*: the less important *gabelle* was to be collected by 'aucuns grenetiers et controlleurs qui par lesdis deleguez seroient commis'.¹⁷

It is not clear that the initiative in these changes lay with Norman political society, however. It is true that innovations in taxation were the outcome of negotiations underway in the winter of 1461-62 between the king and the Estates. Basin's hostile word is evidence of agitation for fiscal reform and the confirmation of the Norman charter on 4 January 1462 was one result of pressure from the delegates. Louis's extension of Norman judicial autonomy should also be seen in this light. On the other hand the Estates were an extension rather than autonomous of royal fiscality. Although Basin sees Louis as responsive rather than responsible, he also places developments in Normandy against the background of the king's intention to reform taxation

¹⁵GR12433, 12436, 12864-65; captaincy of Honfleur, GR19558, *Echiquier* 1464 p43. The Liège expedition was directed by Rouault, Floquet and Colart de Moy: *Chastellain* IV p120.

¹⁶See appendix 3 for notices on le Boursier, Jubert, Arnolfini and le Bourlier.

¹⁷*Ordonnances* XV p627-30.

already voiced at Reims and Paris, and Prentout argued that the king 'a très sincèrement tenté ... une grande réforme financière'. In August 1462 the *élus* and the *Cour des aides*, already irrelevant in Normandy, were swept away outside the province.¹⁸

These changes, and particularly the destitution of the *élus*, were dramatic, popular and occurred against the background of agitation regarded as subversive. Initially, the *grand sénéchal* emerged as *juge en derrain resort sur le fait des aides* in Normandy. He inherited cases which would previously have gone by appeal from the *élus* to the *général sur le fait de la justice*, and which were now within the ordinary jurisdiction of the viscomital and *bailliage* courts.¹⁹ The *généraux* recovered some ground in the second year, ostensibly because of the Estates' inability to contain rising collection costs. Already in July 1462 the *élus*, receivers, *contrôleurs* and *grenetiers* were being summoned to the king's presence, with a view to their functions being restored in 1463. In the second year a commission drawn from the ranks of the *Echiquier*, royal fiscality and the Estates emerged with an enhanced role. The grant for 1463 was to be administered by a commission of delegates from the Estates acting in concert with royal officers. The royal commission for 1463 was addressed to Jean Prégent bishop of Saint-Brieuc, Arnolfini *général des finances*, Jubert *receveur général* and Guillaume Picart *général sur le fait de la justice* in Normandy. Expenses in collection were to be assessed by the last named and levied as additional sums, *creues*.²⁰

¹⁸Basin *Louis XI* I p52-54; *Ordonnances* XV p302 (confirmation of the Charter); XV p536-37 (abolition of the *élus*). Louis's 1462 agreement with the Estates of Languedoc was broadly similar, which makes it possible to argue that the form of Louis's reforms outside Normandy were influenced by the early compact with the Norman Estates, though Prentout does not go so far: Prentout 1925 I, p243.

¹⁹The extent to which these measures were a response to popular pressure is hard to judge. Estouteville was overseeing investigations into 'le fait de certaine cedulle mal sonnante contre les officiers du roy n.d. seigneur contenantes entre autres choses tresoriers les vicontes esleuz receveurs des aides qui ont pillée le peuple laquelle cedulle l'en dit puis naguères avoit esté attache contre une des postes de la halle aux ble dudit lieu d'Evreux': BN PO 1083 *d'Estouteville* 24901 n°188. Rouen 16 Jan 1462/63: accord related to expenses in a suit judged by Louis d'Estouteville in this capacity: sentence had been rendered in December 1462. Outside the province it was the *maîtres des requêtes du Palais* who stepped into the shoes of the *généraux*: *Ordonnances* XVI p210-212. Basin, *Louis XI* I p58.

²⁰The original *ferme* does not survive, but is described in detail in AN K 70 n°12, *vidimus* dated May 1463 under the seal of the *vicomté* of Rouen of royal letters dated 28 Mar 1462/63, and printed *Ordonnances* XV p627-30. It dates the letters of composition with the Estates to 4 Jan 1461/62. Notional equivalences are given: L300,000 for the *taille*, L25,000 for the *gabelles* and other duties on salt; L75,000 for taxes on wine and 'beuvraiges vendu a detail' and other merchandise. The commission was composed of four or six of the principal delegates acting in concert with any three of the four addressees; this commission could constrain the *vicontes* and other *receveurs* to show the *estats* of their receipts. The date of the restoration of the *élus et al* is not in doubt but is very puzzling given that it precedes their destitution outside Normandy: BN Ms fr 23262 n°13. Basin names the royal confessor, Jean Boucart bishop of Avranches and dean of the Rouen chapter Nicolas du Bosc as key personalities in the process on the side of the Estates at the outset of the *ferme*: Basin, *Louis XI* I p60. 1462-64 is the context of the undated request of Arnolfini for a staff and augmented authority as *receveur général*, in return for which he promised 'asseurer les finances de normendie': BN Ms fr 20495 p12 (1).

It is not clear whether the new role of the *vicomtes* in extraordinary taxation was connected with the scale of the mutations visited upon them in 1461. This was substantial: some twenty-eight royal *vicomtés* were functioning in the province on the death of Charles VII. Louis continued eight *vicomtes* in post, while fourteen changed hands.²¹ There was no detectable geographical or patronage pattern to survival or destitution, but one notable feature of the new regime may account for Louis's complacency in enhancing their fiscal responsibilities. The proportion of royal commensals was nearly four times as great as under Charles VII.²²

These experiments also affected the administration of the Norman garrison. Cardinal d'Estouteville's officers at Louviers saw a *vidimus* 'par lequel appert que le Roy veult que les justiciers ordinaires aient la congnoissance des choses touchant les gens d'armes'. It is likely that the *ferme* had implications for their payment as well, which could explain the failure of the Norman musters in the winter of 1461-62. Even if the Caroline apparatus was not dismantled, it may have been disrupted by the re-deployment of companies, especially from 1462-63 as the Roussillon war drew men south. The Mont-Saint-Michel chronicler gave a figure of five hundred lances in Normandy, Guyenne and Poitou cashiered on the accession, but Contamine argued that numbers of effectives did not fall even though companies were brought together under fewer captains. These positions can be reconciled if captains were installing their own men and destituting those they had inherited, but if so this occurred after early 1462. There were no wholesale changes in the composition of Norman companies in the first few quarters, and any effect thereafter was uneven. Individual *hommes d'armes* can be shown continuing in place under the new captains. The failure in the muster series makes it difficult to assess the precise impact of Louis's accession on the Norman *ordonnance* at any level below command.²³

²¹The survivors were Jacques Burdelot, Guillaume de Cérisey, Girard Bureau, Louis de Corneilles, Mathieu Henry, Jean Guedon, Jean Lombard and Pierre Bachelier. Christophe Paillart was promoted. Those certainly or probably destituted between the accession and the spring of 1462 were Jean Jabin, Jacques de la Tour, Jean Salles, Huguet de Die, Pierre Feularde, Robert le Gras, Guillaume Gombault, Richard Postis, Jacques Courtois, Guillaume Lachere, Jean Croixart, Jean le Foulon and Jean le Tessier. See notices in appendix 3. The *vicomtés* were affected not only through the king's disposal of his patrimony in patronage terms. Four had pertained to the duchy of Alençon, united to the royal domain after the duke's forfeiture and restored to the duke by Louis: BN Ms fr 20430 p9. Another, Gournay, was acquired by the count of Tancarville by property exchange with the king: *Ordonnances* XV pp178-84. *Vicomtés* which had been in the hands of magnates and courtier officers had various fates. Xaintrailles died late in 1461 and his usufruct of Falaise passed to Antoine de Castelnau seigneur de Lau. Eu retained his enjoyment of Neufchâtel, but du Bueil may have initially lost Carentan, though it was progressively restored to him: appendix 3.

²²Louis's known household *vicomtes* were Jean Baudouin, Hugues de Bodil, Guillaume Cardin, Jean Drouin, Julien du Gué, Henri Guerin, Guillaume Lambert, Louis Painbleu, Jean du Plessis, Gilbert Richard and Jean le Roux: see appendix 3. The implications should not be pursued far: many enjoyed their offices in maintenance.

²³Beaurepaire 1868 p154. The musters do not resume until 1469-70. *CMSM* I p64; *GES* p283. For men in Torcy's company who continued to serve under Lau in the early 1460s see appendix 1(e).

Of the five captains commanding large companies of the Norman *grande ordonnance* Brézé, du Bueil and Torcy were destituted. Four other captains commanded smaller *grande ordonnance* companies in Lower Normandy and all – Aydie, Couvran, Broons and Rosnivinen – lost place. To this group we should add Jean de Lorraine count of Harcourt, who lost his large *petite ordonnance* garrison at Granville. Sourdeval's captaincy of Touques was in Montauban's hands by 1463. Dunois's position was formally unaffected: he retained his *ordonnance* company and was secure in the county of Longueville in spite of Louis's general revocation of Caroline grants. But his weight at court was diminished and he was soon persuaded into the distant theatre of Italy.²⁴

It is easy to miss elements of continuity amidst the changes of 1461. We may regard the smooth succession of Jacques de Flocques to his father's offices after the old warrior died in December as one such. Estouteville assumed the *grande sénéchaussée* and became a lynchpin of the new provincial regime. For others, destitution did not imply disgrace: although Cousinot, for instance, was briefly imprisoned, Jean Havart retained the captaincy of Gaillard and continuing to receive commissions. His son Georges continued to serve as *maître des requêtes*, and remained a fixture in the province, for instance in English affairs. Amongst the *vicomtes*, there are further signs that Louis was willing to be generous towards men who had been rewarded with office for good service in the Reduction, and in some cases men who were formally destituted continued to fulfil the functions of their former office or were retained in some capacity about the new incumbent.²⁵

Nonetheless, change was dramatic in scale and highly political in implication. The present state of research does not afford much of a view of how it was received. The influx of Bretons into the Norman provincial establishment after 1461 is deserving of separate treatment, but was obviously related to the arrival of Montauban. Jacques Rouault was a Poitevin, and Houaste de Montespedon a Berrichon. The Angevin, Dauphinois, Gascon, or Orléanais origins of their

Montauban can be found issuing orders in Brittany in October 1461 to Guillaume du Pérrier, on whom see appendix 1(h).

²⁴The revocation of Caroline grants was dated 9 Sep 1461: *Ordonnances* XV p16. Dunois was treated more leniently than Brézé in 1461, retaining all his lands, pension, company and some offices. Bourré's minute of a council discussion of the form of homage to be rendered by him reveals that this outcome was not automatic. The precise lands were *not* to be specified, and if the count mentioned Parthenay or any thing else of the royal demesne, Montauban was to reply that Charles VII's grant was not to prejudice the king's rights: BN Ms fr 20430 p19. He was dispatched to the distant theatre of Piedmont, an undoubted withdrawal of favour: Basin, *Louis XI* I p72. The comments of the Milanese are interesting in regard to Dunois's relations with Louis: his dispatch to Asti with 1,800 *hommes d'armes* is set against an anecdote illustrative of Louis's low regard: *Milanaise* I p201, 210. Touques: Anselme IV p81; BN Ms fr 26089 p332. Sourdeval retained or recovered a military position in Jersey under either Brézé or royal auspices.

²⁵See notices on the Havart, Bachelier, Corneilles, Gombault, Jabin, Die and Courtois in appendix 3.

predecessors may have intruded upon Norman sensibilities just as much, but Norman political society had had a decade to coalesce after the end of the occupation. In the post-1461 regime it was the Normans – Estouteville, Haucourt and Flocquet – who had been imbricated in the previous provincial regime, and who would have to work hardest to establish connections with figures at court.

For Prentout, the changes in 1463 were evidence of the rapid disintegration of the reform effort. The *élus* were certainly active again in 1463, and the reimposition of the *quatrièmes* and the *impositions foraines* for the year 1464 signalled to him the termination of the experiment.²⁶ In fact the real situation may well have been messier than this. Burgeoning costs had generated multiple *creues* and disillusionment, and brought royal intervention in clarification of how these costs were to be assessed and in defence of tax privileges. These make Louis appear passive in the face of a reforming impulse generated from below.

The effect of the experiments in taxation was to replace the *élus* with the *vicomtes*, and to thrust formal political responsibility upon the Estates. In this way the delegates' programme privileged customary law and the institutions which administered it, to the prejudice of the apparatus of royal fiscality evolved over the last hundred years. It was also concerned to circumscribe fiscal exemptions. This appears in the attempts to impose the terms of the *ferme* on towns with grants of tax exemption such as Pont-Audemer, and in the great offensive against the fiscal consequences of prescriptive ennoblement. The great *recherche* undertaken in 1463-65 by the Norman *général maître des monnaies* Remon Monfaut was intimately connected with the *ferme* and the problems it generated. The rigorous determination of the limits of *noblesse*, and thus tax-exemption, was to sweep away the prescriptive and customary basis of nobility in Normandy in favour of a fiscal and juridical framework under royal control.²⁷

The short term political contingencies are harder to measure. Pont-Audemer secured restoration of its tax-exemption in December 1462. Caen received a £2,000 rebate on the *ferme* in the form of a royal grant drawn on it in 1463. Although the *recherche* was wider than commentators have thought, it too was constricted by royal action. In the *vicomté* of Montivilliers, and the *bailliages* of Evreux and Alençon 'pour la deffence du Roy n'y a point esté faict d'assiette', noted Monfaut. A working document written in 1464 indicates that the receipts of Norman taxation in 1463 had risen somewhat from the figures agreed in the *ferme*, and particularly heavily at Rouen. It assessed the prospects for the coming year as perhaps requiring an increase in

²⁶Prentout 1925 I, p186-87.

²⁷Prentout 1925 I, p183-84. Wood 1980 p22-25. *Monfaut* p431.

the *taille* to compensate for falling receipts from the *gabelle* and the *quatrièmes*. This carried political risk: it would generate ‘comme il semble grant bruit et grant cry’. The preferred option was to increase the *gabelle*, as it required no ‘visitation sur le peuple’ by sergeants or *commissaires*.²⁸

If Louis’s restoration of the *élus* was unilateral, this was a violation of the compact. The situation was further distorted by the removal of *ordonnance* troops from the province – though costs do not appear to have dropped if the transfers to the *trésorier des guerres* listed on Jubert’s accounts are any guide – and by the pursuit of policy goals in which the Estates were not consulted.

The *rachat* of the Somme towns led to Louis’s forced borrowing 100,000 *écus* from his *gens d’armes*’ pay, a sum made good from successive *creues*: £30,000 was surcharged on the *ferme* in 1464. By then the reform was coming to pieces: Louis was certainly negotiating individual compositions with some towns over *creues* and other matters, which is probably to be seen as a reaction to the way the Estates had sought to override local privileges. In November 1464 Louis imposed £289,980 as the *taille* for the *gens d’armes*, simply declaring this to the delegates. In the face of a reform well-meant but abortive, Basin was reduced to incoherence. Sceptical of the accusations brought to bear against the *élus* while condemning the burden of taxation, he scapegoated the cupidity and gullibility of the lawyers in agreeing to the *ferme* and attacked new taxes imposed outside its terms.²⁹

The tax *ferme* of 1462-64 came about because the delegates to the Norman Estates who had been pressing the crown over issues of autonomy pushed suddenly against the open door of Louis’s propensity to reform. But as fiscal pressures mounted the king wanted both the mantle of reformer and to restore the responsiveness to royal needs of the apparatus he had been bequeathed.

The Estates’ expectations may have been unrealistic, but in 1465 the Rouennais milieu in which the *ferme* had germinated allowed itself to be wooed by the *ligueurs*, and became a mainstay of the

²⁸Prentout 1925 I, p184. BN Ms fr 23262 n°13. Pace Wood, Monfaut’s efforts were not confined to Lower Normandy. In the *bailliages* of Rouen, the Caux and Gisors the *assiette* was effected by the *lieutenants généraux* of the *baillis*, though their efforts do not survive: Monfaut p431. BN Ms fr 20498 p13, n°7.

²⁹Louis formally re-established the jurisdiction of the *élus* and the appellate functions of the *Cour des Aides* 9 Aug 1464: *Ordonnances XVI* p210-212, 280. Basin, *Louis XI* I p52-58, 122-26. In 1464 Dieppe, Harfleur, Mont-Saint-Michel, Quillebeuf and Vimoutier secured exemption from an urgent *creue* for artillery, and Pont-Audemer and Louviers composed independently: Prentout 1925-27 III, p108-9. Basin’s uncharacteristic defence of the established structures of royal fiscality is perhaps connected with the career of his brother Nicolas, Caroline *élu* of Caudebec. Joubert’s transfers to Antoine Raguier ran at nearly £280,000 per year in 1461-64: BN Ms fr 23262 n°12, 18. The last also describes the *rachat* loan and *creue*. The generality of the reform effort and its failure is briefly discussed in Major 1960 pp50-53.

nascent apanage. This is a measure of Louis's political failure with both reformers like the dean of the Rouen chapter and skeptics like the bishop of Lisieux.

Brittany and the new dispensation

The year or two following the accession of Louis XI saw the entry into Breton service of men from many areas of France and many spheres of the old Caroline regime. The large-scale destitutions marking the accession did not themselves indicate the end of Breton influence in Lower Normandy, though developments in 1462-64 entrenched this perception. In what circumstances then, did the duke's service become attractive to Caroline veterans, and with what consequences?

Some individuals were wooed by François II. Tanguy du Châtel's arrival in Breton service has been seen as exemplifying the eagerness of the Breton duke to take advantage of Louis's indifference to highly experienced and valuable servants.³⁰ Other men, notably the Gascon Aydie uncle and nephews and the Norman Blosset brothers had associations with the duke's mistress Antoinette de Maignelaiz. Jean de Lorraine had family connections with the Rohan, which were rapidly transformed by wardship into control of the Rohan lands. He thus exchanged a secondary position in Normandy for one in the Breton first rank.

Bretons like Laval-Lohéac, were returning to a natural environment, *faute de mieux*. This is presumably also the case with Couvran, Broons and perhaps Rosnivinen, all of whom were described as 'de nouvel mis en ordonnance' in the ducal accounts from October 1462. Rosnivinen had little choice: he was specifically targeted for arrest by the new regime. Like Aydie, Couvran can be shown still present with his company in the musters immediately following the accession. If either was hoping or expecting to be retained as lieutenant they were to be disappointed, and Couvran was in receipt of a generous ducal pension from January 1462.³¹

The withdrawal of the five destituted *ordonnance* captains to Brittany meant that, the Estouteville cousins apart, all of those in place in Lower Normandy in the 1450s were in Breton service in 1462. In December 1461 Couvran and Broons accompanied François II to do homage to Louis at Tours. Rosnivinen held the captaincy of Saint-Aubin-de-Cormier, and he and Couvran held the musters of nobles in the Cornouaille in August 1462. Lohéac, Couvran, Aydie, Broons

³⁰Though François II preferred to emphasize the services rendered to himself as count of Etampes in the 1450s: Morice III p31. Du Châtel was in Brittany and serving on the ducal council from 5 Dec 1461: BN Ms fr 6968 p199-200.

³¹Morice III p66.

and Lorraine appear as captains of the Breton *ordonnance* in 1462. They brought some of their former associates with them: Perrot d'Aydie, probable lieutenant of Aydie's company in the 1450s, was described as 'de nouvel mis en ordonnance' in Breton service from October 1462.³²

Breton relations with the crown deteriorated rather rapidly after 1461, but the issue was not transparent. As Louis prepared for his visit to Guyenne he looked to the Breton duke: in January 1462 François II was made royal lieutenant in Normandy.³³ Men like Aydie did not consider themselves destined for the wilderness. In concert with his *patronne* Maignelaiz, he seems to have been making requests to the king in this period. In a rubric to these, it is said that he 'desire de tout son pouvoir lui faire service et le fera par effect'. Maignelaiz lost her grants from her ex-lover the late king, but secured continuation of her pension in January 1462.³⁴ Even though no place was found for Aydie, his replacement as *bailli* of the Cotentin cannot be shown to be hostile to the duke. Jean du Pont, seigneur du Pont-l'Abbé and Rostrenen, was no Breton hobelar produced from Louis's Gemappes baggage, but the greatest Breton lay magnate in Cornouaille after the Rohan. He had been in Breton ducal service in the 1450s.³⁵

Although tensions were evident early on, the point which requires elucidation is that these were not soothed away. Why did it prove impossible for the Breton court to develop a workable

³²Morice II p1758, 1778, III p66. Bertrand du Parc was named as an archer of the duke's guard in Amaury d'Acigné's suspended interdict in 1462: Morice III p30.

³³François's commission was dated 4 Jan and covered 8 months and the 'pays estans deca la Riviere de Seine tant en Normandie, Anjou, le Maine et Touraine': the king's intended tour of Guyenne was explicitly cited: Morice II 1763; BN Ms fr 6969 p1.

³⁴BN Ms fr 20495 p4 (2), is an undated request in the Bourré papers from Antoinette de Maignelaiz for the continuation of her pension of L6,000 together with the outstanding balance of 3,000 *francs* due on the pension ordered 1 October last. In January 1462 her pension at this sum was charged on the *aides* of October 1461-1462: Ms fr 20498 p36. Appended to her request is one on behalf of Aydie for 2,000 *francs* 'que autrefois lui avoit pleu de lui ordonez ainsi quil appert par cedulle'. He also asked the king to acquit him of 1,200 *francs* owed to the *trésorier des guerres* 'lesquelz il avoit autrefois prins ou la pluspart par l'ordonnance des gens de Grant Conseil de feu Roi Charles'. All this suggests a date soon after the accession. Maignelaiz asked the king that 'aussi lui plaise ordonner du fait dudit seigneur de Lescun pour le temps d'advenir a son bon plaisir'. This is another indication that Lescun was the *bailli* and captain; it is also very reminiscent of the general requests to be retained in royal service which passed through Bourré's hands in the autumn of 1461. Anselme VII p860 has the *bailli* serving against the Genoese rebels in the spring of 1461, conducting the rearguard action after the defeat at Savona, and obtaining large sums from the king, partly in compensation for his expenses, in 1467. One suspects a certain confusion between uncle and nephew, but it is at least clear that Lescun was in his own right an associate of Maignelaiz.

³⁵He was commissioned for the defence of Cornouaille against the English in 1451 along with the admiral of Brittany. Like Montauban himself, he led ducal forces on the Guyenne campaign 1453, and was still commanding a ducal company in 1456. He was in receipt of a ducal pension of L200. He was one of the victims of ducal retrenchments in 1454-55 (alongside his ally Louis de Rohan, Montauban's son-in-law) but was granted the captaincy of Morlaix by Arthur III, and other favours and commissions: Morice II p1606, 1626, 1628, 1643, 1685, 1710, 1713, 1716, 1727. See also Jones 1981 p55.

relationship with the new king? Breton influence in Lower Normandy was attenuated after Louis's accession less by immediate and direct assault than by the emergence of other foci of influence. The admiral, Jean de Montauban, was a key figure in this process.

In 1462 Lescun told the royal council directly of the duke's displeasure at the king's patronage of Jean de Montauban: even more irritating to the king, he leaked this to other courtiers 'qu'il savoit qu'ils ne le celeroient pas'.³⁶ The issue of the Montauban had therefore become explicit and abroad within a year of the accession. The roots of hostility between the Montforts and the Montauban went back to the late 1440s, however. The sudden death in 1450 of François I had destabilised Breton politics. For many of those closest to the late duke, and most especially those through whom he had engineered the death of his brother Gilles, the timing was more than inopportune. It exposed them to the somewhat half-hearted vengeance of duke Pierre II, and the more full-blooded rigour of his uncle, the constable de Richemont.³⁷

Artur de Montauban, as perhaps the late duke's dominant courtier, was an early victim of the inquest launched by Pierre. He had been granted the *bailliage* of the Cotentin itself by his master. Out in the cold once his protector was dead, he was given limited cover by Charles VII's courtier-officers but the constable was too angry, too ruthless and too ready to resort to extra-legal procedures for this to avail him much. Ultimately he found his only sure refuge in a Célestine habit. From the cloister he resigned the Cotentin to his elder brother in 1451.³⁸

Were it not for this *cæsura* between his family and the Montforts, Jean de Montauban too would be easy to place in the context of Breton penetration of the region, as royal *bailli* and ducal servant. He had played an important rôle in the 1449-50 campaigns as marshal of Brittany, presiding over the reduction of Carentan and Valognes. After the death of François I he lobbied desperately for Charles VII's support, only to be arrested. Although implicated very early, he may have earned a certain respite by having distanced himself from Gilles's murder by alerting

³⁶Morice III p44. A royalist account of dealings between the courts drawn up in September 1463 for submission to Maine as he set about arbitrating the dispute. It referred to Aydie's appearance at Bressuire (Vaesen's itinerary has the king here 17-27 Sep 1462), during the course of which the Gascon explained the strong displeasure of François II with the king, 'pour ce qu'il se servoit de Monsieur de Montauban, et que tant qu'il s'en serviroit le Duc ne l'aimeroit et ne feroit riens pour luy ...'.

³⁷Cosneau 1886 II, p428-30.

³⁸In the run-up to Gilles's death Arthur 'avoit lors tel assez et telle prouchaineté envers le duc François qu'il n'y avoit homme quelconque en sa court qui ne fust de par luy ou qui ne tinst son party ...': Bouchart II p329. BN Ms fr 26079 n°6192 and 6195; he was *bailli* by 20 Apr 1450: BN PO 2007 *Montauban* 46056, n°8. He fled to the protection of his brother-in-law Jean Malet de Graville in the community at Marcoussis, then moved on to join the Célestines of Paris, less vulnerable to Richemont's pursuit: Bouchart II p357ff. Montauban's entry by the resignation of his brother, Feb 1451: BN Clairambault 782 p161; Mss fr 21405 p113; 23271 p429; 9463 n°2; AN PP 110 p275.

Richemont. It was several years before he was driven from either Breton service or his *bailliage*, and commanded twenty-six lances in Breton pay on the Guyenne expedition of 1453.³⁹

In the letters patent granting the office of *bailli* to Odet d'Aydie, Charles VII set out in unusual detail the reasons for discharging the previous incumbent. Montauban, he said,

qui estoit chef de justice oudit bailliage lequel est situe sur la coste de la mer et ou les anglois anciens ennemis dudit seigneur Roy pevent venir descendre de jour a autres s'est puis nagueres party dudit bailliage au temps que lesdits ennemis avoient leur armee preste pour venir descendre dans le royaume et que ledit seigneur Roy avoit mande et ordonne que les gens de guerre et autres dudit pais se teinssent prests sur ladite coste de la mer pour resister a ladite descente de sesdis ennemis et s'en est ledit de Montauban ale hors de son royaume sans ses congie et license ne le lui faire savoir en delaissant sondit bailliage et la defense dudit pays et par ce soy rendant indigne de plus avoir ne tenir ledit office ...⁴⁰

A legal struggle followed. Montauban opposed the registration of Aydie's letters of appointment in *Parlement* in March 1455. He succeeded in delaying matters, with Charles VII intervening twice. Aydie finally gave his oath on 27 March 1455 after a delay of some three months.⁴¹

The singularity of this dismissal should be emphasized. Between 1449 and 1461 there was no comparable change among the other Norman *baillis*. One context for it is the attitude of the Montforts, particularly the constable, whose active hostility to the Montauban in the 1450s was the cradle of the subsequent feud between François II and Jean de Montauban.⁴² But this hostility was

³⁹Gruel has him warning the constable in April 1450 in the following terms: 'Monseigneur, je vous avertis, car on veult faire mauveise compaignie à monseigneur Gilles votre nepveu, et je m'en descharge'. François I was enraged when Richemont challenged him over the matter: Gruel p203. Montauban's evidence to the royal council given at Tours Nov 22 1450 is printed in Morice II p1550; he was subsequently released on the pledge of the *sénéchal* of Poitou (either Brézé or his successor Louis de Beaumont). See also Morice II p1628.

⁴⁰Letters patent, Mehun-sur-Yevre 11 Dec 1454, noting that Aydie swore the oath and registered the grant 27 Mar 1455 at the Châtelet, and that the *gens des comptes* had accepted the oath and given order for payment 8 Mar: *DLN/25* p97. Other letters dated 2 Dec 1454 qualify him *écuyer du roi* and *bailli* of the Cotentin 'que souloit tenir monsieur Jehan sieur de Montauban chevalier'. These were given in the *Grand Conseil* by the king and the count of Foix, and witnessed by admiral du Bueil, Antoine de Chabannes, Etienne Chevalier and Pierre Doriol: BN Clairambault 782 p167-68.

⁴¹AN X1_A 1483, p196-97. The grounds of Montauban's resistance are unclear. Aydie had his original grant and also letters ordering the court to recieve him in the office. The royal *procureur* declined to give his consent to the registration of Aydie's original grant, so there may have been formal difficulties. He required a third set of letters to secure confirmation. Estout d'Estouteville seigneur de Beaumont also challenged for the office, perhaps on the grounds that he had been granted it during the occupation. All parties, Montauban not excepted, were present at the pleading of the issues, 24-27 Mar 1455.

⁴²Richemont's had been one of the few voices raised in Gilles's favour, and in this we may see a relic of the earlier Montfort middle way between Plantagenet and Valois. Richemont took a much harsher line on the murder of Gilles de Bretagne than Pierre had done. He not only pursued the Montauban with an implacable hostility, but on his accession as duke extended the dragnet to such members of Pierre's own circle as Henry de Villeblanche, who had also served François I. The list of accusations against Villeblanche submitted to the royal council in the hope of warding off the king's intervention is in BN Ms fr 20458, p19.

insufficient to eliminate Montauban until 1454. He was finally destituted because the king himself had been offended: flirtations with the Dauphin had become too serious to ignore.

Within a short period of his removal Montauban had passed into the service of the Dauphin: indeed, his loss of office is best explained by links to Louis, rather than *vice versa*, for this accounts for the king's fury at his servant's absence from the realm without license. By hitching his prospects to those of the Dauphin, Montauban broke all his bridges back to the men around Charles VII. He was a sufficiently prominent and suitably nefarious counsellor of Louis to figure in royal propaganda in the mid-1450s. He shared Louis's exile and was heavily rewarded in 1461. He was with Louis both in Dauphiné and at Genappes.⁴³

The *Chronique Scandaleuse's* oft-repeated epitaph for Montauban is reflected in the comments of other chroniclers. The admiral's critical role in the genesis of the crisis between Brittany and Louis XI was apparent to Chastellain: he 'n'aimoit point le duc son seigneur, ce disoit-on, pour ce qu'il sentoît bien et cognoissoit que le duc l'avoit à regret en son courage pour la mort de monseigneur Gilles de Bretagne, et craignoit fort que une fois le duc ne luy en fist mauvaise compagnie. Donc pour soi fortifier du roy, estoit bien content de porter et maintenir sa querelle contre le duc son souverain naturel'.⁴⁴

Nonetheless, the chroniclers are reflecting the *doxa* of hindsight and it is possible that Aydie was retailing Breton court gossip in 1462, rather than reporting serious ducal policy. It was

⁴³He was in Dauphiné by 3 Dec 1454, and on 14 Jan 1455 Louis granted him the captaincy and revenues of the *châtellenie* of Valbonnais, recently confiscated from Dunois: Pilot I n°1122 p443, n°1132 p448. Beaucourt VI p96, 113 and 481: in the discourse of the king to the estates of Dauphiné in 1456, Montauban was specifically identified as one of the culpable counsellors 'qui déjà par le passé a trahi ceux de sa propre maison ce n'est donc par merveille s'il cherche a trahir et a faire mal agir mon fils, avec lequel il n'avait rien a faire'. He rode with Louis in the flight into Burgundy in 1456, alongside the bastard of Armagnac: Chastellain describes this pair as the Dauphin's 'principaux gouverneurs' when they arrived in Brussels: *Chastellain* III 178, 213. We should remember one of the *Chronique Scandaleuse's* uniformly unfavourable epitaphs for the late admiral, 'que aucuns mescroient d'avoir este cause de plusieurs dissencions et entres autres on disoit que par son conseil le Roy estant Daulphin ne vould oncques venir a appointment avec son pere': *Roye* II p203.

⁴⁴*Chastellain* V p78. *Roye* I p159: 'ledit seigneur de Montauban qui avoit este admiral grand maistre administrateur et general reformateur des eaues et forestz et qui avoit este cause de toute la noise advenue en Bretaigne et par consequence au Royaulme de France et qui avoit eu des biens du royaume et argent inestimable, mourut a Tours et ne fut pas ploure'. Compare Basin, 'inexplebilis avaricie ac pessimis et iniquissimis moribus viro, quem potissime pre ceteris bonus rex defunctus exosum semper habuerat', or, more floridly, 'et talia quidem ipse dominus de Montalban, natione Brito et alia infinitâ) atque innumerabilia mala impune, rege non nesciente quadriennio et amplius in tocius regni publiceque rei prejudicium maximum, palam gerebat. Nam apud regem ante omnes precipuo honore habebatur et majore auctoritate pollebat, donec bonitas clementissimi Creatoris, qui eum ad penitentiam diu patientissime sustinuerat, secundum duriciam suam et cor impentitens, juste pro meritis et retribuendum duxit, eumque, derelicta mammona iniquitatis quam infinitam pene congesserat, ex hac instabili luce evocavit': *Louis XI* I, p34, 36.

not inevitable that the latent hostility between the Montauban and the duke would assume political importance. Initially, François II was prepared to work with the new admiral, as for instance, on the already vexed issue of the bishopric of Nantes. The Breton council discussed the matter on 5 December 1461: approaches were to be made to Dunois and to Montauban 'afin que par leur moyen' the suspension of legal actions might be facilitated.⁴⁵ There was no other choice for the duke: Montauban was a senior Breton magnate with powerful connections within the duchy, influence at court, and the patronage afforded by great office under the crown. He could make of himself a pole of attraction for Bretons keen to further their own careers under the new dispensation. A group of men with kinship links to Montauban and each other did indeed emerge in Lower Normandy. His brother-in-law Tristan du Pérrier sieur de Quintin became captain of Avranches in August 1461. Du Pérrier's niece Jeanne, whose grandmother was a Montauban, had married Bertrand IV Goyon, whose younger brother Alain or Main Goyon was captain of Caen from 1462.⁴⁶ The new *bailli* of the Cotentin, du Pont-l'Abbé, fits into this pattern: Montauban brokered the match of his own grand-daughter Helène to Jean du Pont's son Pierre in 1454.⁴⁷

In the years after the accession the Montauban were major instruments of royal policy towards Brittany. After the accession Jean was deputed to Brittany on embassy. Bretons targeted for arrest by the crown were listed in royal letters in October 1461. First-named was Guillaume de Rosnivinen and it appears that Montauban was the principal agent of the strike.⁴⁸ The individuals

⁴⁵BN Ms fr 6968 p200. The duke cannot yet be shown to have obstructed even contentious actions such as Montauban's pursuit of former Caroline officers withdrawn to Brittany.

⁴⁶For du Pérrier's provision to Avranches, *DLN/75* p239. There are genealogies and other details for the Montauban and the Goyon-Matignon in Anselme IV p80ff and V p374ff respectively; and for the du Pérrier in Chesnaye-Desbois: Tristan was named as executor of Montauban's testament in April 1466. His father Geoffroi III du Pérrier had taken as his second wife Philippine de Montauban, their grand-daughter through Jean du Pérrier seigneur du Plessis-Baliczon married Bertrand IV Goyon in 1441. Main Goyon had been influential at the court of Genappes and was captain of Caen, *chambellan et conseiller* by July 1462: *GR4775*. Information on the personnel of the incoming office elite after 1461 is too sparse for us to reinforce this outline of kinship links with illustrations of interaction. Its coherence must therefore remain a matter for speculation. Jean le Faitis, who appears to have been in the admiral's service in the Cotentin captaincies of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte and of Regneville, witnessed Goyon's accord with the Caen abbey of Sainte Trinité in respect of *guet* payments in 1463: *Rouen* 24 March 1463.

⁴⁷Montauban's daughter and heiress Marie had married Louis de Rohan seigneur de Guéméné-Guingamp: he in his testament named du Pont tutor to his sons, and from his death in 1458 this became fact. There is a genealogy of the du Pont family by Hozier in BN PO 2331 *du Pont en Bretagne* 52524, n°7. Jean sieur du Pont-l'Abbé was the son of Hervé du Pont and Marie de Rosmadeuc. His paternal aunt Marie married in turn Guillaume seigneur du Châtel and Olivier de Mauny *écuyer* seigneur de Marcé. Jean himself married the Rostrenen heiress Marguerite. Du Pont's claim to oversight of the Rohan children led to a dispute over the wardship with their mother Marie de Montauban herself, he standing on the testament, she on local custom. An agreement was brokered by Artur III: Morice II p1638, 1639, 1729-30, III p41.

⁴⁸*Lettres* II p16. Morice III p1758; those threatened were Guillaume de Rosnivinen, Guion le Heuc, Jean Chauvin, B. de Mareuil, Guillaume Chauvin, Philippe de Malestroit, Eustace de l'Espinay, Maître Olivier du Breil and Regnault Godelin. At Nantes the following November the admiral delegated the

involved were important. Some were high ranking ducal counsellors: Guillaume Chauvin had been ducal *trésorier des gages* in the 1450s, and went on to be *trésorier de l'épargne, président des comptes* and chancellor. Olivier du Breil was a ducal counsellor, as was René Godelin *sénéchal* of Nantes. Possibly these men had already become drawn into incipient conflict over Saint-Sauveur-de-Redon, the Breton regalities and the bishopric of Nantes.⁴⁹ There are problems with this interpretation: it is very early in the trajectory of the Regalia confrontation and there is little to show many of those on the list as having been further involved.

Strikingly, it was not only Rosnivinen whose career was broadly military. Jean Chauvin, for example, was the duke's *commissaire* to muster the nobles of the Cornouaille in 1461-62. Guion le Heuc had been one of Geoffroi de Couvran's *hommes d'armes* in the early 1450s, before moving on to the company of Rosnivinen, in whose musters he was consistently listed early – a sign of prominence. After the accession he served in the Breton ducal company of the Norman Jean Blosset, as did Mareuil. Philippe de Malestroit, a member of one of the most prominent Breton noble families, was captain of Champtocé and led forty archers of the duke's bodyguard in the same period.⁵⁰

An alternative hypothesis is that their offences arose in the difficult transfer of allegiance of the Lower Norman *ordonnance* in 1461. The new importance of the Montauban emerged strongly in the role the brothers assumed or were given in Normandy. Jean became both admiral and *grand*

execution of these letters against Rosnivinen and le Heuc to Guillaume du Perier and Guion du Broc. See also AN J 1021 n°82, endorsed 'Reponse faite par le Roy a Rosnivinen iiii Mar lxiii': the text reads 'Le chancelier despeschera Rosnivinen et lui dira que pour honneur des lettres du duc nepveu du Roy Le Roy ne veult point que on procede alencontre dudit Rosnivinen en proces ordinaire ainsi qu'il l'a bien desservi et ainsi que on lavoit fait adiourner Mais on lui alonge la journee pour l'amour du duc Jusques au XV Jour du mois de May Auquel jour il pourra se rendre car le terme est assez long Mais quant il viendra a sa journee il ne fault point qu'il porte lettre de recommandacion d'aucun seigneur Car ce n'est point la coustume et aussi le Roy feroit tant pour ses armes et les a en si grant amour qu'il ne vouldroit Jamais que on la fist aucune durte et quant il faudra qu'il viengne au jour il ne faudra point qu'il apporte recommandacion aucun de seigneur du monde Autrement on procederoit alencontre de luy selon son adiournement. (another hand:) Dit en presence audit Rosnivinen en la presence de messieurs Jehan Lenfant le dimanche iiii mars la mil cccc lxij'. This is presumably connected to developments in either of the two Rosnivinen suits already mentioned, against Aurray and the Scépeaux brothers, but it demonstrates that Rosnivinen's problems had become an issue for both duke and king by the spring of 1464.

⁴⁹Chauvin, du Breil and Godelin were among the twenty-four ducal counsellors and archers of the guard excommunicated by Amauri d'Açigni in 1462, as part of his defence of his temporalities in 1462. On the Chauvin, see Kerhervé 1987, *passim*. The bishop of Nantes's list is given in his suspended interdict against the duke and his servants, Morice III p30.

⁵⁰Appendix 1(i) for le Heuc. For Blosset company musters and other lists of officers for this period see Morice II p1777. Like Rosnivinen, the Mareuil had a history of service to the king and Richemont. Geoffroi seigneur de Mareuil had held the *sénéchaussées* of Limousin and Saintonge in the 1420s and later: GR14016, 20095; Beaucourt I p357, 394, 399; II p67, 408; III p15. Olivier du Breil shared his patronym with Jean du Breil, a Couvran *homme d'armes* in the 1450s.

maître des eaux et forêts. Either office would have given him a considerable Norman presence: together they made him a crucial provincial figure. This significant shift in the basis of the Norman provincial regime was enhanced by the post-accession permutations among the province's *ordonnance* captaincies. Initially, the transition was managed by Estouteville, but as the winter set in the Lower Norman companies were entrusted to the new admiral and to those entering the region on his coat-tails. In their first post-accession musters we find him in charge of du Bueil's eighty lances of the *grande ordonnance* around Valognes and Cherbourg, and his *petite payés* of the Cherbourg garrison. He also took over Aydie's company at Saint-Sauveur, and was captain of Granville in the year after October 1461. Jean du Pont assumed command of the companies formerly under Couvran at Coutances and Broons in the Avranchin, and Jean du Fou took over Rosnivinen's men in the Bessin.⁵¹

One presumes that the losers found these developments galling, and Aydie can be shown to have had grievances. By January 1462 he had departed from his company, of which he had remained a member in the immediate aftermath of the accession. In 1465 he delivered to Louis XI a memorandum on his losses in this period. His complaints touched on the non-payment of various wages and perquisites which he claimed were owed to him from the transition of 1461. Unmet wages, pension and receipts from the *guel* of various of his captaincies totalling L650 were itemised, but the bulk of the memorandum was concerned with his losses when Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte was taken over by Montauban.⁵²

One interest of this inventory is that it shows Saint-Sauveur being taken into the king's hands very early. No doubt this should be seen against the background of Louis's general resumption of his father's grants, but there was more to it than that. In letters of December 1465, the king outlined the successive grants of the Saint-Sauveur lands and wardship made by his father. In the 1450s the vicomté had been in the possession of Antoinette de Maignelaiz as widow of the grantee André de Villequier and ward of their children. Louis explained that after his father's death

⁵¹BN Ms fr 25779 n°2, 3. BN NAFr 8607 n°132. BN Ms fr 20498 p35v°-36v°; Anselme IV p81. BN Ms fr 21497 p159, 161: Couvran was still first named in a muster dated 20 Sep 1461, while du Pont was stated to be absent. After 1461, du Pont was expected to reside in Normandy, and was granted a pension of L1,200 in the spring of 1462 in order to sustain his state there: BN PO 2331 *Du Pont en Normandie* 52533, n°26, 32. BN Ms fr 24779 p4.

⁵²Musters of July and October show him still resident at Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte and still mustering with his company: BN Ms fr 26088, n°42, shows him absent from a muster and *ustencilles* roll there, and his company in the charge of Montauban by 18 January 1462. BN Ms fr 20430, p44. This document also lists his artillery stored there and taken by Montauban. The inventory reveals quite a formidable arsenal: 1 *grosse culverine*; 4 other *culverines*; 3 other *grosses culverines*; lead for the cannon; 3 *gros canons*; 5 other *gros canons*; 6 *barriques* of powder; 10 *grosses arbalestes de passe*; 4 autres *arbalestes moienn*; deux *barriques* of arrows. The admiral had taken other movables to the value of 120 *écus*. Aydie asked the king to restore the artillery or its cash equivalent. He valued the first five items alone at L1,184.

'sous couleur de ce que n'avions pas congnoissance de la forme et souverainete desdis dons ... l'en dit que les Religieux, abbe et Couvent de Saint Sauveur de Redon ou Duche de Bretagne ont obtenu de nous certaines nos lettres de don ...'. By virtue of his new grant the abbot had sought seisin and possession, and the dame de Villequier had resisted. After she secured the intervention of local royal sergeants a suit was raised, initially at Paris. The case returned to the *Echiquier* of 1462, where the lady as guardian of her children appeared against the abbey of Saint-Sauveur-de-Redon, qualified here seigneur of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte.⁵³

The man titling himself abbot in these suits was of course Artur de Montauban, newly emerged from his enforced claustration with the Célestines of Paris. He was provided by the Pope to the abbey of Saint-Sauveur-de-Redon at the king's request in 1462, to the intense irritation of François II. He was never able to secure possession of the abbey and his possession of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte is part of the wider struggle to place him at the duke's expense in some benefice or other. That Maignelaiz was the duke's mistress can only have added zest. By 1464 an attempt to reach agreement by providing Artur to the see of Châlon and compensating the incumbent had aborted, and the king was pressing hard for the abbey itself to be delivered. In short, the abbot of Redon was granted the vicomté by Louis soon after his accession; he was certainly seised of the lands by 1463, and perhaps by 1462.⁵⁴

The settling of the dust after the upheavals of 1461 revealed Montauban standing in areas where the influence of the duke of Brittany had operated. There is room for nuance, and not all functionaries in Lower Normandy can be reduced to mere adjuncts of the admiral. Some at least of the Breton incomers had their own strong and direct links to Louis. Jean du Fou, who replaced du Bueil at Cherbourg and took over Rosnivinen's company, was a Dauphinist of even longer standing.⁵⁵ Main Goyon at Caen had, like du Fou, been one of the Dauphin's bodyguards, and is

⁵³BN Ms fr 6972 p281. *Echiquier* 1462 p226, 1463 p11. She was also embroiled over other Caroline grants in Normandy, for example with the Harcourt heirs over the barony of Auvers: see Delisle 1867, pp275-77; *Echiquier* 1466 p161ff and p208, 1464 p356.

⁵⁴The struggle over the abbey can be followed in Dupuy, *Reunion I*, La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne* IV, and Morice III 70ff. It is linked to the bitter struggle over the bishopric of Nantes between king, duke and Amaury d'Açigné, the former abbot of Redon who had resigned in Artur's favour. On the Châlon scheme, see *Annuaire Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, V (1867), p186. On the issue of seisin of the vicomté, at Easter 1463 the holder was relieved of his obligation to attend the *Echiquier* because 'il y a excusacion pour l'abbe de Redon tenant la terre': *Echiquier* 1463 p11. Leopold Delisle, citing a private source, showed Artur de Montauban making *fieffes* in the vicomté of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, 23 Nov 1463: Delisle 1867 p282. His captain in the place was Jean le Faitis *écuyer*, who was also captain of Regneville, and can be found in association with Main Goyon captain of Caen: *Rouen* 24 Mar 1463/64.

⁵⁵BN PO 1208 *du Fou en Bretagne* 27199; 1208 *du Fou en Normandie* 27200. In the early 1460s Jean was pensioned out of the Norman *recette* at L1,900, took the same sum for the ward of Cherbourg, and had L100 on the domain of Cherbourg as well. Anselme IX p582, 703 confuses him with his elder brother Yvon. Du Fou had been in the Dauphin's household since the 1440s, and went with him to Dauphiné in

listed by Chastellain with those who had been influential at the court of Gemappes.⁵⁶ François du Tiercent, who was captain of Bayeux by 1463, had been Louis's *écuyer d'écurie* at least since 1452, and was captain of the archers of his guard by 1455.⁵⁷

Montauban was only the most prominent of the former members of the court of the late François I who benefitted in Normandy from the accession. Tristan du Périer is another example. Du Pont, Aydie's successor as *bailli* and replacement of Couvran and Broons in their *ordonnance*, had been a ducal *enfant de chambre* alongside Artur de Montauban in the 1440s. Jean d'Aurray, who opportunistically intensified his legal struggle against Guillaume de Rosnivinen after 1461, was also a former household man of the late duke.⁵⁸ Even Estouteville shared a certain background in links to the late François I, having been heavily involved with the Breton campaigning of 1449-50, commissioned captain of Avranches by the late duke, and given a Breton company by him.⁵⁹

1447 as *échanson* and *homme d'armes* of his guard in which capacities he can be found in the 1450s: BN Ms fr 21478 n°27, 29; Clairambault 816 p333. He was *premier échanson* after the accession. His younger brother Yvon *écuyer d'écurie* then *grand veneur*, was captain of Lusignan and by 1467 captain of fifty lances: Morice III 150 and very influential in the second half of Louis's reign. See the extensive biographical notices in Guérin 1909 p103n, and Pilot I p482. The du Fou were involved in the machinations to provide Artur de Montauban to the abbey of Redon: Artur had resigned the abbey of Saint-Thierry in favour of their brother Raoul as part of a three-way transaction involving the nephew of the abbot of Redon: BN Ms fr 6971 p7v°.

⁵⁶Chastellain lists Goyon alongside Louis's 'mignon', Louis de Crussol: 'un autre nommé le seigneur de Villiers, breton, beau fils et net', and later, 'gentil chevalier Breton et moult gracieux homme': Chastellain III p214, IV p146-147. He was in the Dauphin's household by March 1453, and was named first in the *état* of March 1456: BN Ms fr 21478 n°27; Ms fr 20427 p8; Clairambault 816 p333; Ms fr 21478 n°29. His brother Bertrand IV Goyon seigneur de Matignon became *chambellan* to Louis Dauphin in Hainault in 1460: Anselme V p374. Along with Garguesalle, Main Goyon was entrusted with the hunt for Brézé after he went into hiding in 1461: Chastellain IV p182; *Lettres* X p180. He was seigneur de Villiers, Théville, Mesnil-Garnier and other lands by successive *partages* with his brother. His portion seemingly amounted to the bulk of the Norman lands of the house, save the maternal barony of Torigny (though in the 1450s and '60s this was in the hands of her second husband, Jean Mauhugeon). Among Louis XI's Bretons he was notably reliable: promoted to the *bailliage* of the Cotentin in the crisis of loyalty of his compatriots in the winter of 1464-65, he spent a long life in Caen and was buried there. His daughter and sole heiress Françoise married in Brittany (to the vicomte du Fou) but also made Caen her home (d.1536). Main Goyon was Louis's *grand écuyer* in the 1470s: Anselme V p374ff, VIII p495; *Matignon* (Introduction) viii-x.

⁵⁷BN PO 2843 *du Tiercent* 63099, n°2, 3. Again, he figures in the early 1450s *estats* and *musters* of the delphinal household: BN Ms fr 21478 n°27, 29; Ms fr 20427 p8; Clairambault 816 p333. He is named by Pilot de Thorey as one of those Delphinal servants who attempted to organise resistance to the Royal *mainmise* upon Dauphiné in 1456. He considered him the brother of the Breton knight and ducal courtier officer Jean sieur du Tiercent, a delphinal *maître d'hôtel* in 1454: Pilot I p433; n°968 p372 & n; also n°s 1162, 1165, 1434. This conflicts with the genealogy offered by Hozier in BN PO 2843 *Tiercent* 63099, n°11. According to this, François was the third son of Jean sieur du Tiercent (or possibly his nephew). François's two elder brothers remained loyal to the duke of Brittany in 1465: Guillaume was husband of Marie de Montauban (daughter of Guillaume de Montauban seigneur de Bois-la-Roche), while Jean was in the ducal household.

⁵⁸Morice II p1371.

⁵⁹Bouchart II p353.

Were we able to extend this list, one might be able to argue for a *revanche* on the part of a Montauban group at the Breton court of the 1440s. If so, Louis XI was indeed playing Breton politics with Norman office.

Du Périer rallied to his duke in the crisis of 1465. Montauban and the king may have expected more of du Pont. His relationship with the Montauban needs further exploration, but he was a sufficiently great Breton lord to be Montauban's ally rather than dependent. As relations between the courts became more hostile, Louis deployed him in his Breton diplomacy: he was one of the royal envoys to the Breton Estates at Dinan in September 1464. Nonetheless, he had been a *chambellan* of François II prior to the accession, and when finally called upon to commit himself, cleaved to his natural lord rather than his sovereign. Whatever the circumstances of his appointment in 1461 he remained sufficiently loyal to his duke to lead part of the Cotentin garrison into Breton service in the winter of 1464-65.⁶⁰

The 1461 adjustments to the provincial regime left a strong Breton element in place in Lower Normandy. This is consistent with the degree to which office patronage in the Cotentin after 1450 had become an extension of Breton politics. Nonetheless the adjustments were sweeping. The duke's influence was now diluted, even supplanted, by that of the Montauban. This occurred against a background which made such a development very difficult for the duke to digest. It is an element in the rupture between king and duke which has not previously been noticed. It was not constitutive of the rupture: rather it reflected other difficulties apparent in the wider picture of Valois-Montfort relations. It is nonetheless an important aspect of the way Jean de Montauban became central to the failure of amity between duke and king.

The arrival of Estouteville

In removing Brézé, Louis turned to Estouteville as the new *grand sénéchal*. He had held the old commensal office of *grand bouteiller*, but he was not intimately tied to the entourage of Charles VII. He took possession of Rouen in the name of Louis XI on 28 August. His son took formal possession of the captaincy on 10 October. His importance to the new regime was grounded in his role in securing the transfer of allegiance of men and places in Lower Normandy in 1461, both before and after he was named the king's *lieutenant général* at the beginning of September.⁶¹

⁶⁰The 1464 embassy belongs in the complex narrative of the conflict over the see of Nantes and the Breton regalia: Taillandier, D., *Histoire de Bretagne*, II p85. As *chambellan* of François II he was pensioned at L300 in 1460: Morice II p1745. On his return to Breton allegiance, Morice III p125.

⁶¹GR16202, 16230. Beaurepaire 1887 I, p62. He can be shown committing men of his company to take over control of places and companies: on the king's death Cherbourg was taken in *garde* by Gauvain de la

As the defender of Mont-Saint-Michel, Estouteville was a great captain of impeccable Norman and chivalrous credentials. His eminence in Lower Normandy was founded on his marriage to Jeanne Paynel, heiress to large Cotentin lands. The baronies and seigneuries of Hambye, Moyon, Chanteloup and Appilly which he held in her right made him the dominant secular lord in the Avranches-Coutances-Saint-Lô triangle. She also brought him the baronies of Gacé in the *vicomté* of Argentan and Bricquebec up in the Cotentin peninsular itself.⁶²

War and his wife determined Estouteville's career. The Paynel inheritance made him instrumental in preserving the Norman toehold of the Valois at Mont-Saint-Michel during the occupation. By the time his career climaxed in the *grande sénéchaussée*, his retinue included many men with roots in those forlorn times. When Thomas Gohier was named *procureur* of Michel d'Estouteville baron de Gacé and his wife in 1463, he had already served alongside other members of his family in the Estouteville company throughout the 1450s, and his father Jean Gohier *écuyer* had been in the garrison of the Mont in May 1421. Similarly, Jean de Hestray had been *écuyer* of the company of Louis d'Estouteville at Durtal near Baugé in 1420. Another 1450s *homme d'armes*, Guillaume Barbey, had been a Valois partisan from the English descent at Touques (and a prisoner of the English more than once) when he gained remission in 1447 for murder.⁶³

The defence of the Mont shrank the social world of the pro-Valois nobility of the Cotentin into the cloister's confines. This continued to condition the interconnections of the local *petite* and *moyenne noblesse* for many years. In 1451 we find Estouteville making the match between Jean de la Luzerne and Jeanne de Ver. The girl's father, Jean de Ver, had died at Mont-Saint-Michel

Haye *écuyer*, while Jean Pevrel took the musters of both garrison and *grande ordonnance* there: *DLN/75* p243; BN Ms fr 25779 n°2; NAFr 8607 n°132. This corresponds with Louis XI's orders given 6 Aug 1461 at Vervins to Guillaume de Bigars to ensure the payment of the *gens d'armes* since the marshals 'ne pourroient bonnement vacquer de faire les monstres'. Jean d'Estuer seigneur de la Barde 'et un des gens de beau cousin d'Estouteville' were to be involved 'sans lesquelz nous ne voulons estre fait aucune chose en ceste matiere': BN Ms fr 20496 p2. That autumn Pevrel, with or without Bigars, acted as the new *sénéchal's commis* to take the musters of Aydie's old company at Saint-Sauveur, the *grande ordonnance* of Dunois, Couvran and Broons, and the Honfleur and Montorgueil garrisons: BN Ms fr 25779 n°3; Ms fr 21497 p155, 157, 158, 161; Clairambault 235 p117. 'Incontinent apres la mort du roy', Estouteville took possession of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte and Domfront 'qui furent baillees en garde a Perot de Disse', one of Aydie's men. The latter observed with irritation that Estouteville profited from the *guet* for the autumn quarter to the tune of L350: BN Ms fr 20430 p44.

⁶²She was the daughter of Nicole Paynel *chevalier* and Jeanne de la Champagne. *CMSM* I p47n and 49n. He also held Villebaudon and Hauteville in the *vicomté* of Coutances: *DLN/9* p358 (inquest on the death of Jacques Paynel *chevalier* seigneur d'Orlonde and the wardship of his daughter Philippe Paynel); /24 p145.

⁶³BN PO 1083 *d'Estouteville* 24901, n°193. *CMSM* I p11: Jean Gohier had served under Jeanne's father Nicole Paynel *chevalier* for the duke of Alençon and the count of Aumale. For the other two, *CMSM* I p106, II p200-202. Barbey was a native of the *bailliage* of Rouen. On many other instances see Poli 1895, both the alphabetical list of 'defenseurs' (which should not be relied on) and the *répertoire numerique of preuves*. For notices on Estouteville's men see appendix 1(f).

before the Reduction. La Luzerne had been born there in 1438 and his late father Guillaume had held Jeanne's wardship. Among those who gave witness to the inquest into Jeanne's majority were noblemen who shared the surnames of members of Estouteville's company. The most useful informant was Girard de la Bellière seigneur du Désert, who had been present at the Mont 'au fait de la guerre' through the events he described.⁶⁴

Also involved in brokering the marriage was Huet Louvel, the husband of Jeanne de Virville, the mother of the intended bride. The head of the Louvel after the Reduction was Huet's nephew and la Luzerne's neighbour in the parish of Ver, Louis Louvel. He was a significant Cotentin lord, initially archer, later *homme d'armes* of Estouteville's company. His properties were not in good condition. The mills, dovecots and so on were still described as ruinous at his death in September 1467, when the king granted the wardship of his children to their uncle, la Luzerne, now become *écuyer de l'écurie*.⁶⁵

The company had more than its fair share of the leavenings of war. Jean Guiton, one of two *homme d'armes* of this patronym serving in the 1450s, obtained remission in 1447 for brigandage. He had been serving since his youth under Estouteville and other Valois *chefs de guerre*. Another member of the Mont-Saint-Michel garrison, Jean le Fevre, was described as having followed Xaintrailles, La Hire, Pregent de Coëtivy, Louis d'Estouteville and other captains when he was pardoned the mutilation of a Breton prisoner in 1441.⁶⁶

It would be wrong, however, to characterise Estouteville's entry into high provincial office in 1461 as the arrival in Rouen of a rude Cotentin warlord surrounded by a mesnie of aging *routiers* and Lower Norman *hobereaux*. In terms of landholding, he was unusual in straddling Normandy from the Caux to the Avranchin. He possessed seigneuries in the Bessin and in the Ouche, but by his paternal inheritance he was a great man in the Caux: baron of Cleuville and seigneur of Héricourt in the *vicomté* of Caudebec; châtelain of Hautot-sur-Mer near Dieppe, seigneur of Berneval, Espinay, Varengueville and Offranville in the *vicomté* of Arques; châtelain of Valmont, Foville and des Loges, seigneur du Bec-de-Mortaigne, and baron of la Remuée in the *vicomté* of Montivilliers. In normal circumstances this was a vast concentration of wealth, but one

⁶⁴DLN/9 p404. Girard le Tellier *écuyer* seigneur de la Varablière and Henry le Breton were the witnesses who shared patronyms with Estouteville men.

⁶⁵See appendix 1(f) for notice and sources.

⁶⁶CMSM II p209. AN JJ 187 n°127. Both these men share their patronym with other Estouteville servants: see appendix 1(f).

explanation for his continued focus on Lower Normandy is poor returns from the wasted fiefs of this region.⁶⁷

The greatest landholders in the new *grand sénéchal*'s orbit were Cotentin lords like Guillaume le Tellier baron de la Luthumière, Jean de Camprond seigneur du Lorey and Jean seigneur de Canteleu. Guion baron des Biars was consistently named first in the musters, and was probably lieutenant of the company.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, the Estouteville entourage reflected the geography of Estouteville lordship. There were many men with strong Upper Norman associations, and those who look to be his closest servants were Cauchois.

Amongst these, the three that stand out are Jean de Hestray *écuyer*, Jean Pevrel *écuyer* seigneur de Bennecourt, and Laurens Touzé *écuyer* seigneur de Freulleville. They were the core of the council administering the Estouteville lands in the Caux. Pevrel and Hestray were *homme d'armes* in the company, consistently named early in the musters. In the early 1460s Touzé was *élu* of Arques, but it is striking that even after his provision to the *grande sénéchaussée* these close servants do not appear as important outside the context supplied by their master. It is true that Pierre Galopin, who was Estouteville's *bailli* of Berneval by 1461, had previously been *lieutenant général* of the Caux and a royal secretary. Other men who were in his service and of wider importance often had many masters, however: his *sénéchal* and *vicomte* of Hautot and Berneval in the early 1460s, Jean Blancbaston, was also Dunois's *vicomte* of Longueville. Like Brézé, the countess of Harcourt and Dunois, the Estouteville brothers availed themselves of the services of the greatest Norman lawyer of his day, Roger Gouel, who was pensioned as Louis d'Estouteville's counsellor in the 1460s, and acted as the cardinal's *sénéchal* and *garde du temporel*.⁶⁹

The picture is therefore of a lord with slight reach into royal office in one of the heartlands of his possessions. In the 1450s, Estouteville influence can be found operating principally in the Cotentin where his stature was unrivalled. His men figure among the agents of the *bailli*

⁶⁷He also held Appeville, Bessac, Villequier, and Tiergeville in the *vicomtés* of Arques and Montivilliers; it was on account of the ravages of war as well as his services that the dues owed to the king on these were continually rebated in the 1450s and '60s: *DLN/24* p145. See also the homages of his grandson Jacques in 1470: *DLN/24* p151, /43 p265; Beau cousin 1891. His eldest son Michel married Marie de la Roche daughter and heiress of Guy de la Roche-Guyon *chevalier*. Her inheritance (for which Michel did homage in 1460) extended out of Normandy into the Chartrain and Senlisis. Among the Norman lands were the vicomté of Roncheville and the seigneuries of Francourville, La Roche-Guyon, Trie-Château and Trie-la-ville in the *bailliage* of Gisors.

⁶⁸See appendix 1(f) for notices on these men. Many members of the company are obscure, but have toponyms indicating Avranchin origin: des Loges, Brécéy, de Longues. Others were with a fair degree of probability scions of Cotentin *moyenne noblesse* houses: see appendix 1(f).

⁶⁹For Hestray and Prevel, see appendix 1(f). For Touzé, Galopin, Blancbaston and Gouel, appendix 3.

throughout the 1450s. One, Jean Veron, was *substitut procureur du roi* in the Cotentin in the early 1450s. Another, Guillaume le Coq, had been *lieutenant général* of the *bailli* in the early 1450s, and was succeeded by another Estouteville man, Richard Guihommar. A Mont-Saint-Michel *hommes d'armes*, Vigor Vivien, was also *lieutenant* of the *bailli* late in the decade.⁷⁰

Estouteville's delphinal associations were not nearly as strong as admiral de Montauban's. Evidence on the dealings of the two is limited and generalisation is speculative. An ancient jurisdictional dispute between the archbishop of Rouen and the admiralty over Dieppe erupted again in October 1462: an 'entreprise de Monsieur l'Admiral' triggered alarmed activity on the part of the archbishop's officers in the port. When competition developed over the abbey of Montebourg, Guillaume d'Estouteville overcame Artur de Montauban and other candidates. The admiral and the *grand sénéchal*, acting for their respective clerical brothers, agreed terms in July 1463 on financial compensation for Artur. In January 1464, Artur wrote to the *grand sénéchal* inviting him to release a monk of Mont-Saint-Michel detained on the orders of the cardinal, *commendataire* of the abbey. The monk had obtained Artur's pardon for seditious 'paroles redundant en l'injure' of the admiral. The admiral had been accused 'd'avoir voulu entrer en ladite place contre vostre (Louis d'Estouteville's) volunte' These instances are revealing of both competition and co-operation: at least one example can be given of an officer in the service of both men.⁷¹

It is possible that the 1450s model – Richemont's responsibility for Lower Normandy, Dunois's for Upper Normandy – survived. While Estouteville moved to Rouen, Montauban went to Cherbourg in September 1461. As a significant Lower Norman lord in his own right, he was disposed to a role in this area. His baronies of Marigny and Remilly were situated west of Saint-Lô, that of Say was near Sées, and Crepon was east of Bayeux.⁷² He had taken over Jean du Bueil's Cotentin-stationed *ordonnance* company along with the admiralty. Artur de Montauban

⁷⁰For Jean Veron, le Coq and Guihommar, appendix 3. For Vivien, appendix 1(f).

⁷¹Beaurépaire 1868 p123. Le Cacheux 1935 pp8-14. Louis de Pillais: appendix 3. Also indicative of co-operation are the large-scale financial dealings in which Montauban's brother-in-law Jean Malet de Graville engaged in with Estouteville's servant Hestray: *Rouen* 27 Oct 1456.

⁷²He was granted high justice in his baronies in October 1461, in consideration of his estate and of the 'grans louables et Recommendables services quil nous a par longtemps faiz et continuez en nos grans affaires et necessitez nous estans hors de nostre Royaume': *Echiquier* 1463 p29v°. Marigny, which he had resumed in 1450 (rendering *aveu* in 1450 and 1457), was particularly extensive and he made major consolidations by purchase. In 1461 he paid 1,800 *écus* for the seignury of Hauteville-la-Guichard, which he reunited to the barony: Fierville 1875 p81ff. According to a 1508 inquest the barony's lands extended over more than fifteen parishes, and over twenty noble fiefs owed homage to it. Its gross revenues were assessed at L884 (net of charges L522): *DLN/11* p137.

was active in the area both on behalf of his brother and on his own account in pursuit of the vicomté de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte.⁷³

Was Estouteville the junior partner in the new provincial regime that Louis was crafting? As can be seen from the forgoing analysis, his entourage was not particularly exalted. Its leader cannot be shown to have had weight at court, and if the king desired a provincial figure wielding greater patronage than the *grande sénéchaussée* disposed of, and with clearer court links, he could look to the admiralty's extensive jurisdiction in the Norman ports, and the patronage potential of the *maîtrise*.⁷⁴ Montauban's importance at court and the nature of his own and his brother's vexed personal histories in Breton politics dramatised the Norman aspects of their position as the Public Weal loomed on the horizon.

The case for Estouteville's relegation is not weak, but can be countered. His cumulation of the *sénéchaussée* and the royal lieutenancy concentrated more authority in a single man's hands than had been the case in Caroline Normandy, and the *ferme* added fiscal jurisdiction to this: at his death he was *generalissimo* of the reformed provincial administration. He derived additional weight from the fact that his brother, cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville, was archbishop of Rouen.

Over a long life the cardinal assembled a portfolio of episcopal and lesser benefices which made him one of the wealthiest men in France, which revenues he generally enjoyed from the comfort of Rome. In Normandy the cardinal held *in commendam* the abbeys of Mont-Saint-Michel, Montebourg and Saint Ouen de Rouen. Among lesser benefices he held Beaumont-en-Auge and other priories inside and just outside the province, and the archdeaconry of the Cotentin in the bishopric of Coutances. It is with his brother's ecclesiastical revenues in mind that we should read Chastellain's comment that on his death Louis d'Estouteville was regarded as 'le plus riche homme d'argent comptant' in the kingdom.⁷⁵

⁷³Montauban was present at the musters of du Bueil's old *grande ordonnance* company at Cherbourg and Valognes on 16 Sep 1461: BN NAFr 8607 n°132.

⁷⁴Louis XI granted the *grande maîtrise* to Montauban and later to the bastard de Bourbon as though this permutation itself annulled all existing provisions: BN PO 2007 *Montauban* 46056, n°16, Louis's grant to the admiral of the office of *grand maître* with the power 'de mettre et instituer offices ...'. More speculatively, Montauban's Norman authority may have been enhanced by the control of lands in wardship. His sister Marie had married Jean Malet seigneur de Graille and Marcoussis. When Malet, participating in Brézé's 1462 expedition, fell into a seventeen-year English captivity his extensive Cauchois lands may have come under the admiral's protection, though there is no evidence of actual wardship: Perret 1889 p1-2, 7. A similar question mark remains over the large Rohan holdings in Normandy, considered in the next chapter.

⁷⁵Prentout 1925 I, p189. The *sénéchal* as his brother's *procureur* performed homage for the temporalities held by the cardinal as archbishop and *in commendam* in January 1462: BN Ms fr 26088 n°111; DLN/75 p245, p255; /34 p131. GC XI p90, 528, 852. *Dictionnaire ... ecclésiastique*, sub Estouteville n°2. He held the priory of Saint-Martin-aux-Monts from 1440, the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel from 1444, the bishoprics of Dignes and Couserans from 1439, Mirepoix (1440), Nîmes (1441),

Addendum: note 78. Tabbagh offers biographical details on Jean Fare or Favé which may place him too in the context of Estouteville influence: Tabbagh 1988 III, notice on his homonym (presumed son, Rouen canon 1481-1521).

We can show men in the cardinal's service acting in association with members of the entourage of his brother.⁷⁶ More to the point, when the new king looked for men to staff the *Echiquier* he drew several from the ranks of the cardinal's top diocesan officers and counsellors. Because it sat by commission Louis had no need to destitute anyone in order to reconstitute the court. No *Echiquier* had been held since 1459, but when it reassembled at Easter 1462 few of the familiar figures were among the counsellors charged with its conduct. Louis d'Harcourt, former *président* of the Caroline *Echiquier* was not recalled. His replacement was the Breton Jean Prigent bishop of Saint-Brieuc, who by 1464 was acting as the cardinal's vicar at Mont-Saint-Michel.⁷⁷

Of ten known *conseillers clerics* who served during the 1450s none were among those who staffed the court in the sessions of 1462, 1463, or 1464. Among the twelve Caroline *conseillers laïcs* only two hung on into the first three sessions of Louis's reign. Both were experienced professionals: Parisian Jean Baillet was a *maître des requêtes* and *conseiller* at the *Parlement*; Jean Fare was *général des aides* in the province. Others of Louis's secular judges were not without links to the previous provincial establishment. Robert Biote crowned his important role in Caroline Normandy as *maître des requêtes de l'hôtel* by serving Louis in all three *Echiquiers* of the early 1460s. Thomas de Louraille, who sat in 1463 and 1464, had survived the taint of Lancastrian service (as *vicomte* of Rouen, no less) to become *lieutenant général* of the *bailliage* of Caen and then Norman *trésorier des guerres*. So there was some limited continuity amongst the lay counsellors. Both the *greffiers* remained as well. But the scale of the changes was substantial in comparison to those visited upon sovereign courts not sitting by commission.⁷⁸

Estouteville can be found deploying the prerogatives of the *grande sénéchaussée* in cases concerning men in his orbit, just as Brézé can.⁷⁹ Unlike the 1450s however, jurisdictional disputes

Béziers (1444), Lodève (1450), Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne (1453), Oporto (1459), Ostia (1461). *Chastellain* V p88.

⁷⁶André or Audon Lenfant was the cardinal's *bailli* of Dieppe in 1454 and *bailli* of Berneval for Michel d'Estouteville in the 1460s: *Rouen* 1 June 1454; ADSM 33 J 847, *Comptes d'Estouteville*. His fief of Henouard was held of Estouteville's barony of Cleuville: see appendix 3. When Jean d'Estouteville *chevalier* seigneur de Bricquebec redeemed certain old debts in 1458 the transaction was effected and witnessed by men in the Estouteville orbit, including Pevrel, the cardinal's treasurer Guillaume Auber, and Louis d'Estouteville's *vicomte* of Hambye Guillaume le Coq: *Rouen* 7 June 1458. When Guillaume le Tellier sold lands in the county of Aumale to chancellor Morvilliers, part of the purchase price was placed in the hands of the cardinal's vicar-general Jean du Mesnil: *Rouen* 17 April 1464 misplaced after 29 April.

⁷⁷See appendix 3 for notice on Prigent.

⁷⁸See appendices 2 and 3.

⁷⁹Huet and Guillaume Louvel *écuyers* registered an accord with Jean Trihan before the Rouen notaries based on the provision recently adjudged before the *sénéchaussée*: *Rouen* 25 May 1462.

between the *Echiquier* and the *sénéchaussée* were surfacing. Even if this was inevitable as the post-Reduction situation stabilised and Caroline institutions struggled towards self-definition, this was exacerbated by the personnel changes of 1461. Tension between the two courts came to a head in the early 1460s, when Estouteville's officers were arresting suitors who appealed from his jurisdiction. Uncertainties over the degree to which the *Echiquier* could assert its monopoly of cases in the Norman *ressort* were brought into high relief by the disappearance of Brézé from the scene, which removed a patron capable of brokering informally between the groups involved. This/ 13
not to say that the Estouteville lacked influence over the composition of the *Echiquier* bench after 1461.⁸⁰

Guillaume le Coq's Estouteville associations are particularly evident. He sat in the *Echiquier* from 1462 as *conseiller lai*. He probably also held office in the court of the *sénéchaussée*. Le Coq was one of three men who formed an identifiable group in the early 1460s *Echiquiers*. The other two, Guillaume de Cérisey and Robert Biote, were also Cotentin men. From 1463 Cérisey was provincial *procureur général du roi*. Le Coq witnessed a transaction related to Cérisey's purchase of the seignury of Fierville in the *vicomté* of Carentan in 1464, and both men were *meneurs* of the children of the late Jean de Coulombières baron de la Haye du Puis. In 1458 Le Coq witnessed a transaction for Biote.⁸¹

Cérisey had been part of the Lower Norman establishment under Charles VII: he bought the office of *vicomte* of Carentan in 1453 from the duke of Brittany's *argentier* Mathelin Hervé, whose rights derived from provision by François I in 1449-50. Cérisey himself was described as secretary to duke Pierre II in 1454. The venal transaction was ratified by Charles VII and presumably also by admiral du Bueil, whose usufruct of the *vicomté* included rights of provision to office. Cérisey became secretary to Charles VII in 1456. Despite these ties he made the transition to Louis's service, and his kinsman Jean de Cérisey benefitted from the patronage of Montauban in 1462. Guillaume was confirmed in his *vicomté* by Louis XI and appointed *procureur général du roi* in the province in 1463. In the same period he was *procureur du roi* of the *bailliage* of Rouen and *lieutenant général* of Montauban's subordinate the *maître enquêteur et reformateur des eaux*

⁸⁰*Echiquier* 1464 p23: see above, chapter 3, for discussion of this material. As noted there, the *Echiquier* asserted its own appellate jurisdiction and the authority of letters impetrated in chancery. Was this a perennial competence dispute, or are we seeing the court slap down Estouteville's pretensions?

⁸¹An accord arbitrated by le Coq as *Echiquier* counsellor in 1462 shows him in the company of men who had served in the court of the *grande sénéchaussée* under Brézé. There is no direct evidence, but it would be unsurprising to find him provided to a position in that court by its new master Estouteville: *Rouen* 20 May 1462. In subsequent years we find him witnessing transactions of the provincial elite: Montauban in 1463; Jean de Montenay's redemption of his seignury of Fierville in 1464: *Rouen* 20 Jul 1463, 8 May 1464. See appendix 3 for notice. *Rouen* 8 May 1464. *Echiquier* 1463 p110v°. *Rouen* 24 June 1458.

et forêts. Later in the decade his career shifted towards Paris: in 1467 he succeeded Jean Cheneteau as protonotary and *greffier* of the Parlement. He became *général des aides* the same year, and went on to rise very high in the counsels of Louis XI, with the attendant material rewards.

Cérisay enjoyed links to other men in the Estouteville orbit. Guion des Biars acted for him at the *Echiquiers* of 1462 and 1463. Guillaume Auber canon of Coutances and the cardinal's treasurer witnessed one of Cérisay's transactions as *meneur* of the Coulombières children in 1462.⁸²

Robert Biote is a more complicated case: a former Lancastrian who came to serve the house of Orléans as well as the king in the 1450s. His connections ran wide and high: his brother-in-law was Brézé man Jean de Longchamps. As he became more prominent in the province's legal establishment rose he transcended any simple clientage identity, but he too can be shown to have had dealings of various kinds with men around Estouteville: Roger de Camprond and Guillaume de Dampierre. He also had links to another new member of the *Echiquier* bench, the cardinal's vicar and counsellor canon Jean de Gouvis.⁸³

Jean de Gouvis was canon of Rouen and of Evreux, archdeacon of Bayeux, and mounted the *Echiquier* bench in 1462. He professed to regard his judicial service to the crown as incidental to the career he had made in the Church, to judge by his rubric to a number of charitable bequests in 1467. In this he listed the cardinal first among his benefactors and patrons: 'en especial ... de monsieur le Cardinal de Plaisance (Estouteville) fondeur du College de Pavye auquel ledit de Gouvis a este nourrye par longtemps ...'.⁸⁴ His career in various Norman courts, ecclesiastical and lay, did not rate a mention. Yet that career was long and distinguished: the canon was embedded in the networks of finance and judicial office at Rouen. Of a *demeurant* noble family in the Ouche, he was a major player on the Rouen rent market. Amongst the nobles he had dealings with were Georges baron de Clères, Roger de Hellande *chevalier*, Jean de Drosay *écuyer*, Guillaume Frétel and various members of his family, and Robert Regnault seigneur du Bosc-Renoult.⁸⁵

Another man on the early 1460s *Echiquier* bench with Estouteville links was the clerical counsellor Jean du Mesnil, the cardinal's vicar-general in the same period. A contract of 1464 shows him acting in association with the Estouteville *homme d'armes* Guillaume le Tellier, who

⁸²See notice in appendix 3. *Echiquier* 1462 p183, 1463 p26v°. *Rouen* 3 January 1462/63. *Echiquier* 1463 p202.

⁸³See appendix 3 for notices on Biote, Gouvis; for Longchamp, appendix 1(c); for Dampierre, appendix 1(f).

⁸⁴See appendix 3.

⁸⁵See appendix 3. For a selection of the canon's many financial operations, *Rouen* 24 Jul 1458, 7 Aug 1461, 14 Jan 1463/64, 9 Jan 1466.

was selling property to chancellor Morvilliers. Guillaume Prévôteau is a weaker instance. He had indirect connections with men in Estouteville circles, perhaps arising through the Rouen ecclesiastical courts, where he was *avocat du roi*. He can be placed among other figures in the church courts in the city: the cardinal's vicar-general Guillaume Menard witnessed his land purchases and other transactions, while Prévôteau himself witnessed a contract for cathedral canon Jean du Bec, archdeacon of Caen.⁸⁶

The appearance of Bretons and Lower Normans on the *Echiquier* bench is associated with the elevation of Montauban and Estouteville. Several lay counsellors either had Estouteville service connections or would have been familiar to the *sénéchal* from the Cotentin. Moreover, the importance of the cardinal to his brother's authority in Upper Normandy is shown by the fact that at least three of the new counsellors had their roots in the archiepiscopal establishment. The competence disputes which broke out after 1461 are a sign that the closeness of the Caroline elite, instanced by the personal ties between Brézé and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, could not be replicated. Nonetheless, the court's personnel did reflect the changes in the composition of the provincial regime on Louis XI's accession.

Louis XI and the fate of Charles VII's servants

Charles VII had won with great difficulty the stability his regime enjoyed in its last decade. His successor's arrival should have been easily classifiable as *histoire événementiel*. That this was not so was largely a matter of Louis's will. One can quibble about the scale of the impact of his accession on royal office. Not all mutations were the result of royal action, and discussion of 1461 in terms of how many and which classes of offices were affected obscures Louis's targeting of individuals. Cumulation of office was considerable both before and after the death of Charles VII, and as one moves down the scale the issue of venality becomes more relevant: both blur the picture. Yet this will not quite do: 1461 was a dramatic event, and not just in Normandy. It was the first 'normal' succession – untrammelled by minority or the emergencies of war – in over a

⁸⁶*Rouen* 17 April 1464, misplaced after 29 April. Among the witnesses was Morvilliers's nephew Pierre de Châteaupers, one of Mesnil's fellow *Echiquier* counsellors. Prévôteau's brother Jean was married to Katherine le Coq. His wife was Jeanne de Meautils. The sale of Yvetot in which Prévôteau and his wife sought to intervene, gave rise to a host of transactions, including du Bec's purchase of rents from another of Chenu's challengers Mathieu d'Allonne *écuyer* seigneur de Vareline and Jean le Sec *écuyer* seigneur de Gaillarbos's assumption of rents sold by Adam de la Rue *écuyer* seigneur d'Elbeuf-en-Bray and pledged by Prévôteau: *Rouen* 22 Jan 1460/61, 11 Sep 1466. On the family links between the Prévôteau, the Auber, the la Rue, the le Sec and the Cintray see the marriage treaty between Jean Prévôteau and Katherine le Coq: *Rouen* 23 Sep 1464, misplaced after 30 Sep. There are notices on du Mesnil, Prévôteau and du Bec in appendix 3.

century. There were no obvious political contingencies to hamper the king in the application of the traditional formula that *all* office was vacant by the fact of 'nouvel avènement'.

Louis did not confine the purge to office. The retrenchments in royal finance pointedly stripped a host of minor courtiers of their pensions, especially associates of the Brézé and Villequier circles of the 1440s and 1450s.⁸⁷ The effects of losing place may be further illustrated by reference to Rosnivinen's landed position in the Bessin. His biographer stresses the importance of Perrine de Meulenc, his wife from 1453, in how he was able to root himself in Normandy. He points out how her obvious value as an heiress 'was reflected in the way in which she was passed as a valuable ward from one leading member of Charles VII's court to another'. The Coëtiwy and Torcy were amongst those with whom Rosnivinen had to deal. When Rosnivinen married her in 1453, she was valuable because of her expectations rather than her possessions: to make these good would require the vigorous assertion of her rights. From at least 1457, Rosnivinen was involved in fierce struggle with his fellow-Breton Jean d'Aurray, husband of Perrine's elder sister Jeanne. They were the daughters of the late Norman knight Thomas de Meulenc and his wife Jeanne du Parc. It is possible to reconstruct at least the Norman trajectory of the case.⁸⁸

Aurray resumed the Meulenc lands after the Reduction: he gave homage for Courseulles at Caen in July 1450. He appears never to have been challenged in the other major holding, the Avranchin barony of Saint-Paer-le-Servain, but after his marriage Rosnivinen began to move on Courseulles. Predictably, Aurray and his wife prevaricated over the *partage* of the lands, and Rosnivinen had to resort to justice in order for lots to be drawn up. It was on the basis of a *partage* of 1458 that Rosnivinen and Perrine styled themselves barons of Courseulles. Aurray obstructed their seisin, however. He had appealed to the *Echiquier*, most likely against a convocation to draw up lots. By his account, Rosnivinen then imposed his own remedy by seizing the property. An accord supervened, by which Courseulle and other properties remained to

⁸⁷BN Ms fr 23262 n°1, 2: Louis granted the proceeds of the retrenchments to the bastard of Armagnac. Among the Norman victims were Thomine de Villequier dame de Vauvert and Marguerite Frétel dame d'Esponville wife of Mathurin Brachet.

⁸⁸Jones 1991. Viscomital inquests valued baronial revenues in 1471-72 at about £250 gross, which should be regarded as a minimal figure: later Rosnivinen put his annual revenues in the kingdom of France at £600. The barony lay on the coast between Bayeux and Caen, extending over the parishes of Courseulles, Bernières-sur-Mer, Béný, Le Port Malvoisin, Quesnet, and Reviars, but there were extensive appurtenanced rights further afield. Numerous lawsuits were raging, but in an effort at consolidation Rosnivinen had bought up some of the rents due on the barony: *DLN*/11 p31, 35; Jones 1981 p52. Letters of accord and accounts of some pleadings entered into the 1463 *Echiquier* registers supplement documents of the Rosnivinen family archive studied by Michael Jones: *Echiquier* 1463 p139; *Motilx* 1463 p50. See also *Harcourt* I pVij (Table Généalogique du livre II); Béziers 1894 III, p272ff.

Rosnivinen. Charles VII accepted Rosnivinen's homage on 3 July 1459.⁸⁹ The appointment was registered at the *Echiquier*, and the parties obtained leave to void the suit. Until after 1461, Rosnivinen and his wife enjoyed the lands, making *grandes reparacions*.

So before 1461 it was Rosnivinen, with his court contacts and Bessin *ordonnance* company who had the best of it. But his disgrace in 1461 was not a matter simply of a Caroline courtier-officer tumbling into the torrent of destitutions. Unlike other Breton captains, he cannot be shown to have remained with his company for any period after the accession, and headed those targeted for arrest by Montauban in October 1461. Although he had made his peace sufficiently to be admitted to homage for his Norman barony by March 1462, his position was now much weakened.⁹⁰

In the early 1460s Aurray was striving to dislodge Rosnivinen from the strong position he had built under the late king. Soon after the accession he obtained royal letters annulling the accord of 1459. By virtue of these he secured in September 1462 the intervention of the *lieutenant général* of the *bailliage* of Cotentin, who disseised Rosnivinen and his wife. The couple appealed to the *Echiquier*, where Aurray had been arguing that Rosnivinen had used his weight as a royal captain to impose extortionate terms on him. The judges may not have been wholly persuaded, since they gave seisin of Courseulles by provision to Rosnivinen. The final judgement had been reached but before it was handed down the two couples came to a new agreement, by which Rosnivinen and his wife surrendered rent and arrears worth £570 to Aurray. This implies both weakness in Rosnivinen's political and legal position and substance in the Aurray charge of inequality in the previous accord. This did not settle matters. The following spring Aurray evoked the principal before the royal council and subsequently took possession of the barony. He still held it when his whole position was threatened by the erection of the ducal regime in the province.⁹¹

⁸⁹*Harcourt* I p1868. Aurray was also to be accused of seizing all he could of the movables of Thomas's widow Jeanne. On his initial resistance to Rosnivinen's seisin, Jones, *op cit.*, p268-69. On Rosnivinen's homage, *DLN/75* p231; letters granting delay for rendering *aveu*, dated July 30 1459; 'ladite terre et seigneurie lui est puis nagueres venue et escheue au droit de sa femme'.

⁹⁰*Harcourt* II p1868. *Echiquier* 1464 p192. Rosnivinen's estimate of the amount he had expended on reconstruction at 1,500 *écus* is either tactically inflated or points to the scale of undervaluation of property in viscomital inquests.

⁹¹Jones, *op cit.*, p269 n56: the lieutenant's letters disseising Rosnivinen survive in a 1464 copy. *Echiquier* 1463, p139. Aurray presented his letters of evocation (dated Nogent-le-Roi March 20 1463/64) before the *Echiquier* of 1464 (p192). On 21 Apr the *Echiquier* adjourned the parties before the *Grand Conseil* for 15 May.

Aurray was *écuyer d'écurie* of Louis XI, and was able to draw in the *Grand Conseil*.⁹² In the vigorous legal counter-attack he launched against his brother-in-law we see the interaction of high politics with a politics of the most parochial and internecine kind. For Rosnivinen 1461 began a cycle of possession and dispossession dependent on the tides of Franco-Breton relations.⁹³ As was readily apparent to those like Cousinot or Brézé who disappeared into hiding and prison, or like Rosnivinen into Breton retreat, the shifts in favour which mutations of office represented were not restricted in their implication to some notional 'public' world.

In terms of the swathe it cut through the careers of a generation of royal servants, 1461 was a catastrophe. This could not be without implication for the stability of Louis's own regime. The origins of the Public Weal have been sought in the degeneration of relations within the blood of France. The phrase is that of Peter Lewis, explicitly in repudiation of the importance of disappointed courtier officers. Indeed, he downplayed the *épuration*, and took the disaffection of Princes as a given, 'more characteristic of their policy than love of country or their cousin the king'.⁹⁴ Yet the re-appearance of that disaffection in 1461-64 paralleled the growth of the collective identity of the servants of Charles VII.

This last was more than a heuristic device. In 1465 Dunois would appear under the walls of Paris and in debate with the Parisians 'pour fortifier ses complaints et demandes disoit que lui et plusieurs aultres seigneurs là presens estoient ceulz par le moien et aide dequelz le feu roy pere du roy avoit conquis et recouvert son royaume sur les Anglois ...'. The phrase 'serviteur du feu bon roy Charles' and qualifying a seigneur by the office he had held, is almost formulaic in the pro-Chabannes interpolations of the *Chronique Scandaleuse*. It is often accompanied by laudatory epithets. The collective identity of the servants of Charles VII was politically available by March 1465, when Berry's first manifesto was issued at the notional appeal of the blood of France and 'autres nobles hommes et conseillers de feu nostre seigneur et pere'.⁹⁵

There are few direct comparisons of the victims and the beneficiaries of 1461 which are closely contemporary with the events. Chastellain's *Allegorie mystique sur l'entrée du roy Loys* does have recriminatory elements but these are unspecific and undeveloped. The *Farce des Gens*

⁹²He may have had a wider importance: later in the decade he would hold the *garde* 'par don du roi' of the Rohan lands in Normandy: *Echiquier* 1469 p76 (lawsuit in this capacity against Pierre de Roncherolles *chevalier*).

⁹³As he complained to the duchess Anne, putting his total losses at 4,000 *francs*: Jones 1981 p52.

⁹⁴Stein 1919 p48-49; Lewis 1968 p230.

⁹⁵*Maupoint* p66; *Roye* I p202; *Ordonnances* XV p357.

Nouveaux is a more interesting proposition. It is a brief Bazochien comedy, some ninety quatrains long, satirizing the worthlessness of three New Men who have replaced 'les Vieux'. Commentators have placed it at the outset of the reigns of either Louis XI or his son. The text survives in a collection compiled in the 1540s, drawing on material of Lyonnais, Rouennais and Parisian provenance.⁹⁶ The elements most vulnerable to corruption would be any contingent satirical comment which would assist dating, or enable us to posit historical identities for its characters. Specific identifications may never have been intended and as it stands it fits the early 1460s much better than the Beaujeu regency.

This is apparent in three powerful elements in the play: the sudden and complete disappearance of the *Vieux*; the need for the *Nouveaux* to seize the opportunity; and the relative disparity in the reputations enjoyed by the two groups. The treatment here does not fit well the Beaujeu regime's concern for stability in the management of the transition after Louis's death. Charles Petit-Dutaillis was safe in using it to illustrate 1461 as rupture in his Lavis volume. In its treatment of the *Vieux*, *Gens Nouveaux* addresses issues such as the wealth their position had brought them, their disappearance, hints of their fate, and possible hopes of return to power.⁹⁷

The attitude of the dramatist to the *Vieux* is positive, if not extravagantly so.⁹⁸ The considerable renown they have acquired may be just another stick with which to beat the *Nouveaux*, for it is the latter's lack of reputation that is stressed. They know nothing of the deeds which the *Vieux* have accomplished. When they introduce themselves to *Monde* he greets them

⁹⁶The *Allegorie mystique* is in *Chastellain* VII pp1-36. The *Farce nouvelle moralisée des Gens nouveaux* is in Viollet-le-Duc 1854 III, pp232-48. The essential element in the Bazochien farce form is the duping of the weak or innocent by the strong, and this is undoubtedly why *Gens nouveaux* is titled a farce. In other respects it seems more like the short allegorical or satirical comedies called *sotties*. These were intended as curtain-raisers to more substantial *mystères* or *moralités*, with a farce either serving as interval or closing the programme: Droz/Lewicka 1961 p45; Cohen 1931 p59, 75.

⁹⁷Petit-Dutaillis 1902 p337. The completeness of their disappearance is apparent in *Premier's* observation that 'Des anciens ne vient la sente, Combien qu'ilz fussent fort loyeaux' or *Second's* laconic 'Les Vieux ont regné, il souffit'. That their going was not necessarily easy on them appears from *Tiers's* comment that 'S'ilz ont bien faict, ilz ont leurs biens, | S'ilz ont mal faict, aussi les maux'. Now the *Nouveaux* have 'des anciens | Par succession tous leurs biens | Quelque part qu'ilz soient vertiz'. There follows a comic dialogue, perhaps staged as a burlesque treasure hunt, on what they may have done with their wealth — 'Ilz ont avoient tant, Mère Dieux!' — and where it may be hidden. Why have they hidden their possessions? *Premier* conjectures that 'Ilz cuident tousjours revenir | Mais esperance les decoit | Et par ainsi on aperçoit | Que plusieurs ont esté deceuz'.

⁹⁸Of the 'faict des Gens Anciens' it is said that 'L'on l'a paint ou mys par histoire'. The dolourous *Monde* makes his entry mourning his abandonment by his favourable wind, Zephyrus: 'Je suis tout destruict et deffaict | ... j'avoye esperance, | Mais maintenant je n'en puis plus'. Laments on the suffering of *Le Peuple*, *Labeur* and *Marchandise*, and on who has brought *Monde* to this pass strongly reflect the Bazochien tradition of anti-tax and anti-soldier drama. The drama's panacæa for the evils he recounts is a better quality of *gens d'armes* in 'l'ordonnance | Servans au royaume de France', currently a 'tas de paillars, | Meschans, coquins, larrons, pillars.'

amiably enough, wishing them honour and wealth. *Premier* is surprised: 'vous ne scavez qui nous sommes?' he asks, getting the reply 'Ma foy, je ne vous cognoys rien'. The blankness of the past of the *Nouveaulx* serves to point up their opportunism. *Premier* announces their intentions early on: 'Gouverner, tenir termes haulx, | Regenter a nostre appetit, | Par quelques moyens bons ou faulx; | Nous l'avons du temps ung petit'. The search for the riches of the *Vieulx* will make manifest the rapacity of the *Nouveaulx*. The rubric for this is given by *Second*: 'Les Vieulx ont regné, il souffit | Chascun doit rener en son tour. | Chascun penser de son proffit, | Car après la nuyt vient le jour'.

These elements in *Gens Nouveaulx* are incidental to the main theme of the piece, which is the unreliability of the intentions and promises voiced by the *Nouveaulx*. Their materialism is the counterpoint to these honeyed words, and their lack of renown is also related to extravagant boasts.

A comic litany of impossible promises is bracketed by these two elements. It is opened by *Premier*'s announcement that since they are *Gens Nouveaulx* they require 'nouvel estat': 'Acquerir de bruit si grans sommes | Que par tout il en soit nouvelles'. It is closed by his warnings that now things will get harder: 'Les anciens ont faict devant | Leurs jours, il faut les nostres faire. | Gens nouveaulx ne se doivent taire Car nous avons des anciens | Par succession tous leurs biens'. This places the untrustworthiness of their promises in the context of their need to occupy the position of the *Vieulx*, with their reputation already made. The theme hardens into deception when the trio encounter *Monde*. *Second* warns his colleagues 'Gardons nous de luy faire ennuy | Traiter-le convient doucement' which they proceed to do with various pleasantries. The fleecing of *Monde* is punctuated with soothing words; his transfer first to 'mal' and thence 'en pire' takes place amidst assurances and reassurances.⁹⁹

The cynicism about the *ordonnance*, about promises of reform, about *gens nouveaulx* is sufficiently generalised to have kept the play in the repertoire long into the sixteenth century. Nonetheless it demonstrates that the identity of the *Vieulx* was dependent upon the existence of *Nouveaulx*, in other words, upon the sweeping changes of 1461. Maupoint observed the dismay of the disappointed in the context of 'grant mervelie de telle et de si soudaine muance en tant et en si grant nombre d'estas et offices ...'. Philippe le Bon could see clearly enough that problems would flow from too unrestrained an application of customary form, and there is a hint in his misgivings

⁹⁹The staging of this must have involved physically moving *Monde* around the stage, each new place being introduced as 'à plaisance' and a 'plaisante hostellerie'. There are hints that 'mal' may have been a courtroom or prison: legal language intrudes into a brief exchange between *Monde* and *Second* at this point, and the victim is repeatedly told that he will be guarded well. The language darkens in tone thereafter, with reference to torments and mortality in *Monde*'s penultimate speech, while the *Nouveaulx* abandon pretence to become more threatening. In the absence of harder clues one can speculate that the stocks or a gallows would fit the needs of the comedy for 'pire'.

that Louis was early regarded as a man unable to distinguish between private appetite and public good: 'cet homme ne regnera point longuement en paix sans avoir merveilleusement grant trouble'.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰*Maupoint* p47. *Roye* II p153: unless the duke's remarks are apocryphal; they come from the interpolations in the Chabannes interest.

THE CAROLINE ELITE AND THE *BIEN PUBLIC*

In the prelude to the *Bien Public*, relations between the crown and Brittany and Burgundy have deservedly received most historiographical attention, but Normandy was bracketed by these princely complexes. The history of ducal influence in Lower Normandy and of local struggles underlay the concern for the reliability of the garrisons which grew as relations with François II deteriorated in 1464. As reform petered out into crisis, and with Louis striving to break up shadowy leagues between Brittany, Orléans, Anjou and Bourbon, the death of Estouteville triggered shifts in Louis's political establishment. Brézé was the principal beneficiary. In the autumn of 1464 the tax experiments of the previous two years were abandoned. Late in the autumn the Breton situation worsened, as direct pressure on Brittany intensified in the wake of developments in Burgundy. Louis had neutralised Brittany's ally Charolais by exacerbating the breach between him and his father and assiduously backing his own connection at the Burgundian court, the Cröy-Nevers axis. Louis's strategy was always adventurist, and began to come apart as the affair of the bastard of Rubempré, with its strong Breton dimension, became public in September. War was now on the horizon and Montauban was dispatched north to seek Philippe le Bon's support.¹

In December an assembly of notables at Tours offered formal but complete backing to the royal position. Less gestural was the build-up of royal forces on the Breton marches, including in Lower Normandy. Despite the assembly of dissidents on Christmas day at Nôtre-Dame de Paris, the tactic of isolating and pressurizing Brittany seemed to be working: Dunois was dispatched to Nantes to finalise arrangements which could surely only costume Breton capitulation. As Louis later confessed to his uncle of Burgundy, he had taken the bitter dispute with Brittany as all but settled.²

There is therefore substance to the convention which begins the crisis of the Public Weal with the flight on 3 March 1465 of Charles de France duke of Berry from his elder brother's court at Poitiers. Berry's *partement* into Breton asylum was a *coup de théâtre* as well as a *coup d'état*. Louis and his court were taken unawares. Berry's sudden entry into active politics raised the

¹*Milanaï* II p161, 257-259, 269, 285. Louis's Burgundian *politique* urgently requires a dedicated study. Louis held out the prospects of an advantageous match to Saint-Pol, and challenged Charolais over intelligence with Brittany through Jacques de Luxembourg seigneur de Richebourg and his men: *Chastellain* V p13, p70-80; *Milanaï* II p333, 349-357.

²*Milanaï* II p269, 351, 361-63; III p5; *LMIQ* p194.

stakes for all parties to the conflict which had been simmering largely underground.³ Impending Breton peace evaporated into hostile intent, exploding the crisis out of the purely Breton arena to which Louis had endeavoured to confine it. With the heir presumptive in his camp, François II had a potential regent or even pretender on his hands. The court immediately anticipated direct assault, and responded with a panic-stricken in-gathering of captains and *gens d'armes*. Among disaffected princes, Bourbon was alone in opting immediately for open rebellion. Berry was also a rallying point for lesser men: in early April he announced that he would do justice to the servants of his late father when he reached Paris.⁴ The destituted servants of Charles VII acquired a focus for their continuing identity, and could assimilate the ragbag of adventurers massing in Brittany.

Believing the Breton position to be collapsing, Louis had seen no need to appease lesser princes like Bourbon or Armagnac. It is notable that the avalanche of favours began after the *partement* rather than in the tension of the previous winter. Louis had been sufficiently complacent about the loyalty of the *ordonnance* to withhold a quarter's wages in July 1464, the gracious contribution of the *gens d'armes* to the *rachat* of the Somme towns: over the next few months he increased Norman taxation to meet the repayment of 100,000 *écus*, but the repayments accelerated in March-April 1465. Immediately prior to the flight of his brother Louis was confident enough to shrug off the complaints of the city of Paris about their tax-burden. Six months later its exemption from *tailles* and *aides* was being cried throughout the city. A destabilised regime struggled to expand its base, as *attentisme* in the ranks of the great sent the cost of purchasing support into an upward spiral.⁵

In April-May Louis deployed the forces he had assembled on the lower Loire upriver in Berry and the Bourbonnais, rather than against his brother's Breton refuge, perhaps for fear that this would precipitate the house of Anjou into the rebel camp. The burgeoning threat on the

³Stein 1919 p56-58. Quicherat began his 1842 collection of documents with Louis XI's letter three days after the *partement* breaking the news to Philippe le Bon: *LMIQ* p194-470. Mandrot in his edition of the Milanese dispatches stopped up the March lacuna in the series by resorting to reports reaching Milan from Lyons. Again, the effect is to dramatise the moment: the tone of Malleta – gossipy, occasionally supplicatory or breathless, preoccupied with Savoyard marriages, the affairs of the house of Orléans, and the transport of Asti – give way to the near-panic of the anonymous Milanese at Lyons: *Milanais* III p71. For those who prefer sources orientated towards Burgundy, a rival beginning to the crisis suggests itself, in the eye-witness accounts of the French embassy to Lille which followed the arrest of the bastard of Rubempré; Comines began his memoirs with the spectacular confrontation between chancellor Morvilliers and Charolais: *Commynes* I p4ff.

⁴Roye II p169-70.

⁵The first installment of repayment drawn on the Norman *creues* in late 1464 was L25,628: BN Ms fr 23262 n°18; *Milanais* III p105; *Roye* I p36; the Parisian tax concessions were granted 3 Aug, and *Maupoint* p59 describes the festival atmosphere that ensued. It would be possible to assimilate the chronology of the duke of Alençon's troubles to the same point.

northern frontier – culminating in late June with the Burgundian march on Paris – aborted the Bourbon campaign and obliged the king to take his army north. From the end of June the arena of conflict shifted inexorably towards Paris, there to remain until October.

The defence of Paris after Montlhéry is the war so vividly described by Comines as a *mélange* of chivalrous rôle-playing and bribery. The loyalties of major players who had hitherto avoided full engagement on either side became clearer. The Armagnacs joined with Bourbon and, most crucially, the house of Anjou's ambiguous royalism crumbled as Jean d'Anjou duke of Calabria joined the princes with his Lorrains^{er}. Eventually Maine became a *ligueur de la dernière heure*. Yet as summer slipped into autumn it looked as though the king had fought his enemies to a standstill in the Ile-de-France. The princes had failed to take Paris, had lost impetus, the season was closing in and serious negotiations were in play.

From the vantage of September it seemed as though any resulting compromise would be on Louis's terms. The opening of Pontoise and Rouen to the rebels in late September triggered a tidal shift in the political outlook. The birth of a rebel provincial regime in Normandy, later regularised as the apanage of Charles de France, forced Louis to capitulate. A final truce was effected on 1 October 1465. For Louis, the formal termination of the war by the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur (5 and 29 October) amounted to defeat mitigated by survival.

The last months of 1465 are notable for the struggle to establish a coherent regime in Normandy amid the competing claims of the allies and supporters of Charles de France. In December it became apparent that the new duke had failed utterly in this: his mainstay, François II, had withdrawn his support. When Louis began to move against his brother the apanage had already imploded into a coterie of desperadoes and opportunists only some of whom had any roots in the province. The liquidation of Charles de France's regime posed problems only in so far as Louis needed the consent, tacit or active, of his erstwhile princely enemies. Once this was assured, Louis clipped his brother's wings in thirty days in December 1465 and January 1466.

The three main theatres of the war – the Loire, the environs of Paris, and Normandy – correspond to three of four phases into which the pascal year of the Public Weal may be divided. The royal revanche over the winter of 1465-66 also centred on Normandy and constitutes a fourth.

These divisions mark the shifts in the military and political attention of the major players. Normandy moved to centre stage, raising the questions of why it fell to Charles de France, and why a grip on the duchy eluded him. This chapter offers answers, couched in terms of the nature and fate of the Caroline establishment in the province.

The political choices of Norman magnates and companies

Normandy was not a primary theatre of the war as the forces fell into place in the early summer of 1465. The Norman aspects of the early phases of the Public Weal derived from the province's contiguity with Artois and Brittany: later the province became for Louis the crucial source of men and money.

The regime's concerns for the reliability of the Lower Norman garrisons pre-dated the *partement*. In August 1464 François II protested to Maine that an oath directed against him had been administered to these *gens d'armes*. Men had only been received to the musters at various places on swearing to serve the king 'contre tous ceulx qui pevent vivre ou mourrir', and namely against the dukes of Burgundy, Bourbon and 'especiallement' Brittany. The duke was particularly exercised by the fact that at Granville Artur de Montauban was present when the oath was taken.⁶

The court had cause for this concern: many declined to take the oaths and retreated to Brittany. In his response to Breton charges, Louis denied that any prince other than Brittany had been named. He asserted provocation in the existence of a plot to seize Granville: if Artur de Montauban had obstructed this enterprise he had acquitted himself well. The point elided here is that the Breton component of the royal *ordonnance* was disintegrating. Comines's comment on the composition of the Breton army which marched on Paris in the summer of 1465 is apposite: he linked the 'saiges et notables chevaliers' dismissed without good cause on Louis's accession to the fact that 'estoient partis des ordonnances du Roy bien cinq cens hommes d'armes qui tous estoient retirez vers le duc de Bretagne, dont tous estoient subjectz et nez de son pays ...'.⁷

The *lacuna* in the series of Norman musters after early 1462 hampers understanding of these events. Our best evidence is the lists of payments made to individuals and groups coming across the Breton border in the winter of 1464-65. For the Mont-Saint-Michel chronicler, an important contributor to pre-war ill-feeling was the fact that large numbers of men had been cashiered. The picture we possess is too fragmentary for us to gauge the extent to which new captains sought to transform the membership of their companies in 1461-65, but some changes had

⁶The protest was appended to a letter to Maine mainly concerned with the issue of the Breton regalia. It is printed in *Annuaire bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France* vols 1-5 (1867), p195, and in Morice III 72 (misdated 1463). The duke claimed that Orléans was also named in the oaths in some places. Also relevant may be the letter printed in *Lettres* II p221, n°CXXXVI, tentatively dated by Vaesen to late 1464: it speaks of the 'grant nouvellete' lately sprung on the friends of Montauban; it is however undated and addressed only to 'mon bon compere', with faulty readings. It might equally relate to an earlier stage of the struggle over Redon.

⁷Morice III p35: Louis pressed the old sore point in linking the Granville plot against Granville to the bastard of Gilles de Bretagne and the English. *Commynes* I p23-24.

occurred. A few men appeared for the first time in the very early post-accession musters. Amongst the defectors in 1465 were men bearing names which can be plausibly associated with figures in the new regime in the Cotentin and who had probably entered the *ordonnance* under the new dispensation. Most strikingly, of some forty lances of the royal *ordonnance* who followed du Pont back into Breton service early in 1465, none had appeared in the musters of Breton companies in the 1450s.⁸

Any assessment of the impact of the defections of 1464-65 must therefore be a partial one. Our list of those royal *ordonnance* men who took Breton service consists of over one hundred and twenty *hommes d'armes*, plus named and unnamed archers and *petit payés*. A high proportion came from companies in Normandy. Some forty men had held place in the Norman *ordonnance* up to the winter of 1461-62. This figure compares with the *grande ordonnance* usually stationed in the Cotentin before the accession: some two hundred *hommes d'armes*.⁹

The defectors of 1464-65 included homonyms of *hommes d'armes* in five *ordonnance* companies stationed in Lower Normandy in the previous decade. Eleven men had served under Rosnivinen; nine under Couvran; seven under Broons; perhaps two under Aydie, and two more under du Bueil. Several of these thirty-one men took Breton service with companions who shared their patronymic, and we may think of these as their kin joining them under the crown. Another eighty defectors cannot be placed in the Norman *ordonnance* of the 1450s but some had entered the same companies under the auspices of Louis's incomers.¹⁰

⁸See appendix 1(i). Raoul de Plumaugat is one of those who had presumably arrived after 1461: he bears the patronym of Alain and Amaury de Plumaugat – the former Montauban's *maître d'hôtel*, the other early 1460s lieutenant of the captain of Valognes. None of the thirty-eight *hommes d'armes* who defected with du Pont were former members of Charles VII's Lower Norman *ordonnance*, though Pierre de Bouteville shared a patronym with erstwhile Rosnivinen men and fellow defectors Guillaume and Nicolas de Bouteville. Three former members of the Norman *ordonnance* were listed as absent from the muster of du Pont's defectors: Alain de Beaurepaire; Julien de Bréhan; Yvon Jouin or Jourdan. Morice III p121-25, 144. The instance of Bréhan is the most interesting: see remarks in appendix 1(i).

⁹Morice III p120. A well-known instance of defection from the wider *ordonnance* is that of the Forezien knight and *ordonnance* captain Pierre d'Urfé seigneur de la Bastie, who led twenty-five lances with him into Charles de France's service in March-April 1465: *Milanais* III p107. After the Public Weal he remained in Lower Normandy as a nominally royal captain of twenty lances but in fact under Breton auspices: BN Ms fr 21477 p2-6; PO 2902 *d'Urfé* 64550, n°2-5.

¹⁰See appendix 1(i). No members of Jean de Lorraine's former company can be identified among the defectors. This is surprising, given that Lorraine himself was a committed *ligueur* and that Granville had been the locus of the obscure affair which triggered the defections. Moreover Granville was seized and held by his men for Charles de France in 1465-66: *Milanais* IV p261. Two possible solutions to the conundrum: the company may have been cashiered in the early 1460s, or defectors who had formerly served Lorraine returned to him and were not regarded as in Breton service or paid by the Breton administration.

No full listing of the defectors is possible. The entries in the ducal *comptes* are not comprehensive of all who had served in the royal *ordonnance* and who were now following François II. Other former members of the old Lower Norman companies simply mustered under Breton captains on the eve of the march into France. A list of these homonyms can be dressed from comparison of the Caroline musters of the Norman *ordonnance* with the accounts of the Breton *trésorier des guerres* for 1465. Were every single identification to hold the number of known defectors would expand considerably. Yet this would still only be a partial rendering of the scale of the collapse of the garrison in Lower Normandy, for we lack the Breton musters of Couvran whose reach into the Norman garrison was also deep.¹¹

The desertions of the autumn and winter of 1464-65 were another milestone in the heightening of tension. The softness of the Norman frontier was highlighted by efforts to disarm Bretons and restrict movements of arms across the frontier. The unpredictability of the princes of the house of Anjou became of acute concern, as without them Louis would have no prospect of containing the crisis. René himself became a particular target of royal generosity, selling his quiescence, if not his commitment, for 30,000 *écus* and a grant of the valuable tolls at the Ponts-de-Cé. His brother emerged as the key agent of royal defensive strategy in this area. From mediating between the ducal and royal courts in the winter, Maine moved into overall charge of the royal forces containing the Bretons in the spring and early summer. This new role extended into Normandy. This was dynastic politics, but also a matter of seigneurial geography: in addition to Maine itself it was as count of Mortain that he was the leading magnate in the Avranchin. In his train at this time was Brézé, no stranger to the Cotentin in terms of clientage and family ties, upon whom immediate military responsibilities devolved. He had charge of the thousand or so lances of the *grande ordonnance* which were posted to the Breton marches by mid-April.¹²

¹¹See appendix 1(i) for of men not listed as defectors in the accounts of the Breton *trésorier de guerres*, but whose names occur in 1450s Norman musters and those of the Breton captains Blosset, Broons (la Hunaudaye: check this id.), Aydie and Lohéac in 1465. No doubt many defected too late for their wages to be entered in the roll of those paid up to 1 Jan 1465. Others may have been men for whom the gap between entry into Breton service and departure from the royal *ordonnance* was wider. If so, they could be some of the men cashiered after 1461.

¹²BN Ms fr 20485 p133. Guérin 1909, p35. *Milanais* III p146. *Lettres* II p114, p285. *Roye* I p42: on his invasion of Berry the king left the Anjou brothers 'pour garder et defendre que lesdiz de Bretagne n'entrassent en Normandie ne en autres lieux de ce royaume pour le dommager.' The three hundred lances which were attributed to Maine by Panigarola as the king left Saumur to begin his Bourbon campaign were clearly based on the Lower Loire at that stage. Earlier a Savoyard report of late March had indicated that about 800 lances had been deployed to the Poitou-Brittany frontier. Malleta believed by 20 Apr that Maine exercised a royal lieutenancy and command of 1,100 lances and 6-8,000 *franc-archiers* on the lower Loire: *Milanais* III p110, 96, 119. Maine's role was primarily focussed on Poitou and the Angevin lands in April-May. The estimate of 1,000 lances under Brézé is contained in Cousinot's letter to the chancellor on 18 Apr: *LMIQ* p228. In early 1465, Louis armed 1,000 lances on the Breton marches of Normandy under Brézé: BN Ms fr 6971 f°278. The figure given by marshal Rouault on 1 May was 900 lances in Anjou, Maine and Normandy: *LMIQ* p239. In May 300 lances were dispatched under

We should see Brézé's role here in the context of his mixed service to king and the house of Anjou: disgrace on Louis's accession had forced him back on this primary connection, and his progressive rehabilitation since 1462 had not disentangled him. He was with king René and Maine at the May negotiations at Saint-Florent-le-Vieil. He compromised René's equidistance from the parties by securing entry for royal troops into Loudun. Within Angevin circles in this changeable spring of 1465, a royalist Brézé may be contrasted with the oppositionist brothers Vaudémont-Lorraine.¹³

If the king's confidence in Maine and indeed Brézé was provisional, he had surer agents on hand. Although his own *ordonnance* retinue had certainly been affected by desertions, Montauban remained active in the area and he was qualified 'lieutenant du roy en Normandie' when ordering the summons of the *ban* in the Caux on 22 March. Late on the night of 10 April he wrote from Avranches to inform the king of the state of the frontier zone. A sensitive position, the office of *bailli* of Saint-Sauveur-Lendelin, had to be filled with a reliable royalist candidate, notwithstanding the fact that it was in the gift of the dowager duchess of Orléans. The king was to thrust Robert Biote upon her in spite of the claims of her veteran counsellor Pierre de Reffuge. The admiral had placed the *franc-archiers* of Evreux and the Cotentin in Avranches and Saint-James-de-Beuvron, and was pressing over the need for payment.¹⁴

Some time before Easter Main Goyon replaced the defector du Pont as *bailli* of the Cotentin, and it was through him that orders were reaching Lau's men at Falaise. Around this time Montauban occupied Mont-Saint-Michel, and a month later he was reported as commanding 300 lances on the Norman marches of Brittany. In his dispatches the admiral was reassuring: the Bretons were assembling at Fougères, but he would ensure that they made no gains. 'Tout est en si bonne obeissance quilz vueillent tous vivre et mourir pour vous et croy que audemourant de vostre royaume n'avez point de plus leaulx subgiectz'.¹⁵

Montauban and by June there were 1,100 lances on these marches: *Milanaïs* III p135, 187. Although the Milanese ambassador has Brézé dispatched to the Picard frontier with 200 lances in June, the dispatches at this point are garbled not only by distance from the action but also by separation from the royal entourage itself, then campaigning in the Bourbonnais: *Milanaïs* III p200.

¹³Stein 1919 p68. BN Ms fr 6973 p195ff: a 1475 deposition indicating king René's rage at having his room for manoeuvre thus restricted. The unfortunate ducal captain of Loudun, Jean le Begue du Plessis, was briefly imprisoned on his orders for having opened the place, and for having gone to the king without leave in the early stages of the crisis.

¹⁴The admiral's request that the pay of his deserting Breton *gens d'armes* should be met up to 1 Apr is BN Ms fr 20495 p42. The summons of the *ban* is in *LMIQ* p199.

¹⁵ADC 386 Edpt/33 *Comptes de Falaise*, p13v^o-14v^o. Malleta, Limoges 20 April: 'lo Admiraglio grande inimico del duca de Bertagna, con molte gente d'arme è dentro el Monte de Sancto Michele, castello fortissimo in fine de Normandia et alla intrata de Britagna'. Panigarola, Montluçon 13 May: 'et in Normannia ha ordinato al Amiraglio con CCC lanze stia alle frontiere de Bretagna, perchè pare Bretoni

Just as tension with Brittany destabilised the Cotentin, the rapidly evolving Burgundian situation could not leave Upper Normandy unaffected. The nobility of the Norman-Picard marches were closely interlinked, and there was no prospect of the Caux or the Bray escaping the consequences of violent Burgundian resumption of the lands beyond the Bresle. The political and logistical preparations for war in Picardy and the *terres desengagées* inevitably spilled over into Upper Normandy. It was to Charles d'Artois count of Eu that Louis looked as the leading reliable magnate on the Somme.¹⁶

Eu's rôle was ineluctable, for two reasons; with the count of Aumale a minor and a Breton, he was the greatest magnate on this frontier. Moreover he had a stake in Burgundian politics through Nevers, his nephew and heir. From the beginning therefore Eu was, with Nevers and chancellor Morvilliers, a member of the triumvirate through which Louis sought to retain the *rachat*. The count had taken unspecified measures for the defence of the Caux by 20 April. A memorandum drawn up in this period outlines the further provision he was expected to make: he was garrisoning Saint-Valery, Rambures, and Bauchon; he would also answer for Eu itself and for the towns and places of the Caux.¹⁷

The oppositionist alignment or Breton allegiance of lords with significant Norman interests highlighted the weakness of the frontiers. Four complexes were of particular importance: Dunois's

volessero mettere al duca de Berri in lo reame per quello conto dove è molto amato'. Panigarola, Lyons 12 June: 'In Bertagna aveva MC lanze a le frontere, in Normandia anche l'Admiraglio ...': *Milanais* III p120, 135, 187. BN Ms fr 20428 contains several Lower Norman dispatches attributed by Sepet in his catalogue (BN Mss Bureau n°58¹²) to Louis de Bourbon, hence 1467-68. His grounds are unclear. All are dated without year and signed 'Lamyral' and variants. One letter (p54, dated 3 Feb) refers to the duke of Orléans as alive and implies that he was adult: it can be no later than 1464. The letter quoted (p35, dated 'ce mercredi bien tart avant pasques') cannot plausibly be dated to 1467 or 1468, for three reasons. Charles de France is qualified duke of Berry. If the admiral is Bourbon, the date given translates as 25 Mar 1467 or 13 Apr 1468, and Berry and François II were stated to be assembling forces at Fougères for Quasimodo (the Sunday after Easter): neither date fits the chronology of the 1467-68 campaigns. In 1465 the office of *bailli* of Saint-Sauveur would have been vacant by the recent death (Jan 4) of Charles duke of Orléans.

¹⁶*Lettres* II p242; AN J 1021 n°7; *LMIQ* p219.

¹⁷Charles d'Artois would die without legitimate children on 25 Jul 1472, his heir being Jean de Bourgogne as the only son of his sister Bonne d'Artois. In Artois he held Saint-Valéry and Houdan. Both his marriages had been made into this area: the first (1448) to Jeanne, daughter and heiress of Philippe seigneur de Saveuse; the second (1454) to Helène, daughter of Jean de Melun seigneur d'Antoing and Espinoy and his wife Jeanne d'Abbeville: Anselme I p390-91. Nevers's lands in Artois came to him by grant (1446) of Philippe le Bon of the revenues of the *prévôtés* of Péronne, Montdidier and Roye, and through his wife Jacqueline d'Ailly dame d'Englemoutier daughter of Raoul d'Ailly vidame d'Amiens and seigneur de Picquigny: Anselme I p251-3; *Ordonnances* XVI p66. A patchy narrative of the defence in the spring may be constructed. It is clear that resources were tight and that royal dependence on local magnates made a virtue of necessity: *Lettres* II p261, 275, 291; *LMIQ* p244; AN JJ 1021, n°76; *Lettres* II p273. The long struggle for Picardy, stretching back to the 1410s at least, awaits its historian. For the next generation and after, see Potter 1993 pp1-64.

Addendum: note 18. 'This office' *ie.*, the captaincy of Pont-de-Meulan.

county of Longueville; the Vaudémont-Lorraine county of Harcourt; the Rieux county of Aumale; and the Lower Norman baronies and seigneuries of the Rohan.

Montauban's early (22 March) summons of the *ban* in the Caux may have been prompted by Dunois's possession of Longueville rather than threats on the Picard border. Dunois's Poitevin seignury of Parthenay was seized within days of the *partement*. On 9 March Louis ordered the seizure of Dunois's place of Beaugency, accusing him of being the 'principalle cause' of Berry's flight. By the end of the month Dunois's nominee at Pont-de-Meulan had been ousted. The count's adherence to the Breton cause had taken form slowly over the winter of 1465: the king was still using him as an intermediary with Brittany in November of 1464. Over the next few months lack of confidence hardened into suspicion. By March he had probably been in open opposition for some time. Although details remain obscure, it is impossible to believe that Longueville was left undisturbed, and the presence of Rouault's *grande ordonnance* in the Caux at about this time is suggestive.¹⁸

At the outbreak of the Public Weal Marie d'Harcourt and her sons were seised of the entire county of Harcourt. Controlling as they did its appurtenances of Lillebonne and Elbœuf, they were in a powerful position in the Seine valley above and below Rouen. Surprisingly, there is no evidence that the king took these lands into his own hands in the summer of 1465. This may be due to a quirk of documentary survival: comment on a similar lacuna for Longueville has already been made. Oddly, on 21 December 1464 Ferry gave homage for the county of Harcourt and 'tous qu'il tient du roi en Normendie', even though in the previous decade his younger brother had been in seisin and had been admitted to homage. This manoeuvre may have been designed, in anticipation of trouble, to prevent the lands being taken into the king's hands.¹⁹

¹⁸Dunois left court at Chartres, ostensibly to bring François II to an accommodation, on 22 Nov 1464. From mid-December his return was expected, but he did not appear until the first week of January; he had still not reported on his talks in February: *Milanaïs* II p349-357, 361-63, 376-77; III p5, 40-41. He was with Brittany and Berry, negotiating with king René, at the La-Roche-au-Duc interview at the end of March: *LMIQ* n°17 p223. Immediately after Berry's flight the king laid siege to Parthenay, encountering no resistance. Five days after the *partement*, he was conducting the Milanese ambassador around the fortifications: *Milanaïs* III p81. The town 'se voulut rebeller' but resistance collapsed 'quant ilz virent la personne du Roy': *CMSM* I p69. He then bolstered Maine's loyalty by granting him the seignury: BN Ms fr 20496 p12. See also Guérin 1909 p29. On the timing of Dunois's open adherence to the rebel cause, see Mandrot's comments in *Roye* I p37. Stein 1919 p517. On 23 Mar Louis discharged Charlot d'Arronville who exercised this office 'sous le bastard d'Orleans lequel bastard pour ce qu'il s'est monstré rebelle et desobeissant envers lui il en a deschargé': *DLN*/75 p275.

¹⁹*DLN*/34 p177. But note that Jean was *comte propriétaire* in right of transports from Maine and his grandfather. This did not imply full enjoyment of the county, and it would have been customary for Ferry as eldest heir to render homage pending *partage* between the brothers and in the lifetime of their mother.

The Rohan lands – Condé-sur-Noireau, Vassy, Tracy and Saint-Vigor-des-Monts – were in wardship in the early 1460s. *Ligueur* Jean de Lorraine was tutor of his Rohan nephew in Brittany, but there is no evidence that he had ever been awarded the wardship of the lands the Rohan held of the crown. It is plausible, but speculative, that after the accession of Louis XI control of the lands outside Brittany fell to the children's grandfather, Montauban.²⁰

Jeanne de Laval was mother and guardian of her children by the late François de Rieux, holders of Aumale in right of a provisional settlement of the Harcourt inheritance. Her brothers the Laval cadets Lohéac and Châtillon were committed to the *ligue* by April at the latest: the following month Lohéac accompanied Dunois to negotiations with the Angevin princes. Marching as they did with the Somme towns, these were strategic lands indeed to be in the hands of subjects of the Breton duke. It is likely that they were in Eu's hands during the crisis, and perhaps before it began: the count's officers had been claiming the wardship as pertaining to the *vicomté* of Neuchâtel, the usufruct of which he held.²¹

Envisaging Normandy's danger only in terms of external threat is unrealistic and defensive preparations were not confined to areas open to penetration from Brittany or Picardy.²² Yet the

²⁰The basis of the Rohan holdings in Normandy was the settlement between Charles III king of Navarre and Jean I de Rohan, in respect of the latter's wife's dower, she being Navarre's paternal aunt. Louis de Rohan rendered *aveu* for these lands in 1456: Cautru 1957-58, pp55-100. Montauban's daughter Marie was married first to Louis de Rohan seigneur de Guemené-Guingamp, d.1457; then in 1467 to Georges de la Tremoille seigneur de Craon. The situation with respect to the wardship is complicated by the fact that most lay within the Alençon apanage. In 1464 the Rohan lands were being administered by Rouen lawyer and minor Ouche lord Jean Pillais (appendix 3) who may have had links to Montauban through a putative brother. Former Torcy man Guillaume de Chantepie was *commis vicomte* of Condé-sur-Noireau in the same period. After Montauban's death it was the *trésoriers de France* who were stated to have the *garde* of the receipt of certain lands and of the *causes et querelles* of the Rohan: *Echiquier* 1466 p49. The Rohan also held Pont-Saint-Pierre in the 1450s, and their *vicomte* Pierre le Fliquier can be shown in communication with the admiral's *maître d'hôtel* Alain de Plumaugat in the early 1460s: BN Ms fr 20429 p51.

²¹Stein 1919 p68. On Eu's claims to the wardship, litigious under Charles VII, BN Clairambault 220, n°67.

²²Works were proceeding on the fortifications of Cherbourg, Conches and Gavray, and in the 'forte maison du roi' at Pont-Audemer: BN Ms fr 26089 n°351, 383; *Mancel* VIII, n°12; ADSM *Fonds d'Anquin*, C II Liasse 1, n°78. Great seigneurs were responding in similar vein: in the early summer the nobles of the county of Tancarville were being mobilised both for the *ban* and for the defence of the château, and there is evidence of disruption to the local assises in late May or June. In addition, ongoing stoneworks at the château were suddenly supplemented with large expenditures on carpentry: ADSM 1ER 22 *Comptes de Tancarville* (Saint Michel 1464-65), unpaginated, heading 'Despences'. At Valmont, the focal point of Michel d'Estouteville's Cauchois holdings, expenditure on the château jumped dramatically in the winter of 1464-65. Expenditure on works had been running at a high level in the previous several years, the quittances dated after October 1464 show payments nearly doubling. Then, during the summer of 1465 cannon were installed by the captain, Guillaume Frétel: ADSM 33 J 794 *Comptes de Valmont*, unpaginated, heading 'Despences ...', sub-heading 'Oeuvres et reparacions au Chasteau'. The alarms of that dangerous spring are greatly illuminated by ADC 386 Edpt/33 *Comptes de Falaise* (Jan-Easter 1465): the news of the *partement* reached Falaise on 10 Mar, and Lau's *hommes d'armes* assembled the estates of

Public Weal was no 'Navarrese' venture, with a large minority of the Norman nobility in arms against the crown. Dunois's drift into opposition is emblematic of Norman dissent in 1465. A great Beauceron and Upper Norman landholder, he chose to hitch his fortunes to those of his nephew François II. He, the Vaudémont-Lorraine and others did not base their challenge to Louis's authority on their own lands. This reluctance is another consequence of the *cæsura* between the political establishment and local noble society inherent in the Caroline pacification. It also meant that the allegiance of Norman magnates did not turn out to be crucial in defending and mobilising the province in the early stages of the Public Weal. Normandy served the king well, making a significant contribution at Montlhéry. Alençon and Brézé stood with the king. Maine brought to the battle at least five companies which had formed part of the old Norman *ordonnance*: Montauban came with the men of Aydie and du Bueil, la Barde and Lau with those of Brézé and Torcy, and Jacques de Flocques still leading his father's veterans.²³

Maine's contingent, notoriously, performed badly at Montlhéry. No better illustration of the unreliability of the *ordonnance* could be found than the disgraceful and well-publicised disintegration of these companies without a blow struck. The king's reluctance to risk battle again was in part attributable to the fact 'qu'il fut laschement servy de ses gens de guerre', and royalist *chefs de guerre* did not recover trust in their men quickly. The relative importance of treason, cowardice or happenstance cannot now be determined. The companies involved were in large measure Norman.²⁴ How far this reflects a hollowness in Louis's support in the province is uncertain. The disturbance of patronage structures within the *ordonnance* can be linked to the disaster only tentatively. The companies which broke included several which had belonged to men destituted in 1461, and most of these had been part of the old Norman *ordonnance* of Charles VII.

the town in order to provide for its defence on the orders of Main Goyon. The accounts detail the clearance of moats and repairs to gates and the roofs of gate-houses, the lodging of troops and so on.

²³Any assessment of the composition of royal forces on the Breton marches in the winter of 1464-65 is speculative. It is likely that they had been built around *ordonnance* companies already quartered on Lower Normandy: those of Montauban and Lau. BN Ms fr 20428 p35 shows local defences being reinforced in part from the Norman interior: the *franc-archiers* of Evreux were in Avranches in April. This deployment probably included the Upper Norman *ordonnance*, such as Brézé's new company, that of Flocquet and perhaps others. These companies then formed all or part of the army with which Maine and Brézé shadowed the dukes of Berry and Brittany. Indeed, we first hear of them as Charolais was awaiting the royalists at Longjumeau, after Maine's junction with the king: *Commynes* I p23-4: he estimates the strength of Maine's force at 700-800 *hommes d'armes*.

²⁴As the bastard du Maine would later be told, 'Vous et les autres qui ont charge de gens de guerre avez dict en aucuns conseilz ou estoie present que vous n'estiez pas seur de vos gens car plusieurs en y avoient qui vous avoient fait la poulle a Montlhery': *Roye* I p69, and note citing BN Ms fr 2921, testimony of Jacques de Rebours *procureur* of the city of Paris against Charles de Melun: Rebours to the bastard of Maine. Montlhéry was a notably confused battle, with little discipline and embarrassing routs on both sides: Lenglet-Du Fresnoy 1747 II, p484-88; *Milanais* III p237-50; *Roye* I p67 and II 402-12; *CMSM* I p72.

An earlier indication of disaffection also related to men in this category: when planning a coup against Louis XI during the Bourbon campaign, the Patriarch had looked to some of Lau's men, 'ses parens et amis' who had formed Torcy's Norman company at Caen in the 1450s.

These speculations should be set against the fact of Louis's dependence on Norman resources in the defence of Paris after Montlhéry. Although there was considerable skirmishing, neither side was prepared to risk battle again. Standing before the city 'commencerent tous a practiquer leans et a promettre offices et biens et ce qui pouvoit servir a leur matiere'. This was a political rather than a military struggle, but despite its chivalrous and ludic elements it was no phoney war. If the king could hold his entourage together, and if he could keep Paris loyal and stable for long enough, the costs of war would cripple the *ligue* princes. If not, his regime would collapse like that of the Armagnacs in 1418: Louis was playing for his life.²⁵

Rouen itself dispatched forces to Paris substantially in excess of the normal feudal obligation, the *cinquaintaine*. Particular reliance was placed on Norman companies and *franc-archiers* in July and August, when Louis was desperately short of troops. It was this shortage which prompted his departure for Normandy on 12 August. The *ban* had been summoned in the province on 1 August. The king's arrival stimulated further frantic activity. Main Goyon was charged with the assembling of the nobles and *franc archiers* of the province at le Neubourg, but this schedule was too ambitious; he and others were still gathering latecomers at Caen on 22 August.²⁶

This haste was driven by the king's urgent demands. In his absence the strain at Paris intensified daily. On 17 August a deputation of Paris notables pressed Eu, the new royal lieutenant, to do his utmost for 'aucune bonne pacificacion de paix'. On 22 August the bishop of Paris responded to the invitations of the princes to open discussions at Beauté, and forty-eight hours later city notables assembled at the Hôtel de Ville to hear the results. This was the climax: troops and a royalist crowd gathered intimidatingly outside, with Eu pointedly taking the musters of

²⁵ *Commynes* I p60. Tensions in Paris in the long summer of 1465 became exceedingly dangerous: Stein 1919 pp99-109; *Roye* I p70-72, 85-93.

²⁶ BN Ms fr 26090 n°412, 416, 417; BN PO 2016 *Montespedon* 46234, n°24. AC Rouen, A8 *Registre des délibérations*, p240: 17 Oct 1465, the town counsellors having distributed brigandines to the *quarteniers* of the town and to Tauppin de Villiers *écuyer* 'quant il alla a la conduite des iiiic envoiez de par notre ville devers le Roy a Paris'. *Roye* has la Barde and Charles Desmarestz in Paris in late July, having charge of a force of 200 lances alongside marshal de Comminges and others. The 400 lances left in the city when the king departed for Rouen included the companies of la Barde and the late Jacques de Flocques.

companies within the city. The king wrote to announce his imminent return in the company of Maine, and Montauban re-entered the city with a large force.²⁷

Louis entered Paris on 28 August, to popular acclaim and the great relief of his officers. The armed demonstration before the Bastille Saint-Antoine directed by Dunois the following morning came too late. In the following days the royalist position eased: supplies were entering the city from Normandy and the Vexin. Those who had agitated for the admission of the princes were silenced, destituted or exiled. It is not hard to instance the active role taken by the Normans who entered the city in the royal train: they were amongst those that took part in one of the rare major sorties, that to confront the Burgundians before the Hôtel de Conflans. They were also involved in the sally to Bois de Vincennes led by Lau and his men.²⁸

As Paris became the focus of the princes' efforts in the summer of 1465, Normandy's own danger diminished. Paradoxically, as the parties came to accept that a negotiated settlement was inevitable, the threat escalated for reasons which were not primarily military. The opening to the princes could not be easily controlled, and the process was not a safe one for the king. Paris notables took advantage of the truces to establish avenues of communication. Maine opened channels on his own account and may have been the influence behind the extension of the truces. The king was rightly suspicious. The truce collapsed on 18 September in renewed fighting around the eastern and southern gates of Paris. This triggered alarms within the city and tensions within the entourage of the king.²⁹

²⁷ BN Ms fr 26090 n°414. The *franc-archiers* of the *bailliages* of Caen and Alençon were lodged in and around the Temple: *Roye* I p73, 80-81. Maupoint estimates the *franc-archiers* as 2,300 strong: p61. Panigarola reported the provincial nobility ('assay mal in ponto') assembling in Rouen in mid-August: *Milanais* III p295.

²⁸ The Normans were very numerous: with typical hyperbole Panigarola put their number at 70,000 on 3 Sep. Another Milanese agent estimated them less unreasonably at 15,000, out of a total royal army in Paris in early September of 40,000: *Milanais* III p311-13, 361. *Commynes* I p62, 67. *Roye* I p87, 91-96, 103-5, 111, 114. Le Grand collated numerous grants to Normans made in Paris in Aug-Sep 1465: BN Ms fr 6972 p299ff. A common feature is that they involved no large or immediate cash outlay for Louis XI: seigneuries were elevated to baronies or united with already existing ones, remissions were granted, bourgeois were ennobled, bastards were legitimated. By these means it is possible to show that Torcy, Michel d'Estouteville, Jean de Ferrières, Jacques d'Harcourt seigneur de Beuvron and Brézé *homme d'armes* Colin Volant were in Paris with the king.

²⁹ The agreement signed at Pont-de-Charenton 3 Sep between Maine and Charles de France and his allies is in *Ordonnances* XVI p387; compare Stein 1919 p109-10. On the night of 23 Sep Balue was ambushed in the streets, an *attentat* subsequently attributed to Charles de Melun. Maupoint p77, *Roye* I p101-2, p105-6, p111-2. In 1467 payments were made relating to the clearance of boats from the Seine between Andelys and the quays of Rouen 'pour eviter les entreprises que les Bretons et autres s'efforceoient de faire contre (le Roi) ses gens et subgiets ou pays de Normandie'. It is possible that this occurred in the prelude to the continuation war of 1467-68, but more likely that it relates to the summer of 1465: BN PO 2016 *Montespedon* 46234, n°25.

A plethora of incidents marked a return of the chessgame of *coups de main*, treasons and enterprises which had been raging in Picardy and round Paris, truce or no truce, since the outbreak of war. But an important departure occurred when marshal Roualt's lieutenant Louis Sorbier opened Pontoise to the *Ligue* at dawn on 21 September. The western approaches to Paris had been less subject to the manoeuvring of the contending armies. By threatening the roads to Normandy the *ligueurs* weakened Louis's grip on Paris, for Norman resources were important to the defence of the city. Additionally (a point which few have missed) Sorbier's treason opened to the rebels the route into Normandy.³⁰

The rôle and importance of the count of Harcourt

Dunois's experience and stature made him the most significant figure on the Norman scene to commit himself early. For the chroniclers, the abiding memory of the count is of the gouty old warhorse following the army of Berry and Brittany in his litter, his ensign flying behind. Basin consistently exalts him, and his salience in the counsels of the princes is obvious: he was the archetypal *vieux serviteur*. He spoke for the *ligue* in the talks with the Parisians and later during peace negotiations. He was not necessarily the greatest landholder however. An important element of Normandy's experience of the Public Weal is the adherence of the house of Vaudémont-Lorraine to the opposition.³¹

The house of Lorraine's claims in Normandy derived from the marriage of Marie d'Harcourt to Antoine de Lorraine count of Vaudémont in 1417. The Harcourt succession is not without its importance for the wider history of France in the next 200 years: these are the among the deepest roots of the house of Guise in the kingdom. When Jean VII count of Harcourt died in 1452, the inheritance passed to his sisters. Marie – then in her fifties – was the elder. Her younger sister Jeanne had married the Breton lord Jean seigneur de Rieux. La Roque believed that the old count had wished to pass the bulk of the inheritance, the name and the undifferenced arms to Jeanne's eldest son François.³² This settlement never approached fruition. Rieux died in January

³⁰*Roye* I p108 for Sorbier's attempt to secure Meulan under the marshal's banner. Stein 1919 p113. See also Stein 1919 p113; Maupoint p78; BN ms fr 6973 p130ff. On the ravages of *ligueur* and royalist troops around Paris see Fourquin 1964 p441–43.

³¹*Commynes* I p51. *Basin* I p164, 209. Dunois was already confined to his litter in May 1464: *Milanais* II p161.

³²*Harcourt* I p452ff, a largely unsourced outline of the Harcourt succession: a condition of Jeanne's marriage contract was that Rieux took the name and arms of Harcourt. See also BN Ms fr 22439 p156.

1431, and Marie never abandoned her right of *partage*. This gave rise to a lawsuit which rumbled through *Echiquier*, *Parlement* and royal council for nearly forty years.

When Rieux himself died in 1458, the process of dividing the inheritance had already stalled. Five years earlier as heir in the younger line Rieux had drawn up the lots, dividing the inheritance into the county of Harcourt on the one hand, and the county of Aumale and the *vicomté* of Elbeuf on the other. This *partage* could not be put into effect, however. Marie's second son Jean de Lorraine objected, though his precise grounds are unclear. Certainly the courts were to sustain Rieux's contention that the succession was partable equally between the sisters, and that the *partages* were in accordance with the *coutume*. There were hearings at the *Echiquiers* of 1453 and 1454, from which the case went to the *Parlement*, which finally judged – in 1480! – that the Lorraine claimant should choose one of the lots.³³

Despite Jean de Lorraine's stand on his *droit d'aînesse*, the Rieux secured a portion of the inheritance fairly early. Even before the removal of the suit to the *Parlement* Rieux had secured provision.³⁴ From this point, up to the settlement of the *partage*, the Rieux would enjoy the county of Aumale.

The 1453 *partage* would not be fully effected until the 1490s, though the share of the Rieux did increase in 1480. The delaying tactics of the Lorraine must be accounted a success: they staved off any settlement which might have excluded them from the Norman lands, and for forty years after the death of the last Harcourt count they legally enjoyed more than half the succession. Nor is it easy to discern signs of friction arising from this situation. The early death of François de

³³*Echiquier* 1453 p70, 1454 p52. According to the note made by the *greffier* in the register, details of the suit of 1453 were confided to a *Registre especial* kept by him for this purpose. The parties were 'Monseigneur le Conte de Valdemont et Madame sa femme et Ferry et Jehan messeigneurs de Lorraine leurs enfans d'une part, et Alain de Breviel procureur de haut et puissant seigneur monseigneur Francois sire de Rex et Conte en partie de Harcourt et d'Aumalle ou nom et estat qu'il se porte'. At the 1454 *Echiquier* Guillaume Petit appeared as *procureur* of Jean de Lorraine against Rieux's *procureur* Guillaume d'Esquetot. Lorraine was *porteur de doléance* (appellant). The count of Tancarville stated in 1469 that he had settled with Jean de Lorraine as proprietor of the county of Harcourt regarding rent hypothecations on Lillebonne in a context which may be tentatively dated to c.1458: *Echiquier* 1469 p97. Lorraine's title and hence his resistance may have been founded on rights acquired by transports from his grandfather through Charles d'Anjou count of Maine, for which he gave homage in May 1449: *DLN/34* p111; /75 p117.

³⁴*Echiquier* 1454 p52: 'Lesdites parties en obtemperant aux lettres royaux furent renvoies au lendemain de la Magdalene prouchaine venante en la court de Parlement pour proceder sur le cas dentreulx, Et fu par lad court d'eschiquier baille provision audit de Rieux tele et en la fourme qu'il est a plain explicite en la lectre de ce enregistre des lettres faites des cause expediees audit Eschiquier'. That the *Echiquier* of Easter 1454 awarded Aumale in provision to the Rieux is known from *DLN/24* p129, minute of letters patent of Louis XI dated January 1469 ordering the *gens des comptes* to inquire as to the majority of Jean de Rieux and to put him *hors de garde*.

Rieux is no doubt one factor in this. Thereafter his children were in wardship and the suits effectively frozen.³⁵

It is important to note one further factor in the Vaudémont-Lorraine's successful rearguard action over the inheritance. Their cultivation of Breton links was important, given the Breton weight of the Rieux. The Harcourt succession never became any kind of issue for François II. The relationship between Vaudémont-Lorraine and Montfort was grounded in part on good relations between the houses of Montfort and Anjou, but the crucial element is certainly the Rohan connection.

Jean de Lorraine was seised of part of the counties of Harcourt and Aumale from the Reduction. He possessed all the basic constituents of power – a territorial base, connections with courts both princely and royal, office and an *ordonnance* company – but they did not translate into influence in Caroline Normandy comparable to that of Dunois or Brézé. This is not a figment of documentary survival: it is evident in the stature of the *hommes d'armes* who are identifiable in Lorraine's company. It was a company which as garrison of Granville had emerged out of the frontier wars on the western marches of Normandy. Until the Breton breakthrough in 1449, this was not an area of rich pickings. We may think of Jean de Lorraine making his debut in arms in these years, picking up by the accident of war a company – grown, perhaps, around Prigent de Coëtivy – composed of professionals, adventurers and men drawn from the dispossessed Lower Norman *petite noblesse*.³⁶

³⁵In the late 1450s and 1460s it was upon Jeanne de Rohan his widow that responsibility for managing the lands devolved. In the conditions of post-Reduction Normandy both co-heirs were cooperating to maintain the inheritance even though this was to the disproportionate advantage of the Lorraine. Any evidence of disorder is in the Rieux camp, and derives from the minority of François's heirs. Jeanne de Rohan had difficulties with her *receveur* Robert de la Mare: *Echiquier* 1462 p86. There were fierce disputes over the exercise of the office of *vicomte* of Aumale, originating in a clash between Jean Lombard *vicomte* of Neufchâtel and Jean de Restourmal *vicomte*-designate of Aumale, over whether Aumale lay in the *ressort* of the former while in the *garde du roi*. It led to a confrontation between royal officers in the *vicomté* of Neufchâtel and the *Chambre des Comptes*. Sergeants attempting to enforce Parisian decisions found themselves obstructed, in one incident violently so. Eu as *usufruitier* of Neufchâtel was drawn in. BN Clairambault 220, n°67 is a copy of royal letters recounting the progress of the case and describing the violence. An appointment over further litigation before the *Chambre des Comptes* is in *Appointements* 1459 p70.

³⁶He was qualified count of Harcourt and Aumale in Charles VII's order to the *gens des comptes* to expedite letters patent of his homage: *DLN/75* p117. These had not then (May 1449) been sent to the *Chambre* because of Lorraine's 'occupations au fait de la guerre'. Attached was the *mandement* (27 Mar 1451) of the *lieutenant général* of the *bailli* of Rouen to the *vicomte* of Pont-Authou and Pont-Audemer to execute these. Note that this homage is prior to the death of his grandfather: it cannot therefore have been for the counties proper. Lorraine had redeemed rights in both counties, probably 'tous les acquists et la tierce partie de tous et chacuns les heritages et autres terres' which Jean VI had earlier sold to Maine. It was in respect of these rights that Lorraine was granted delay in rendering his *aveu* in September 1453: *DLN/75* p168.

Some of his men are worthy of note, among them his probable lieutenant, Nicole Paynel *chevalier* seigneur de Briqueville-sur-Mer and Blanchet d'Estouteville seigneur de Mesnil-Simon and Villebon. Similar patterns of interaction among Lorraine's *homme d'armes* as in other companies are evident, indicating that Lorraine's service was not too modest to act as a commensal entity. Jean d'Aché le jeune dit le Brun was the son of Olivier seigneur d'Aché and of Cabourg and Leure in the Alençon apanage. Among the witnesses to an Aché family transaction of 1461 was another Lorraine *homme d'armes*, Jean de Garencières *écuyer* seigneur de Dillon and Pinchon. Another, Antoine de Fontenay *écuyer*, seigneur de Bretteville in the Bessin, married Louise d'Aché, daughter of Jean dit le Gallois d'Aché.³⁷

One group of *hommes d'armes* was always listed together regardless of overall position in the muster list. This subsection of the company had its own discrete identity, and its members may have been drawn from the household either of Lorraine or his mother. First-named was Thevenin de Heudreville. Members of the Chevalier family were prominent servants of Lorraine's mother Marie d'Harcourt: Robert and Jean le Chevalier were her *maîtres d'hôtel*.³⁸ Robin, Pierre, Jean and Roger le Chevalier are fixtures of Lorraine's 1450s musters, and the first three are always together in the subgroup. Pierre le Chevalier *écuyer* married Jeanne, daughter of Jean de Caumont l'aisné, in the spring of 1453.³⁹ Enguerrand de Caumont was another member of the subgroup. A sixth member, Jean de Garencières, was Lorraine's captain at Lillebonne, sufficiently close to the count to witness contracts for him in the 1450s.

Lorraine's company contained few nobles of real provincial standing and not many of identifiable local importance even in the Cotentin or in the areas central to Lorraine's Norman landed interest. His men were of the localised range and limited weight appropriate to a company of *petite ordonnance*, led by a magnate whose career was marking time in the absence of opportunities. He lacked direct access to royal favour and his good prospects and connections had been inadequate to bring substantial men into his service in a Cotentin backwater. This may have strengthened a Breton orientation. He figured in high Breton political circles after being ousted from the captaincy of Granville on Louis's accession. He was tutor to his sister's children and curator of their lands by 1462.⁴⁰ Lorraine owed his position as much to the Angevin connexions of

³⁷See appendix 1(g).

³⁸They witnessed her testament in 1476. She left legacies (50 *écus*) to them: *Harcourt* I p452ff.

³⁹*Caen* 1 Mar 1452, p132.

⁴⁰We find him in this capacity among the ducal counsellors who witnessed the grant to Tanguy du Châtel of the fiefs of Bois-Raoul and Renac in November 1462. The same year he was present at la Chèse when his ward Jean de Rohan married Marie de Bretagne, François I's younger daughter: *Morice* III p31.

his house as to his anticipated place in provincial political society. He was not well placed to carve out a place for himself on the Norman scene of the 1450s. And so it proved: no greater charge came his way and Louis pushed him aside in 1461 without difficulty.

In the early 1460s Jean de Lorraine was normally in Brittany, but in March 1465 both he and Ferry his elder brother were with king René at Angers. A 1475 deposition relating the events of this spring shows them both as prominent members of René's council in the crucial period when he was still uncommitted. The brothers were for intervention on the princes' side, and the 'bruit commun' was that this viewpoint was in the ascendant. In the event Louis bought René, and there is no evidence that Ferry was an active *ligueur*. Jean followed François II, commanding a Breton company composed of 33 *hommes d'armes* and 150 other men raised by the *ban*.⁴¹

Lorraine's Norman significance was not unqualified, therefore. Although within his own family he seems to have been intended to step into the Norman lands of the house, he was the second son of Marie d'Harcourt and his mother was still living. It was his brother who was formally seised of the county and who was rendering homage in 1464. The family's hold on the Harcourt lands was strong, but their holdings would be reduced by the normal *partage* process at some point in the future. His own position was somewhat provisional, perhaps depending on a complex of transports involving not only his mother and brother but his grandfather and Maine; and finally the lands themselves were convalescent. His adherence to the *ligue* was important, but we should not overstate this. As a member of a great lineage and as one of those lords who had assisted Charles VII in the Reduction and taken part in the rule of Normandy thereafter, his commitment enhanced the legitimacy of the princes' enterprise. And if that enterprise should extend to Normandy, his potential as great Norman magnate would suddenly be at a premium. Some of his connections were invaluable, but they cannot be shown to have been used. It is suggestive that his mother enjoyed a warm relationship with her nephew the Patriarch, but no evidence survives of exchanges prior to the betrayal of Rouen. For all these reasons, his political value to Charles de France and François II was contingent on success.

The Interpolator of Jean de Roye has him in receipt of a £4,000 Breton pension up to December 1465: *Roye* II p200. He was certainly pensioned at £1,000 from at least October 1462: *Morice* III p66.

⁴¹BN Ms fr 6973 p195ff: copy of the deposition of Jean dit le Begue du Plessis, 22 Feb 1475. Ten years earlier Le Begue had been René's captain of Loudun. On the flight of Charles de France he incurred his master's displeasure by opening the place to Pierre de Brézé and a royal garrison, thereby compromising René's efforts to keep his distance from the parties. The Lorraine brothers were involved in his arrest, interrogation and nineteen-day imprisonment. Of those stated as being of the René's council at this time several were subsequently implicated in the princes' cause: Guillaume de Haraucourt bishop of Verdun (subsequently Charles de France's chancellor); the seigneur de la Forest; Jean de Daillon seigneur de Lude; Pierre d'Amboise seigneur de Chaumont. Interestingly, Malletta recounted an anecdote indicating Louis's lack of confidence in Vaudémont in February 1465: *Milanais* III p40-41. *CMSM* I p71. *Morice* III p119-25.

Lorraine entered Rouen in September 1465 in the army of Jean duke of Bourbon. He was a subordinate captain in the Breton component of this force under Aydie. He was an automatic member of the council which governed Charles de France's Normandy for the next two months. For the first time since he had ridden into Rouen behind Charles VII in 1449 he had an opportunity to play a leading part in the government of the province.

The Brézé affinity and the fall of Rouen

The counts of Dunois and Harcourt may have been the two greatest Norman magnates riding with the princes but they were not directly responsible for the collapse of royal authority in the province. This was engineered by those elements of the Brézé entourage, headed by Brézé's widow, left in Rouen when the king returned to Paris late in August. At the time of the putsch at Rouen, Jeanne Crespin had custody of the château, in what capacity is not clear. She may have exercised the charge by commission of her son, absent with the king in Paris. Alternatively, she may have been holding the fort in Rouen on behalf of her husband during his absence with the Anjou brothers over the summer. This is the more likely, and there are indications that she was playing some recognised part in Normandy before the death of her husband.⁴²

Excluded as a woman from the record of public action, on 6 April Louis addressed the bourgeois of Rouen not through her, but through the former *receveur général*, le Boursier. However effective she may have been as mistress of the Brézé entourage her activities are obscure, but there is no reason to doubt her central political importance. She was the natural custodian of the Brézé interest before and after the news of the *sénéchal*'s death reached Rouen, and a significant Upper Norman landholder in her own right. Her connections had long underpinned Brézé's Norman position. It was through her that the kinship between Brézé and Flocquet ran, and possibly also independent links to the Patriarch, succeeded by her brother at Narbonne.⁴³

⁴²*Basin* I p206; her remission (see below) had her 'estant en nostre ville de Rouen et ayant la garde d'iceluy' in September. Bourré included a note to write to her on an agenda which was dated by Quicherat to March: *LMIQ* p203. Brézé himself was also on the list, included with the king of Sicily and the count of Maine: they were together between March and May.

⁴³No formal delegation of powers need be assumed, but an unusually sweeping procuration of 1462 may be relevant. In addition to all the normal financial, feudal and seigneurial processes it covered all Brézé's lands in France and the Channel Islands; pleadings in all courts, sovereign, secular and ecclesiastical; making and unmaking *procureurs*; transports; farms; accords; ransoms of Brézé's prisoners. It was drawn so widely in anticipation of Brézé's expedition in support of Lancaster: *Rouen* 9 Sep 1462. News of Brézé's death arrived in Rouen on 19 Jul: AC Rouen, A8 *Registre des délibérations*, p236v^o.

Her defection to the *ligue* in late September was premeditated and prepared, and took Louis by surprise. It forced him to treat realistically with the rebels.⁴⁴ Her motives and role are thus an interesting problem.

Subsequent letters of remission were unspecific about her motives. It was to 'fragilité, induction ou ceduccion' that her 'commandement ou consentement' to treason was attributed: this passivity might enhance the role played by the Patriarch, but there is no strong reason to take it at face value. It is reported by Basin that she was persuaded of Louis's guilt in her husband's death. The suggestion that Louis was implicated is not plausible, and Basin's statement is not good evidence that Jeanne Crespin thought he was. The problem with interpreting her actions is precisely that Brézé died with such distinction in royal service.⁴⁵ She was no simple adjunct of her husband, but the only context we can find for the defection is in her husband's career.

This approach was passed over by Brézé's biographer, who eulogised his subject in romantic terms:

... ayant accepté d'être remplacé en ses offices, ayant souscrit à ce pacte d'entière réconciliation avec son souverain, ayant reçu encore de nouveaux dons en mars 1465, il savait que son devoir était maintenant de lui prêter un appui fidèle.

Such an opinion excludes explanation of the subsequent treason of members of his entourage by reference to ambiguities in Brézé's own stance. Yet such ambiguities are generally plausible, powerfully suggested by subsequent events, and explicitly referred to by at least one commentator. Comines sourced to Louis XI himself the story of how on the eve of Monlhéry Brézé deflected the king's explicit charge of disloyalty with a joke. The anecdote reveals the *franchise* which made Brézé so attractive a man to his contemporaries, but its importance here is that he was admitting to having treasonably exchanged *scellées* with the princes.⁴⁶

⁴⁴As the Milanese ambassador saw immediately: *Milanais* III p374.

⁴⁵AN JJ 194 n°117 (Jan 1466), printed Lenglet-Du Fresnoy 1747 II, p556. Basin's calumny may be a relic of early propaganda seeking to deploy Brézé's high reputation in support of the rebels, though this is speculation. Brézé's death was sufficiently picaresque to excite much interest, if little clarity. All accounts agree that he died early on. The fullest is given in *CMSM* I p73-74. The chronicler reports that Brézé left the king's own *bataille* in a vain attempt to rally the royal vanguard under Maine as its discipline collapsed in the very early stages of the battle. Comines has Brézé leading the vanguard and guides of the royal army, and being one of the first victims of a battle he had determined to bring on: *Commynes* I p26ff. He separates Brézé's fate with the vanguard from the fugitive companies, placing the latter in the rear, refusing to come to the king's aid.

⁴⁶Bernus 1911 p287-88, 356n4. André Plaisse comments that 'malgré toute ses affinités avec les 'ligueurs' il est sur que Pierre de Brézé se comporta loyalement' towards the king: Plaisse 1984 p17. Comines reports the exchange between Louis and Brézé thus: the king 'luy demanda qu'il luy prioit qu'il luy dist s'il avoit baillé son seillé aux princes qui estoient contre luy, ou non. A quoy ledict grand senescal luy repondit que oy, mais qu'il leur demourroit, et que le corps seroit sien, et le dist en gaudissant, car ainsi estoit accoustumé de parler ...': *Commynes* p26. On the importance of the exchange of *scellées*, see Paravicini 1985 p194-95.

Had Brézé survived the battle, his own defection later in the year could be placed in a convincing context of alienation. Dismissed and imprisoned in 1461, he was allowed to earn his way out of disfavour in 1462-64 through service to Louis's Angevin uncles. But precisely because his service was performed at one remove from the king, it can be argued that Brézé's rehabilitation was messier and later than has been supposed. The king accepted his homage in June 1462, took his counsel, and signalled the restoration of his lands, uniting these in baronage with high justice. These were explicit marks of favour, designed to be seen as such, but Louis did not restore him in the offices he had held under Charles VII. He was given inadequate royal support for the English ventures of the winter of 1462-63, and had to gamble the finances, credit and persons of his own affinity in the adventure.⁴⁷

Other servants of Charles VII, including the Patriarch, Jean Havart and Cousinot, were destituted from particular charges but retained in the royal orbit as counsellors and *commissaires*. A comparison with Dunois may be especially apt. Brézé's English campaign might be set alongside Dunois's Piedmontese mission of 1461-62, a kind of honourable probation, if not exile. Chastellain, famously, was more cynical: Louis sent Brézé into mortal danger as Peleus sent Jason to Colchis, 'pour en estre quitte'.⁴⁸

This is too strong. If Louis was disappointed by the count's extrication of himself and Margaret of Anjou from the English debacle, he did not make it obvious: marks of favour continued to pass Brézé's way. Brézé's role in the orbit of the count of Maine became for Louis XI his

⁴⁷BN PO 509 Brézé 11513, n°47. The text of letters patent uniting Mauny, Touberville and Le Vivier in the *bailliage* of Rouen, and Plasnes in that of Evreux described these lands as of 'bonne et grande revenue': *DLN/1* p412. Among the witnesses were the Patriarch, Lau, du Pont and Georges Havart. Brézé appeared on the council in June 1462: Guérin 1906 p369. One might also speculate about the real significance of Jacques de Brézé's marriage. The king had already disrupted plans for a Moy match, and now imposed a union with his bastard sister Charlotte, the daughter of Agnès Sorel, Brézé's crucial ally as one of the 1440s 'oiseaux qui chantent la nuit'. This and the similar match he imposed on the son of du Bueil look rather pointed. Chastellain opined that the force (800 combatants) ordained by the king for Brézé's expedition 'estoit peu de chose et pour faire petit chose'. The venture cost Brézé by his own account 50,000 *écus*, more than the 40,000 *écus* marriage gift of his daughter-in-law: *Chastellain IV* p230-31.

⁴⁸See the notice on Havart in appendix 3. The Patriarch was with the king on his tour of the Midi in 1462, in Picardy in 1463, and can be found accepting homage as *commissaire du roi* in the next few years (a role which prefigured his 1470s position as Norman *commissaire sur le fait des francs fiefs*): *Ordonnances XV* p636, *XVI* p88; *Harcourt IV* p1688. Brézé was seemingly a personal acquaintance for whom Chastellain had the highest regard. This did not prevent him from using Brézé as a peg upon which to hang numerous anecdotes discreditable to the king: *Chastellain IV* p227-28. On Brézé's return from his adventures the king promised much but gave little, says the chronicler, pointing to continuing mistrust between Brézé and the king in 1463: *Chastellain* p350-57. Bernus 1911, p282. *CMSM I* p67.

principal utility.⁴⁹ His deployment on royal embassy to François II in the summer of 1464 was a natural continuation of Angevin service, for Maine was the chosen arbitrator in the dispute between duke and king. His definitive rehabilitation followed Estouteville's death on 21 August 1464: in September Brézé was restored in the *grande sénéchaussée* and captaincy of Rouen. There is room for several interpretations of this act. The rejection of an Estouteville candidate may have represented a rebuff to the cardinal, who had not been an entirely reliable agent of Louis's diplomacy at Rome. One should also note Chastellain's word that the *sénéchaussée* was offered first to Antoine de Cröy, who refused it recommending Brézé.⁵⁰

It was part of a more general extension of favour to Brézé's associates. In the same period the king was intervening in support of Antoine Crespin archbishop of Narbonne's attempts to assume the abbey of Jumièges *in commendam*. He resided with Brézé at Mauny in the autumn of 1464, in a company which included numerous figures from the past and present provincial elite. All this may be an instance of jockeying for position in the prelude to the Public Weal: Louis thereby bought his erstwhile enemy and nodded to the house of Anjou.⁵¹ A clear explanation in terms of Norman politics is that the king was backing legitimacy and stability. This continued to be his primary interest after the outbreak of the revolt. On Pierre's death continuity was secured by the confirmation of his son, an act which drew from the Milanese ambassador comment on his youth. Jacques de Brézé gave homage on 17 August 1465 at Rouen in the presence of his uncle of Narbonne. He took over the *grande sénéchaussée*, the captaincy of Rouen, and the *ordonnance* command. Leaving his mother at Rouen, he served Louis in arms against the princes around Paris after the breakdown of the truces in mid-September.⁵²

⁴⁹Charles de Melun testified in 1468 that after Montlhéry he had been detailed to 'entretenir' Maine, 'le plus fort qu'il pourroit faire', the king commenting 'qu'il avoit beaucoup perdu au Grand Sénéchal de Normandie, qui le luy entretenoit bien': Lenglet-Dufresnoy 1747 III, p15.

⁵⁰GR19710, 16229. *Milanais* III p314. *Chastellain* V p88.

⁵¹On 18 Mar 1464 Louis granted Brézé the fief of Marigny in the *bailliage* of Caen and other lands of William Stroud, for services: *DLN/2* p237. The most recent outing in royal service of Antoine Crespin was as part of the notorious embassy to the Burgundian court at Lille: *Commynes* I p4-9. On p89 the king is made to describe the archbishop as 'gentil homme'. Comines comments 'et il le monstra bien car chascun se contenta de luy'. Such views were not shared by the monks of Jumièges, whose revenues he secured in a ruthless campaign in 1462-64 against their abbot Jean de la Chaussée: Deshayes 1829 p108ff. Amongst those with the king at Mauny were the Patriarch and his replacement as *président de l'Echiquier* the bishop of Saint-Brieuc, Georges Havart and Jean Lenfant: *Ordonnances* XVI p219, 233.

⁵²*Roye* I p107, which has him at the head of 600 horse. *Milanais* III p295. At some stage in this period he was unwell, possibly wounded: BN Ms fr 32511 p217, payment of L35 for 'drogueries et confitures' for his treatment. In early 1466 when Louis recovered Upper Normandy Jacques, who had distanced himself from his mother's treason, was continued in his offices. When the king did seek to take Rouen back into his hands in order to grant it anew to the constable de Saint-Pol, he was prepared to compensate the *sénéchal* generously. Jacques was granted the captaincy of Mantes and all the revenues of the town and seignury: BN PO 509 *Brézé* 11513, n°53-54.

The first indication that Louis had of trouble in the Norman capital came on 27 September, when word reached Paris from one of la Barde's *homme d'armes* in garrison at Meulan: Huet de Vignes informed the king that he 'avoit sceu par gens dignes de foy que les Bretons et autres avoient entreprinse d'entrer dedens Rouen tout ainsi qu'ilz avoient fait a Pontoise, et par dedens le chastel ou palais de ladicte ville ...'. This was an implicit accusation against the custodians of the château and palais, necessarily Brézé nominees. Vignes was only reporting in concrete terms what the Milanese ambassador's political sense had told him the moment he heard of Sorbier's treason at Pontoise, three days before the warning reached Louis: the Bretons would force the Oise, take Rouen and winter in Normandy.⁵³

The day after Vignes's warning arrived, a Saturday, letters from Jeanne Crespin reached the king, informing him that she had the seigneur de Braquemont under arrest. Guillaume or Braquet de Braquemont was a Cauchois lord and the Brézé lieutenant of the Palais at Rouen. Jeanne assured the king that he could count on the loyalty of the city. But she had not snuffed out another Sorbier: on Sunday, after dinner, the king received the news of the fall of Rouen. On the Friday evening rebel troops had been admitted to the château, and thereby penetrated the city itself.⁵⁴

Basin makes clear that there was no popular involvement in this putsch. Jeanne Crespin and the Patriarch accomplished it 'prope mediam noctem'. They and Bourbon bid for the support of the urban elite only after the rumour of the duke's entry was abroad in the city. An assembly of notables was held in the *hôtel de ville*, but Basin's extended account of the ease with which they allowed themselves to be wooed is really beside the point. It would have been necessary to mount a full scale urban insurrection to reverse the course of events.⁵⁵

There is little direct evidence of who was around Jeanne Crespin in the late summer. Two individuals were immediately accused of having procured the fall of the city – the Patriarch and

⁵³A detailed account of the news reaching Paris from Rouen is given in *Roye* I p116-20. Vignes had been a member of Brézé's company, entering la Barde's service when the latter took over this company on the accession. His information may therefore have come from contacts within Brézé circles. He cannot be shown to have had deep roots in Brézé's entourage, however, and had only been one of the *sénéchal's homme d'armes* from early 1460. *Milanais* III p358.

⁵⁴AC Rouen A8 *Registre des délibérations*, p238v°. Basin identifies the rebel force as the men of the duke of Bourbon and 2-3,000 Breton horse: *Basin* I p208. The day before her treason Jeanne Crespin accepted payment of L889/2s/6d due on her husband's pension from the *grenétier* of Louviers: BN PO 509 Brézé 11513, n°45.

⁵⁵*Basin* I p210; compare *CMSM* I p75. After the fall of the ducal regime, the Rouennais who submitted to Louis at Pont-de-l'Arche in January 1466 asserted the same. If fault had been committed in opening the gates, it was by the 'castellano' rather than the citizens: *Milanais* IV p232. The gender is interesting: Braquemont rather than Crespin?

Jean Hébert seigneur d'Orsonville, a *général des finances* sidelined at the accession. Brézé's friend and collaborator Louis d'Harcourt had already exhibited some ambivalence towards Louis's fortunes. In the king's suit in the summer of 1465, he involved himself in activities seemingly designed to force Louis to an accommodation with his enemies, first in plots against the king with Pierre Doriolle and the duke of Nemours in May, and later, while at Rouen with the king in August.

Like Brézé, the Patriarch had been relegated somewhat from the forefront of the Norman scene after 1461. In their own way, both had trodden the same path as the more substantial Dunois, whom Basin identifies, along with Charles de France himself, as the man approached by the Patriarch in respect of the opening of Rouen. These men excepted, the composition of the leading group at Rouen in the summer of 1465 must be inferred, mainly from the activities of the post-putsch regime as revealed in the ducal *comptes*.⁵⁶

Commitment to Charles de France extended to other former high functionaries in the provincial administration. Jean le Boursier *chevalier* seigneur d'Esternay had been Charles VII's Norman *général*, and resumed this office for the new duke. He was in Rouen in the wake of the fall of the city, and with Hébert was committed by the new council to put the finances in order. He had been associated with the Patriarch in the mind of Jean Bourré in 1461, but this is not so clearly the case with the many others figuring in royal fiscality who were to be among the staunchest supporters of the duke in Rouen. We know from the ducal *comptes* that among those in financial and administrative office for the duke were Jean du Bec canon of Rouen, Laurens Surreau and Thomas de Louraille.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Stein 1919 p88-89. The May plots seem to have been focussed on brokering a peace accord through Nemours, Armagnac and Maine, and envisaged concessions in terms of pensions, offices and *gouvernements* to the *ligueurs* of the same order of magnitude as those to which Louis himself was forced at Saint-Maur and Conflans. The source for the plan is the interrogations of Nemours in the 1470s. When Morvilliers was stripped of the chancellorship on 9 Nov, this was attributed to his having been in communication with the Patriarch, and to his having encouraged the Rouennais 'à parler roidement au roi pour appoincter': this must refer to the king's sojourn in Rouen in August: Mandrot 1890 p304-5; Maupoint p95; *LMIQ* p445; *Lettres* III p127. *Basin* I p209. *Roye* I p119 names both the Patriarch and Hébert. The king's complaints to the Pope about the Patriarch are in *LMIQ* n°117 p407. *CMSM* I p75 says that on 27 Sep 'la dame de Mauny et l'evesque de baieux baillerent audit duc de Berry la ville de Rouen ... Pour quoy fut le Roy contraint de faire composicion ...'. It was to the Patriarch that the town of Pont-Audemer was looking as its council sought to make such terms with the new regime in Rouen as might be available: Stein 1919 p118.

⁵⁷Esternay was mentioned as committed to the finances alongside Hébert in Lorraine's *Instructions*, and subsequently his role was rationalised as ducal *général conseiller sur le fait des finances*: his wages were backdated to October: Stein 1919 p564-81. He and the Patriarch are linked in a document relating to matters of office and the 1461 purges, 'Ce qui a faire m.(-aintenant?)': BN Ms fr 20489 p81. Du Bec became a ducal secretary and was ultimately provided to the office of *contrôleur général*. Surreau was paid for touring Pont-Audemer, Lisieux, Caen, Bayeux, Valognes, Carentan, Saint-Lô and Coutances on a cash-raising mission to pay Aydie's men, and also for trips to the *greniers* of the Caux. Louraille emerged as ducal counsellor and fiscal agent of the regime. Robert le Gay was exercising the *recette générale* in October at the behest of the council: BN Clairambault 221 p143; appendix 3 for notices.

Even in December, with the duchy close to collapse, they were to remain engaged. It was then, at the crisis of the regime, that we see signs of a more general commitment from the Rouennais financial milieu to which they all belonged. A swelling tide of money-raising distorted the Rouen rent and property markets: among known *ligueurs* alienating lands were the Blosset and bishop Thomas Basin. Minor fiscal officers like the *grenétier* of Caudebec, Pierre de la Motte, and the *receveur* of the *vicomté* of Rouen Nicolas Baudry were also active. It was the city counsellors and the cathedral canons who were most dramatically involved. Between 26 and 29 December, the city of Rouen entered into eight constitutions of rent with various parties, raising thereby L2,760, under the common formula 'pour les grans urgens et necessaires aferes de la ville'. Four of these transactions, all dated 29 December, were with the cathedral canons.⁵⁸

Although the chapter was later to claim that the ducal regime had extorted more than L600 from them, we should not take such protestations at face value, made as they were after the fall of the city and in the face of Louis XI's wrath. The high clergy of Rouen were identified as strong supporters of Charles de France by Jean de Roye and by Basin. Matters religious may not have been entirely absent from their considerations: the Pragmatic Sanction and its abolition remained a live issue. It is, however, much more important to see their actions in the light of the imbrication in royal fiscality of the Rouennais elite, of which as a corps they were so central an element. This is best exemplified by the dean, Nicolas du Bosc, named by Basin as one of the authors of the *ferme*. With other canons, including the chapter's treasurer, he would be exiled after January 1466. Present in Rouen through the crisis were numerous members of his family, and in particular Robert du Bosc *écuyer* seigneur d'Emendreville and Mesnil-Saint-Georges, one of the counsellors who put his name to the city's rent transactions. He and his father-in-law Louis de Corneilles (who lost his office of *vicomte de l'eau* on Louis's recovery of the city) were arming themselves and raising money through a property transport in late December.⁵⁹

Not all of these men had necessarily played any role in the fall of Rouen, and specific indications of their disaffection are hard to discern. Giovanni Arnolfini had been replaced as Norman *général* on 28 July for having declared against the king in departing Rouen to join the duke of Burgundy, but this was perhaps a special case, as his Burgundian ties were of long standing. The behaviour of the Rouen legal and financial elite is comparable with the ambivalence of the Parisian notability during the summer. The *Parlement* had been unreliable – particularly in the persons of those of its members with Burgundian associations – and its strong institutional grievances were to be voiced during and after the Public Weal. Members of other *corps d'état* and

⁵⁸Rouen 4, 20, 26, 27, 29 Dec 1465.

⁵⁹Fallue 1850 p516. Rouen 4, 17, 20, 21 Dec 1465. On the du Bosc see appendix 3.

Parisian notables also emerged into more or less open opposition in the summer of 1465, notably Pierre Doriolle.⁶⁰

We may regard the Patriarch, Hébert and le Boursier as key to the transition but this was a fluid moment: who would seize it may have been quite unclear to all concerned. The subsequent importance of former Brézé men in the entourage of Charles de France expressed the hidden significance of Jeanne Crespin in the new dispensation, but it was also connected to this fluidity. Lords of purely local significance were in a position to command the gratitude of princes. Sourdeval is the most important instance of this. There is no direct evidence that he had been party to the treason, but his subsequent zeal for Charles's cause is suggestive. His movements are not known with precision, and it cannot be excluded that he followed the king to Paris, but it is more likely that he had been in command of that part of the Brézé *ordonnance* company left in Rouen in August: thereafter he led its rebel rump. In the wake of the collapse he was the last Norman holding for duke Charles – at Montorgueil on Jersey, the château he had held for Brézé for so long.⁶¹

Other ex-Brézé men figured in the activities of the new regime in that chaotic autumn. Guillaume de Braquemont would be regarded by Lancelot de Haucourt as a key *ligue* agent after the entry of Bourbon's troops: the chosen connection as he attempted to reduce himself to the duke's obedience. Jean de Saâne *chevalier* was the council's agent in negotiations to rid the Evreçin of disorderly Bourbon *gens d'armes* 'qui gastoient icelle ville et le pays entour'. Colinet de Longchamp was paid (like Braquemont) for his efforts to broker the submission of Lancelot d'Haucourt. The Augeron knight Jean de Bouquetot seigneur de Brueil was in Rouen by

⁶⁰Dupont-Ferrier 1930 appendix III. Stocker 1975 p363. Doriolle became Charles de France's *général sur le fait des finances*, with Robert le Gay as *receveur général*.

⁶¹Sourdeval was in Rouen for the late *sénéchal*'s funeral and his son's assumption of the captaincy. He was seemingly there during the king's August visit, for he had had custody of a horse arrested by royal officers at the 'ordonnance du roi': the owner was compensated by ducal officers after the putsch and the sum accounted for by le Gay in January 1466. He was in Rouen in December when he and 26 lances of the 100 which had been under the *grand sénéchal* received ducal pay for the whole quarter October-December. Of course, the new duke's lieutenants were sufficiently eager to win companies over to promise payment of arrears of wages, as for instance in the case of the garrisons of Dieppe and Honfleur, which were paid by the ducal *receveur* for the summer quarter. Nonetheless, the fact that the sums accounted for explicitly include *logies et ustencilles* points towards these men having been in Rouen: Stein 1919 pp575-81. He raised money on the rent markets in late December, selling rents to Rouen lawyer Karados Garin. Garin was a former counsellor of Marie d'Harcourt and the transaction was witnessed by sometime *vicomte* of Harcourt Jean Anquetil: *Rouen* 21 Dec 1465. On his resistance at Montorgueil, *LMIQ* p449-50, 452-56; Stein 1919 pp212-15. He suffered forfeiture in June 1466: Stein 1919 p198n. He was a member of the duke's council *au fait de la guerre*, captain of the château de la Lune de Bordeaux and ducal pensioner. Other members of his lineage went to Guyenne in the duke's service. Jean Carbonnel seigneur de Cerences was serving in the duke's household, Gilles Carbonnel was ducal *écuyer tranchant* and Henri Carbonnel served in the duke's *garde*: BN Ms fr 23262, Ms fr 21477 p2-6; Ms fr 32263 p485-93; Ms fr 32663 p485-93.

December. He pledged his nephew Richard de Thieuville in the latter's sale of rents drawn on Bouquetot lands, and was specifically named in the Louis's general pardon of those who had opened Lisieux to Aydie.⁶²

It is likely that Robert de Dreux-Esneval was also in this group. As the crisis progressed he made his own military preparations. In July he summoned several *hommes d'armes* of the *ordonnance* under the count of Boulogne to Pavilly, where they remained with their men at his great charge. He was still royalist when in July he witnessed the accession of Jacques de Brézé to the Rouen captaincy, but we lose sight of him thereafter. He is likely to have been around Jeanne Crespin in September, but positive evidence is lacking. His son Jean followed Sourdeval into the ducal party, and another son Gauvain was following the duke of Bourbon by late in the year. When the regime collapsed Dreux-Esneval was sufficiently compromised to get out, and the whole family followed the path of Jean de Dreux who was waged as *conseiller* and *chambellan* of duke Charles by 1468.⁶³

Others of Brézé's clients and followers who had been in Rouen over the summer: a large number had appeared at the ceremonies for the installation of Jacques de Brézé in the captaincy on 27 July 1465. Not all can be shown to have been in the city soon after the putsch, but several were precisely men whose subsequent trajectories would place them in the service of Charles de France. The crowd was large and of high status: three great churchmen, several major lay lords and current or former provincial royal officers were present, in addition to the royal and communal elite of the city itself. We can name as having a history of Brézé links the Patriarch and Antoine Crespin archbishop of Narbonne, the knights Sourdeval and the younger Brunet de Longchamp, and the squires Dreux-Esneval, Pierre le Bouteiller and Nicolas le Normant. Also present were Esternay and Gauvain Mauviel *lieutenant général* of the *bailli*, who were to become the two most prominent victims of the failure of the apanage in the new year.⁶⁴

⁶²*LMIQ* n°107, p388ff. Stein 1919 pp575-81. BN Ms fr 26090 n°444.

⁶³Stein, 1919, p575-81: Gauvain de Dreux is listed as an *homme d'armes* with two archers under Bourbon. The Dreux can be followed in duke Charles's service through their quittances for wages and other payments in BN Ms fr 20401 n°8-14. Dreux's other son Jacques was with Eu up to October 1465, when he brought to the king the count's explanations for the collapse of resistance in the Bray. Subsequently he joined his brother at the duke's wages: see appendix 3.

⁶⁴AC Rouen A8 *Registre des délibérations*, p237-237v°. Also present were bishop Basin of Lisieux, Pierre de Roncherolles seigneur de Heugueville, Jean Hardouin *trésorier de France*, the former *bailli* of Caen and the Caux Jean Havart, Georges seigneur de Clères, the seigneur de Hardouville, Louis de Cormeilles *vicomte de l'eau*, the top ranking lawyers of the royal *bailliage* establishment and the council of the town.

Some men who, most unusually, turned up in Rouen after the putsch were marginal in themselves, but important in terms of the politically or militarily significant cadres to which they were linked. Several were either *ordonnance gens d'armes* or their kin. So, for example, we find Olivier and Alain de Rosnivinen taking time out of the war to reach an accord with the abbey of Saint-Wandrille. Alain de Hellenvillier *écuyer* raised money by selling rents to the former Brézé man Remonnet de Salmencque *écuyer*. Salmencque was buying rents from other parties in these weeks, including a Domfront squire who is likely identical with the Brézé man Guillaume du Thou dit le Petit Capitaine. By such linkages we can place former members of the companies of Brézé, du Bueil and Torcy in the city.⁶⁵

It was largely in this period that the Normans who would follow Charles de France into exile first made their commitment. Particularly striking are the former members of the retinue of Pierre de Brézé in Charles's household in the late 1460s: although few in absolute numbers, ex-Brézé men formed the single most important Norman component of the ducal entourage in Breton exile. They would be unwilling to trust to the goodwill of Louis XI as the regime collapsed in December and January. The basis for thinking that they had acquiesced in the treason of 27 September is therefore indirect and circumstantial, but adequate.⁶⁶

The necessity to drive the regime's writ as rapidly as possible into the towns of the province was explicit in an account of early acts of the council given by Jean de Lorraine. This document declares the council an amalgam of Bourbon, his captains and 'ceulx principalement qui avoient este cause de ladite reduction (de Rouen) et avoient plusieurs moiens avecques plusieurs des bonnes villes et places dudit duchie'.⁶⁷ The coherence of the Rouen group centred on the Patriarch and Jeanne Crespin was therefore important not only for its own sake, but also as it opened other groups to an accommodation with the new regime.

This can be illustrated in the case of Falaise. It was the fall of Pontoise rather than that of Rouen which triggered the first flurry of activity. News reached Haucourt on the morrow, and he

⁶⁵On the Rosnivinen, *Rouen* 16 Nov 1465. There is other evidence of a service link between the Brézé and the Hellenvillier. Robert de Hellenvilliers had been in Brézé service as had Salmencque: see appendix 1(c). Salmencque purchased rents from Guillaume d'Estou of Domfront and Jean de Bienfaite of Conches in the presence of Jean le Picard, homonym of an Estouteville hda: *Rouen* 16, 19 Oct 1465. Former Bueil *homme d'armes* Jean le Vasseur was involved in similar activity. See also appendix 3 under Jean le Sec, Jean de Nouion, Jennequin de la Garenne.

⁶⁶In addition to the Carbonnel and Thieuvillie, the Braquemont and the Dreux, Charles de France took ex-Brézé men the Longchamps, Jean Blosset, Pierre Chapelle, Martin de Lucy, Arnouillet de Mancelles,

⁶⁷The *Instructions* given by Lorraine to Pierre d'Amboise seigneur de Chaumont (deputed to find Charles de France before Paris) are in BN Ms fr 6963, p59: they are printed in Stein 1919 p549, and dated 12 Oct 1465.

sent a monk to Jeanne Crespin in Rouen. Soon after, he summoned Braquet de Braquemont, charging him with seeing his father, the Brézé lieutenant of the *palais* of Rouen whose arrest Jeanne Crespin had reported to Louis XI. The aim was to treat with duke Charles for an appointment confirming Haucourt's position at Falaise, in all his other offices, and as captain of fifty *ordonnance* lances. Falaise was his key asset in these negotiations and his return to the town with a small retinue was not long delayed. Fifteen days after his arrival Braquet joined him with good news: Haucourt was to send direct to the duke, still before Paris. He appears to have received all he had asked, certainly confirmation of his position at Falaise and his fifty lances.⁶⁸

There are some observations to be made about Haucourt's behaviour. Jeanne Crespin and Guillaume de Braquemont were Haucourt's immediate choice as his route to the opposition. Perhaps he lacked contacts among those around duke Charles. Alternatively, he may have realised that the continuing Brézé affinity centred on the *grande sénéchalle* was the inevitable short-term basis for any possible ducal regime. It was Colinet de Longchamp, escorted by six archers, who negotiated the reduction of Falaise to the duke's obedience.⁶⁹ He was a longstanding member of Brézé's *grande ordonnance*, who entered the service of duke Charles to become his *écuyer tranchant* in the later 1460s.⁷⁰

Second, it is obvious that in the new situation Haucourt looked to his provincial identity as an anchor. He told members of the garrison with royalist sympathies that 'il estoit Normand, et qu'il estoit deliberé de garder la place' for duke Charles. There is a suggestion of hostility to the foreigner, Lau: Braquet reassured Haucourt that 'son fait estoit bon ... et qu'il ne regardast pas tant a faire plaisir a un Bearnois, et qu'il se fist mechant en Normandie ...'. Such sentiments lend support to the opinion of Comines, for whom the success of the Rouen putsch was indeed the product of Norman particularism. The Normans rallied speedily to the cause of Charles de France 'comme desirant d'avoir prince qui demourast au pays de Normendie ... Et a tousjours bien semblé aux Normans et faict encores, que si grand duchié comme la leur requiert bien ung duc ...'. This appears to have been a view shared by Louis himself. In a personal interview he told Charolais

⁶⁸This account derives from the testimony given after the war by a member of the Falaise garrison, Jean de Monmirac *écuyer*, relating to the behaviour of Haucourt: BN Ms fr 6972, n°1518, printed in *LMIQ* n°107 p390. The testimony concludes with Haucourt swearing the oath to Charles de France on the altar of Saint Anne at Quetenville. Confirmation in Haucourt's *bailliage* of Gisors is not explicit in this document. Haucourt was destituted in captaincy and *bailliage* by Louis XI late in 1466, presumably in consequence of Monmirac's account.

⁶⁹Stein 1919, p575-81.

⁷⁰See appendix 1(c).

that his past determination to resist the cession of the province was over 'puis que de eulx mesmes les Normans en avoient faict ceste novalité'.⁷¹

Like Haucourt, members of the Rouennais elite such as du Bec and Laurens Guedon made a commitment early on which they found difficult to shrug off later, and Cauchois lords without strong Brézé associations were entering Charles's service at about the same time. Some of these were former Dunois men: Colinet de la Croix was a Cauchois squire who had emerged by November as a captain of twenty rebel lances. He was a recipient of letters from the king which appear to have been designed to intimidate men going over to the princes: the Dieppe garrison was mentioned in the same context. For Stein, the submission of the Upper Norman towns was triggered by the fall of Rouen; it was an almost moral failure. Certainly the Cauchois towns gave way almost immediately, and others followed. This is the more remarkable in that large rebel forces do not seem to have been pouring into the province from the Ile-de-France – though this may not have been apparent to town councils, confused and denuded of local nobles absent with the king in Paris.⁷²

The expanding shock wave is visible in the activity of the patriciate of Pont-Audemer. An informant wrote in haste from Caudebec to warn the town counsellors that the *gens d'armes* who had entered Rouen were bent upon them. The letters were carried by night but were probably outstripped by messengers sent by Aydie to announce his approach and his intention to summons the town. He arrived the following evening (30 September), and the town composed immediately. The *élu* of Caudebec, Michel Basin, was in Rouen when the city fell, a refugee from the perils of war in the hôtel of his brother-in-law the vicomte Jean le Roux. offered to broker the composition of his native town. Through the intermediary of the Patriarch, Esternay and Herbert he immediately busied himself in the service of the new regime. He wrote to his brother the bishop of Lisieux to the effect that 'veu le cas escheu qui estoit advenu ... il devoit regarder a avoir composicion ou appointment comme ceulx de Rouen'. He set off for his native Caudebec with the council's credence and an armed escort supplied by Pierre d'Amboise seigneur de Chaumont. He secured the safeconduct under which the captain and bourgeois subsequently came to Rouen to make their submissions to Bourbon. While other towns secured tax advantages and confirmation of offices from the council at Rouen, the example of Evreux demonstrated that if urban elites were not

⁷¹Interestingly, those members of the company named by Monmirac as tending towards the king did not have Norman names: Labre de Saule, Guynot d'Oriac, Teudon de Sormignac. Even if they were southerners, there is no evidence that they were closer to Lau. All three names occur under various orthographies in the musters of Torcy's company in the 1450s. *Commynes* I p84-86.

⁷²BN Ms fr 21477 p2-6. Stein 1919 p116. Among the Dunois *hommes d'armes* who entered Charles de France's service were Amanieu de la Galande, Galiot de Genouillac Jean de la Grange, Jean Chaillou and possibly Jean Cholet: see appendix 1(b) and 3.

prompt in opening the gates the decision might be taken out of their hands. A local lord who had been prominent in the Flocques company, Jean le Beuf *chevalier*, opened the town to the bastard of Bourbon on 9 October, while the bourgeois were celebrating the feast of Saint Denis. The *grenier* was pillaged and town notables ransomed.⁷³

The collapse of resistance took place against the background of Louis's stripping the province of military and financial resources: Eu lamented that he had no 'provision, ne ordonnance de gens, ne autre riens' to obstruct the duke of Bourbon. This advantage was energetically exploited by the new regime in Rouen. Aydie and his men took in Pont-Audemer as part of a tour of the Auge: his harbinger proceeded on to Honfleur, with a guide supplied by the bourgeois of Pont-Audemer. His emissaries were in negotiation with the bishop and bourgeois of Lisieux, which composed on the same terms as Rouen on 8 October. Two days later Main Goyon opened Caen to Aydie, who shortly after was coercing the Norman demesne officers and receivers of the duchess of Orléans to surrender funds. News of the fall of Caen reached Paris on the 16th. The deployment of large numbers of troops to Mantes could be nothing but demonstrative: the back of the king's negotiating position had been broken since the beginning of the month. By 19 October Eu had been summoned to surrender Neufchâtel, and was unable to mount resistance even here, at his favoured residence: Dieppe and Arques, he informed the king, were already in composition.⁷⁴

These developments did not please all Normans, of course. It was to be expected that the *bailli* of Rouen Houaste de Montespedon, a longstanding Delphinal courtier and 'bien privé' of Louis, would take the road to the king rather than the oath. Guillaume Picart, who had been employed on missions to Dauphiné earlier in the war, also rallied to the king. Vernon, Gaillard, Louviers, Pont-de-l'Arche, Falaise, Granville, Cherbourg and Mont-Saint-Michel were all named by the Mont-Saint-Michel chronicler as refusing immediate obedience. The inclusion of Falaise on the list indicates that delay should not be taken as implying defiance, still less unalloyed royalist leanings. Nonetheless, Cherbourg and Mont-Saint-Michel itself 'dissimulerent' in spite of the

⁷³Canel 1885 I, p99ff: the documents on which Canel based his account are printed: Stein 1919 p117-119. Particularly interesting is the concern of Lisieux that the terms of surrender of 1449 should be confirmed: Stein 1919 p548. Basin's remission is printed by Quicherat, *Louis XI* IV p252. Roye has Bretons as the agents of the capture of Evreux, but Bertrand d'Alègre seigneur de Busset was made lieutenant in the town by Bourbon, and paid wages from October. The news reached Paris either on the Saturday or the Monday: Stein 1919 p587; *Roye* I p130; *Maupoint* p83. For le Beuf see appendix 3 and BN PO *Le Beuf en Normandie* n°10. Ms fr 25713 p91 records the claims of Louis Toustain *fermier* of the *grenier*.

⁷⁴Stein 1919 p119. *Roye* I p131. *LMIQ* n°113, p399. BN Ms fr 26090 n°432. The Caen garrison resisted or negotiated for two days before opening the gates: Stein 1919 p783. The Orléans officers at Saint-Sauveur-Lendelin were caught between a rock and a hard place, as the duchess would not countenance payments not authorised by her *trésorier*: BN Ms fr 20427 p15; ADC A280 *Comptes de la recette de l'apanage d'Orléans, vicomté de l'Auge*, p170.

efforts of Jean de Saint-Simon seigneur de Maupas, a ducal servant who had the royal commission to secure the delivery of all these towns. The loyalism of Mont-Saint-Michel is strongly distinguished from the disgraceful betrayal of Granville to Jean de Lorraine before Maupas's arrival. The chronicler's partisan hindsight should not put in doubt the reluctance of towns to risk political choice too soon, to admit strange garrison troops, or to challenge incumbent royalist officers who were determined to resist.⁷⁵

If 'ceste marchandise' was at Rouen primarily the responsibility of the affinity of the late Pierre de Brézé, his circle was not undivided. Most prominent in his refusal was Jacques de Brézé himself, though this was not immediately apparent to the king. His deep disappointment in the young *sénéchal* was reported by the Milanese ambassador on the morrow of the coup. In fact Jacques 'ne voulut faire le serment mais retourna vers le Roy contre le vouloir de sa mere ...', but confusion persisted: in mid-November the king was telling the Milanese ambassador of his suspicions that Maine may have had a hand in the betrayal of Rouen. Some of his father's men cleaved to Jacques and the king rather than to Jeanne Crespin, Sourdeval and the duke. Former Brézé man (and now la Barde lieutenant) Guillaume Vallée at Saint-Lô refused to submit to the new regime, held out until the royal revanche in December 1465, and suffered forfeiture at the hands of the ducal regime.⁷⁶

These were relatively minor problems. Provincial lords like Jean d'Estouteville seigneur de Bricquebec were entering the duke's service. By mid-November Rouen was filling up with Norman nobles in anticipation of the installation of the new duke. Even when their commitment to the new regime went beyond tacit acceptance, it was not necessarily more than opportunist. Thus the count of Tancarville was in town: in a few days, acting as constable of Normandy, he would bind the sword around the waist of Charles de France. But he would not fight for him a month later.⁷⁷

⁷⁵Montespedon had been 'nourry du Roy et son varlet de chambre' in Brabant: *Commynes* I p84-85. He sold for L2,000 his hôtel in the Rue Grand Pont in the parish of Saint-Lô de Rouen to Georges baron de Clères, accepting in return the acquittal of marriage gifts he had made on the baron's marriage to his niece: *Rouen* 1 Oct 1465. For Picart, see appendix 3. *CMSM* I p77-78. The chronicler is certainly obscuring important details. The wages of the Mont garrison were paid in the duke's name for the last quarter of 1465: Stein 1919 p575-81. Nonetheless, his contempt for the Granville garrison's behaviour reflects interestingly on the desperate seven-week resistance of the place against royalist siege in Jan-Feb 1466: see appendix 3 under Plumaugat. Others known to have refused to rally to the duke were Noel le Barge (appendix 3); Jean de Saint-Maard vicomte de Blosseville who laid seige to Arques in the king's name; the Evreçin lord Laurens de Boissay seigneur de Vieupont who rallied to the crown and was organising support for the royal seige of Pont-de-l'Arche in Jan 1466: BL Additional Charters 208.

⁷⁶*Commynes* I p84-85. *Milanais* III p374, 80. Philippe des Essars was granted L100 drawn on Vallée's confiscated *meubles*: Stein 1919 p564-81.

⁷⁷Bricquebec submitted with Mont-Saint-Michel and Tombelaine, securing thereby confirmation of his captaincies and twenty-five petits payés: BN PO 1083 *d'Estouteville* 24901 n°201. Tancarville had probably arrived by 26 Nov when Thomas Desmarestz *écuyer* seigneur de Floss leased meadowland on behalf of himself and the count: *Rouen* 26 Nov 1465.

Events at Rouen were not the only determinants of the future shape of the ducal regime. The new duke passed October in quarters around and within Paris amidst discussion as to the final form of the treaties, and rumour as to their consequences. The Milanese ambassador reports in passing what he was hearing as to the disposition of the *ordonnance* companies which the king had been constrained to allow him. It was unclear whether these would amount to 400 or 600 lances. Dunois and Dammartin were in competition to command them, and the proportion of their pensions which the duke of Normandy had to meet from his own resources was undetermined. Charles only started for Normandy after giving homage at Vincennes on 30 October.⁷⁸

Important matters were at issue, only soluble at the centre. Yet between October and December 1465 a consiliar administration had come into being in Rouen which had provincial reach and substantial autonomy. By November its writ was running as far as Mont-Saint-Michel. Its success, however, depended upon a political momentum which could not be allowed to slacken at this early stage. It was conflict with other power centres in the ducal entourage which robbed it of initiative.

The rupture within the camp of the Duke

Faultlines within the regime were rapidly apparent. By mid-November the *grande sénéchalle* and her allies were at issue with Lorraine over the captaincy of Rouen and the office of *maréchal herédital* of Normandy. Du Bueil and Patrick Folcart were also in contention for the captaincy. From Vernon duke Charles dispatched his *maréchal de logis* Christophe de Plailly, both to arrange quarters for his entourage, and to persuade Jeanne Crespin to hand over the keys of the château.⁷⁹ Such squabbling was the inevitable consequence of the duke's embroilment in

⁷⁸*Milanais* IV p38.

⁷⁹*Roye* II p199. The Interpolator's identification of Jeanne's ally as the bishop of Evreux is impossible: Jean Balue was in the royal camp. The editor infers bishop Basin of Lisieux, but the alignment of Crespin and Louis d'Harcourt against Jean de Lorraine is much more plausible. In any case it was natural that Jeanne Crespin would press for the captaincy to remain in the hands of some candidate acceptable to her family, pending the reconciliation of her son with his duke. The Norman *maréchaussée* was appurtenanced to the fief of Orchier (or Auvrechier), which descended to the Crespin through Jeanne's mother. It had been held by Pierre de Brézé *jure uxoris* and *par droit d'aînesse* before passing to the late Robert de Floques as part of his wife's *partage* portion. In 1467 Jeanne Crespin recovered the *maréchaussée* and the fief from Jacques de Floques's heirs (his sister Jeanne and her husband Gilles de Rouvray dit de Saint-Simon *chevalier*): *DLN*/75 p293. At the installation of Charles de France as duke, Lorraine exercised the functions. The dating of the dispute follows from news of the incident having reached Charles de France on his arrival at Vernon, which he reached 10 Nov, *en route* from Pontoise. He left on 13 Nov, and passing by Pont-de-l'Arche he was at Mont-Sainte-Catherine by 24 Nov: Stein 1919, p509ff.

negotiations around Paris, which was preventing him from stamping his authority on the forces jockeying at Rouen.

Of much greater importance was the role of the duke of Brittany. The bulk of the force with which Bourbon had taken Rouen appears to have been composed of companies in Breton service: Lescun, Coëtivy, Quenelec, Remonnet de Boissy, Bertrand du Parc and Pierre d'Urfé were all paid for participation in the strike on Rouen.⁸⁰ François II's intentions became an issue before the eruption in late November. As the dukes approached Rouen it became more difficult to put off the question, for reasons both shallow and profound. Impending trouble was visible to Tanguy du Châtel, into whose mouth Bouchart put a prescient warning to François II:

Je voye en vostre maison plusieurs gens qui pressent Monseigneur de luy donner les offices de sa duché de Normandie et ay sceu que a vostre requeste il a donné l'office de capitaine de Rouen au seigneur de Lescun et a autres de voz gens a donné les offices de Normandie. Je congnois bien la nature des Normans ce sont gens si incompatibles que pour mourrir ne souffriront que autres que eux aient les offices du pays ...⁸¹

For Basin, a hothouse atmosphere was developing, with prelates and nobles pouring into Rouen from all over the province to greet the new dawn.

Basin's account has its roots in the anxieties building up in the city. The suite of the duke was swollen with Bretons, Berrichons 'et aliis variorum statuum qui solius prede et spoliorum Normannie gratia'. The duke's arrival was being maliciously retarded by François II and his men, concerned to settle the matter of offices before Norman political society, as represented by the growing numbers in the *hôtel de ville*, could be consulted. This account is more than an *exemplum* of Norman prejudice against Bretons. In its assumptions about office it is redolent of the opposition between impetration and selection after counsel, so powerful a feature of Burgundianism, and now a political and legalistic *doxa*.⁸²

⁸⁰The Bourbon captains mentioned in the *comptes* were Jacques de Bourbon seigneur d'Aubigny, Bertrand de la Roche seigneur de Crest, Gilbert de Chabannes seigneur de Charlus and Beraud Dauphin seigneur de Comberonde. Aydie was the conduit for payments to Coetivy, Quenelec and Raymonnet de Boissy. This may be an indication of the companies taking part in the sweep across Upper Normandy after Rouen fell, or in his later drive towards Caen. Du Parc led thirty-seven lances: Stein 1919 p564-81.

⁸¹The *mignons* around François II are identified as centred on Lescun and Rouville. Du Châtel's withdrawal signified their triumph: *Bouchart II* p397, 398.

⁸²*Basin I* p230. On the polarisation between the designation of an officer after deliberation in council to ensure competence and the reception of one whose royal sanction had been obtained through 'amitie, faveurs ou corruption', see Autrand p313; Demurger p189-90. The polemic over election or impetration was of great importance in 'Burgundianism' and must be basic to any 'constitutionalist' element to the accession purges and the Public Weal: Stocker 1975 p362-67.

The dilemma faced by the new duke is not difficult to understand. It is encapsulated in the gulf between the position adopted by Basin and that attributed to Antoine de Chabannes by the interpolator of the *Chronique Scandaleuse*. Chabannes cannot have been alone in believing 'que icelluy duc de Normendie se devoit totalement gouverner par ledit duc (de Bretagne) et son conseil voyant que l'une des principales parties de sa fortune en dependoit'.⁸³

This was obvious to the point of banality, and Basin was certainly aware that the duke of Brittany would have to be accommodated: he constructs quasi-formal exchanges between the 'Normans' in Rouen and the Breton duke on Mont-Sainte-Catherine. One wonders how much of this moderate position, and the formality of the process he details, was the product of hindsight. Yet the polarity between a Breton-dominated Mont-Sainte-Catherine and a Norman Rouen was not Basin's rhetorical device. It acquired political reality because, since the putsch, the nascent apanage had been governed by the consiliar regime within the city which we have already described. The transformation of the role of this council was a factor in the tension.

Many of these issues may be embodied in the person of Jean de Lorraine. In particular he exemplifies the generational and economic forces driving new faces to prominence. With his history of Breton service, in council and recently in arms, the course of events might have been designed to allow him to break through to the front rank which youth and accident had denied him previously. One can be more prosaic about the situation. He had served at the capture of Rouen and played a prominent role in the Rouen council thereafter. His house had the lands and status to sustain a powerful position and clientèle in Upper Normandy. His status, service and connexions required commensurate reward.

He thus had a powerful interest in the dealings between Rouen and Mont-Sainte-Catherine, and it was he who broke the impasse. Had matters reached such a pitch that François II and Chabannes were set upon withdrawing from Mont-Sainte-Catherine, taking Charles de France with them? Lorraine announced rumours to this effect as fact and in highly coloured terms in the *hôtel de ville*. The bourgeois armed themselves and Lorraine led a force to the abbey.⁸⁴

⁸³Roye II p200.

⁸⁴The interpolator in the Chabannes interest strives to exculpate his master of any improper intent, attributing such talk to those around Charles hostile to Breton influence: Roye II p200. Basin affected to believe the rumours: Basin, *Louis XI* I p236. An early report made to Sforza identified Brittany and Dunois on one side, and Dammartin, du Bueil, the Patriarch, Patrick Folcart, Pierre d'Amboise seigneur de Chaumont and his son Charles, with others, on the other. The Milanese ambassador thus combined the two lords most consistently hostile to his master, their motive being the recovery of the 400,000 *écus* they had spent on the war. He gives a figure for the force which marched on Sainte Catherine, some 2,000 men: *Milanais* IV p141-43.

For Basin, the action of the Rouennais was triggered by the postponement of the ducal entry planned for Saint Catherine's day. Their suspicions were shared by Charles's 'fidés' – unnamed, but not necessarily meaning those around the duke's person. It is to them that Basin attributes the initiative in mobilising members of the urban elite. He describes, justifies and defends measures by the council in Rouen which anticipated conflict. By this account the count of Harcourt acted at the behest of the notables. The force he led to Mont-Sainte-Catherine was composed of one hundred lances and others, 'virorum armatorum aliisque in numero satis competenti', Norman nobles and bourgeois.

Their entry was barred, and in the commotion 'il eust de grans noises et questions tant par ledit de Lorraine que messieurs de Bueil et de Chaumont estant prestz a mettre la main aux espees'. Thereafter, and against the will of François II and Chabannes, Charles de France made his solemn entry into Rouen in poor estate, lodging that night in the château.⁸⁵ According to Basin's version Brittany withdrew the same night to Pont-de-l'Arche.

We lack the details which would enable us to fully account for François II's actions. The strength of his estrangement in the ensuing weeks, and his targeting of individuals including Jean de Lorraine, suggests that his dignity had been deeply compromised. No doubt the memory of the Penthievre seizure of Jean V in 1420 reinforced the folk-memory of blood on the bridge at Montereau. Word reached Louis at Orléans some four days after the *attentat*. Emmanuel de Jacoppo, attending the king at the door to his room at ten at night on 29 November, had the briefest of interviews as he emerged: the Milanese agent would have to wait, said a smiling king, for news had just come that the duke of Brittany had narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of the Rouennais.⁸⁶

There was bitterness on both sides. For Basin the rupture with Charles was treachery. In the crisis of the regime following the duke's formal installation, the history of Louis d'Outremer's attempt to renege on his grant of the duchy to Rollo was read to the Rouennais. Certain points of the story, notably a claim to overlordship, were directed against Brittany.⁸⁷

⁸⁵*Roye* I p142-3; II p200. The interpolator has Lorraine stripped of his Breton pension of £4,000 which François II granted to Chabannes.

⁸⁶Early reports suggested that the Rouennais had refused entry to the duke of Brittany. The nobles around the king attended a spring campaign: *Milanais* IV p129, 138 and n, 139.

⁸⁷*Roye* I p147-48. Comines's version is garbled. Brittany and Charles de France fell into discord immediately after the formal entry into Rouen: 'ilz se commencerent a diviser quant se vint a departir le butin'. With them were the knights who had served Charles VII, a group previously identified by Comines as including Dunois, Dammartin, Lohéac, Bueil, Chaumont and his son Charles d'Amboise. These men had enjoyed great state under the late king and were now intent upon securing the fruits of their enterprise. The duke of Brittany on the other hand wished to secure recompense for his efforts, 'car c'estoit luy qui avoit porté la plus grand mise et les plus grands fraiz en toutes choses'. The duke withdrew

The day after the formal entry into Rouen Dunois and other Norman lords sought to reconcile the two dukes at a meeting at Port-Saint-Ouen. Basin has Brittany already in touch with the king. He also says that the *ordonnance* troops lent to Charles by the king now began to return towards the king in doubt that Charles would pay them. The Bretons were in place in the towns and forts of Normandy and could open them to the king. Already François II had secured entry into Caen and other places.⁸⁸

The political theatre of Charles's formal installation as duke in Notre Dame de Rouen on 1 December was not poorly attended: the leading parts were taken by two leading prelates and two leading lay magnates. The Patriarch celebrated the mass, and bishop Thomas Basin of Lisieux personified the duchy in the marriage at the heart of the ceremony. Lorraine as marshal of Normandy held the ducal banner, and Guillaume d'Harcourt count of Tancarville as constable girded the duke with the sword of state. These men were not equally important. The aging Tancarville had a royalist history, and Basin with his Caudebec bourgeois background was a political nonentity.

The Patriarch and Lorraine were key figures, but even they represented an aspiration to power rather than the present reality. By his actions Lorraine had burned his bridges but he was not a sufficiently powerful figure to make up for the narrowness of committed support or the nullity of military force enjoyed by the ducal regime.⁸⁹ Within days the events at Mont-Sainte-Catherine had led, not to the entrenchment of the influence of Lorraine and his cohorts, but to the exposure of Charles de France to the vengeance of his brother.

As early as mid-November, the king was informing the Milanese agents that duke François was seeking a more stable accommodation with him. This could be true. Backstairs negotiations continued with erstwhile rebels through the month. The Milanese strained to pick up what they could through a haze of rumour and what reads occasionally like royal disinformation: although Panigarola opined at one point that, Normandy apart, 'in parte veruna non è minuito uno piccol merlo del stato universale de Sao Mta', he knew that Louis could not accept for long the detachment of Normandy. He watched the king striving to open up avenues of action, either

into Mont-Sainte-Catherine where he was assailed by the 'gens du duc de Normandie'. Fearing for his safety he withdrew towards Brittany: *Commynes* I p45, 93.

⁸⁸*Basin* I p248. Brittany had retreated to Caen by Dec 1, when the fact was known to Emmanuel de Jacoppo at Orléans: *Milanaise* IV p143.

⁸⁹Stein 1919 p156.

through alliances with the Armagnacs, Albret and Bourbon, or through the English threat. Against this background a line of communication was kept open to Brittany, through Tanguy du Châtel.⁹⁰

So in the wake of the confrontation at Mont-Sainte-Catherine, the first audience for the justifications and appeals of the parties was the court itself. The envoys of both Brittany and Charles de France arrived in Orléans on the night of 1 December. The king and Bourbon were celebrating the marriage of the duke's bastard brother to Louis's bastard daughter. Maupoint states explicitly that Bourbon was consulted over the decision to strike down the apanage. The king's first response was to set in train his own departure for Chartres. He also named the duke and the bastard of Bourbon to the command of two *ordonnance* companies: one that of the suspected traitor Lau. By the following morning he had charged Montauban, Charles de Melun and the chancellor to prepare for a meeting with François II, and set Bourbon on the march. If Bourbon was to become Louis's principal agent in the business, it was still essential to finalise a stable accomodation with Brittany. A week later Montauban was described as having been given 'la carta bianca' in reaching agreement at Caen. By 11 December Louis had begun disposing of Norman office again.⁹¹

The engagement of both Bourbon and Brittany in overturning the Norman apanage virtually assured royal success. Dammartin's early decision to sue for the king's favour was a straw in the wind: he came before Louis at Chartres as he marched on Normandy, and was welcomed at last. In the wake of Brittany's oath to serve the king, and the king's promise to restore favour, garrisons which had their roots in Breton service became abruptly *gens du roi*. Montauban was dispensing grants to Breton courtiers at the instance of the duke. This was the explicit context

⁹⁰It is possible that Louis was exaggerating about the early contacts, with some subterranean object in view: given that François II was regarded as anti-Sforza by the Milanese this may have been a touch of the spur, aimed at keeping the Milanese malleable as Galeazzo Sforza marched through Dauphiné. Alternatively, he may have wished to give credibility to the talk the Milanese were detecting within the king's entourage at this time, that an attempt at Normandy's recovery could only be a matter of time. Even after the breach at Sainte-Catherine, Emmanuel de Jacopo was working to prevent a meeting between François II and Louis. Tanguy du Châtel's position was equivocal. Believing that Louis still held him an enemy the following spring, Panigarola saw his being given leave to depart François II's entourage as a further sign of the thaw between the king and Brittany: *Milanais* IV p48, 102-3, 113, 148, 324.

⁹¹*Maupoint* p97. *Milanais* IV p143, 148-49, 157, 166-67. BN PO 2305 *de Plumaugat* 52101, n°3, grant of the office of *bailli* of the Cotentin to Alain de Plumaugat, containing the earliest formal statement of Louis's determination to set the apanage grant aside: 'Comme puis nagueres aloccasion des divisions qui ont eu cours en Nostre Royaume Ayons este contrains contre droit et raison de bailler a nostre frere Charles le pais et duchie de N^{re} lesquelz moyennant l'aide de dieu et nos bons et loyaulz subgez nous avons intencion de recouvrer et remectre en noz mains Par quoy soit besoin de pourvoir et donner ordre aux offices desd pais et duchie personnes qui nous soient seurs et feables'. It is collated with an order to the *gens des comptes* to 'Oste et deboute dicelui (office) tout autre Illicite detenteur non aiant sur ce nos lectres de don depuis les divisions'.

of Louis's confirmation of his provision of the duke's *chambellan* Antoine de Tillay seigneur d'Asnières to the *verderie* of Bur-le-Roi:

comme puis nagueres nous eussions envoye nostre cher et feal cousin conseiller et chambellan Jean seigneur de Montauban Amiral de France pardevers nostre tres cher et tres ame Nepveu et cousin le Duc de Bretagne pour pacifier les differences qui povoient estre entre nous et nostre dit neveu et eussions donne povoir a nostre dit cousin le sire de Montauban de pourveoir aucuns des officiers de nostre dit neveu de telz offices en nostre duchie de Normandie qu'il verroit estre a faire ...⁹²

The effect was dramatic. Caen, Evreux, Cherbourg, Bayeux, Granville, Falaise, Saint-Lô and Carentan were named as transferring their allegiance in a list appended to a Milanese dispatch from Orléans dated December 11. It is not accidental that most of these were in Lower Normandy. In Upper Normandy there were still those who wished to make a fight of it. Lorraine was later accused of refusing Bourbon admittance to Evreux, though the townsfolk were less militant: they greeted the duke in procession and the town fell either through Bourbon perfidy or divided counsels among the bourgeois.⁹³

Meanwhile Louis himself was following Montauban and others and making haste to Caen, where he arrived on 19 December. Brittany gave his oath the following day, and the formal treaty encapsulating the new settlement was concluded on the 23rd. Lohéac, Dammartin, Lescun and Jean de Rouville were formally received into favour. It was certainly at this point that Antoinette de Maignelaiz recovered title to Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte. The Milanese ambassador had known for two days that Dunois and Lohéac had been reconciled by the means of the duke. His dispatches at this time show Norman resistance collapsing: all the Norman dioceses had reduced themselves to obedience, with the exception of the archbishopric of Rouen. All the Norman ports were submitting. Normans were flooding in daily to make their peace. Bourbon and the captains in his train were before Rouen, and ducal support was ebbing within the walls. On 24 December news arrived at Caen that Honfleur and Harfleur had submitted to the Bretons. Only Rouen, Pont-de-l'Arche and Louviers remained to Charles de France. Bourbon had massed 500 lances in the Seine

⁹² BN Ms fr 6972 p250.

⁹³*Milanaise* IV p157-58, leaving twelve other places unnamed. See *Basin* I p250 for Bourbon's gulling of Charles de France and his seizure of Evreux. It was Louis XI through his ambassadors to Charolais in January who charged Jean de Lorraine with refusing Bourbon, the king's *lieutenant général*, entry into Evreux: this is not a reliable source for the facts of the matter, but a propagandist defence of the king's resumption of Normandy made at a time when Lorraine was discredited, a convenient repository of all blame, and in royal custody: *LMIQ* p431. On divisions at Evreux, see Stein 1919 p154. It appears that Adrien de Hangest seigneur de Genlis was placed in the town as governor or *bailli*, before ex-Flocquet man Guillaume de Laz was retained as *bailli* on 23 Jan 1466: *GR*12438-39; appendix 3.

valley and the king was preparing to march. Leaving Brittany and Dunois at Caen and Lower Normandy neutralised, he moved into the Seine valley in the following week.⁹⁴

Charles de France's supporters at Rouen were not being utterly passive, at least in terms of money-raising, as has been seen. Nonetheless, by 31 December Panigarola, still marching with the king, believed that du Bueil and Chaumont, 'che governano el duca di Berri', were suing for terms. Their object, born of desperation, was to place the question of a settlement in the hands of Brittany and Bourbon. Jean de Lorraine was attempting some resistance, but any split in the duke's counsels remained latent. All concerned were running out of room for manoeuvre, for the king was methodically striking down the places remaining in his brother's hands. Bourbon summoned Louviers on the 31st, and the town opened its gates the next day, shortly before the king himself arrived with a large train of captains. Bourbon and his men moved on to Pont-de-l'Arche, followed by the king himself on 5 January.⁹⁵

The king had used speed, first to exploit and then to dispel the *attentisme* natural among towns and nobles who had seen such turnings of the political tide. He was now applying additional pressure: the Milanese observed that

fa *etiam* grande executione de quelli che si trova practichare o fare per el parto duca di Berri, li quali *statim* questo signore Re fa butare in le rivera; et per ordinario ogni matina si trova gente negate; el che si fa, oltra e; debito de la justitia, per dar exemplo a la brigata e farli terrore.

Le Boursier was the most important victim. Fleeing Rouen for fear of the king in the habit of an observant cordelier, he was taken by men of the company of Charles de Melun at Pont-Saint-Pierre. He was executed by drowning in the Eure on January 1.⁹⁶

⁹⁴Louis XI's revocation of all gifts made to Artur de Montauban, his annulment of all relevant suits, and confirmation of his father's grant of Saint-Sauveur to André de Villequier was dated in normal style only by the month, Dec 1465: AN JJ 194 n°112; BN Ms fr 6972 p281. *Milanais* IV p165-68, 173-76. The treaty between Louis XI and François II is in *Ordonnances* XVI p448. For a narrative of the royal invasion, Stein 1919 p153-81. Among those who recovered or were granted pensions and other sums at or about this point were Maignelaiz, the admiral of Brittany, Odet d'Aydie, Olivier de Coetivy, Gavre, Lohéac, Châtillon, though vigorous debate continued as to whether all could be paid: BN Ms fr 20498 p38-39; p59v°-61.

⁹⁵*Milanais* IV p211. The Milanese observed the following week (p217) that the king was waging open war, judging (with some political delicacy) *prises* to be legitimate. Englishmen could be seized, subjects of the count of Charolais not.

⁹⁶*Milanais* IV p217. *Roye* I p145-46, 49. Searched by his captors, Esternay and his companion were found to be in possession of cash and valuables, and arrested. He may have undergone some form of trial before Tristan l'Hermite *prévôt des maréchaux*, who was busy with a number of such cases at this time. He was buried in Notre Dame de Louviers at the king's expense, a sad end for a distinguished servant of Charles VII, a man who had served in council and in the field for a generation.

Hommes d'armes who had abandoned royal service for that of Charles de France were also falling victim. An ex-member of Roualt's company implicated in the betrayal of Pontoise, together with three of his companions, only saved himself from summary decapitation through the personal intervention of Bourbon, and by securing the opening of Pont-de-l'Arche to the king. After five days of siege, the royal army entered Pont-de-l'Arche on the morning of 9 January, and the château capitulated after some further resistance from the old Berry household man Jean Aubin seigneur de Malicorne. The garrison was received back into royal service. Emissaries on behalf of the rump of the ducal regime came seeking truce but were turned away, their masters – but not Charles himself – threatened with *lèse-majesté*. Artillery was sent for from Paris and Rouen was summoned. A delegation from the city was at Pont-de-l'Arche on 14 January; it was ordered to return on the 16th with power to render submission. The Milanese ambassadors witnessed them do so on 22 January. The king had demolished the Norman apanage in barely thirty days.⁹⁷

A dead regime and persisting realities

The Rouennais submitted in the *cohue* at Pont-de-l'Arche, in a chamber hung with silk, before an elevated throne draped with *fleurdelysé* cloth of gold. The king was surrounded by the princes of his blood, his new chancellor, counsellors and the lords of the realm. The political theatre was the expression of a hard reality. The ruin of the regime was complete: its members had no recourse but in grace or flight. Formal possession of the city was taken in Louis's name, and the château had been secured by the citizens. On 16 January Antoine Crespin archbishop of Narbonne, Jacques de Brézé and Guillaume Picart presided over a complete renewal of the membership of the town council. The next day Charles de France himself, with certain of his entourage, withdrew to Honfleur where Brittany was master.⁹⁸ It is to this desperate period that an anecdote related by the Interpolator of the *Chronique Scandaleuse* pertains:

Ung gentilhomme Colinet de la Croix du paix de Caulx serviteur de Monsieur de Berry qui trouva facon d'avoir des navires soudainement et secrettement les avitailla et fut avise par le conseil de Mondit seigneur de Berry qu'il s'en devoit bouter sur la mer et s'en aller en Flandres ou autres lieux ou il pourroit mieulx. Et fut dedans ledit navire le duc de Berry et tous ses gens et alors ariva messire Geoffray de Golleram de par le duc de Bretagne ...'

⁹⁷Roye I p150. *Milanaïs* IV p222-24, 230-32.

⁹⁸The Rouen counsellors evicted were Guillaume Ango, Robert le Cornu, Guillaume de Feugueray, Jean Alorge, Robin du Bosc and Nicolas Poillewillain. Those installed were Robin Mustel, Guercoult Naguet, Jacques de Bresmes, Guillaume le Moine, Nicolas Daniel, Jean de Bethencourt, Guillaume de Maromme and Antoine Fare: BN Ms fr 6972 n°241v°. *Milanaïs* IV p231-33; *Chronique de Rouen* p101.

The envoy's aim was to persuade the duke to renew talks with Brittany. During the parleys the tide turned, the voyage was abandoned, and Charles de France had perforce to turn once more towards François II.⁹⁹

All Norman lords who had rendered homage to the duke were summoned to renew their oaths to the king. Panigarola counted 150 *hommes d'armes* suing for pardon early in February. Others, including more exalted men, ran for it. Unsurprisingly, Lorraine preferred a Burgundian to a Breton exile, but was taken on 22 January fleeing towards Picardy in disguise. Michel Basin made it out of Normandy, probably to Artois. Dreux-Esneval made it to Flanders. His kinsman Gauvain Mauviel, *lieutenant général* of the *bailliage* of Rouen since 1462, was arrested in Rouen after its fall, flight into sanctuary notwithstanding. He was tried by the *prevôt des maréchaux* and executed on 3 February. Another Rouen financier, Richard de Brumare, was dead and suffered forfeiture in the same period. The Patriarch and the bishop of Lisieux could not be dealt with summarily, but suffered forfeiture. The Dean, Nicolas du Bosc, and six cathedral canons were exiled.¹⁰⁰

Some of those who had offended François II obtained his pardon after Charles de France sought refuge with him. Du Bueil was one of these, arriving at Pont-Audemer to make his peace in late January. Brittany also gave consent for pardon to be granted to Jean de Lorraine, but the king retained his person in order to secure entry into Granville and other places.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹Roye II p201. The Interpolator clearly believed this to be a serious error, and pointed out that the duke had now to sell his plate just to keep his household in being. When he left Normandy for Brittany with François II in February, Charles was accompanied by twenty-two archers and thirty to forty gentlemen: *Milanais* IV p278.

¹⁰⁰BN PO 935 *de Croismare* 20643, n°15, payments for the proclamation of royal orders that homage be renewed. *Milanais* IV p260; 233-34. Dreux-Esneval was at Bruges in March 1466, when he issued a procuration for his wife, then negotiating the marriage of their eldest daughter Katherine with Dany de Vauchieu baron du Fresne: *Rouen* 26 Apr 1466. Mauviel's head was impaled on a lance above the bridge at Pont-de-l'Arche, and his body dumped in the river: *Roye* I p155. Payments were made in May for the proclamations *à son de trompe* of the forfeiture of the Patriarch, the late Brumare, and others in the *vicomté* of Caen: *DLN/23* p82. Basin was fortunate in being in Flanders on embassy to Charolais, but his temporalities and private property were being sequestered as soon as Louis could gain control: by 21 Jan they were already becoming a bone of contention between officers of the different *baillis* involved: Basin ed. Quicherat, P.J. XXIII p203, XLV p248, XLVIII p256. Brumare had been one of those who negotiated the capitulation of Lisieux to the duke, and had been involved in financing the ducal regime in December: see appendix 3. The exiled canons were Laurens Surreau, du Bec, Guillaume Roussel, Guillaume du Désert and Jean Deudemare. On their activities and backgrounds see Tabbagh 1988 II, p697, and III (prosopographical notices). Basin's prebend was granted by the king to Robert du Temple: Fallue 1850 p515-16. The interrogation in late 1467 of Rouen bourgeois Gervaise Clatot focussed on his links with ducal *chambellan* Jean Aubin seigneur de Malicorne, and illustrates the concern of royal officers for continuing links between city and the duke's household in exile: Stein 1919 p636.

¹⁰¹*Milanais* IV p259-61, 279. Antoine Crespín stepped into the Patriarch's role and pension, and in the 1470s succeeded Prégent on the Rouen *Grand Conseil* and *Echiquier*: BN Ms fr 20498 p38. The Amboise, father and son, were the last to be pardoned by duke François. Pierre d'Amboise seigneur de Chaumont suffered forfeiture in May 1466: AN K 70 n°36.

In Maupoint's account the duke of Brittany heads the list of former rebel princes who joined the royal army before Louviers. After Charles's cause had disintegrated, the king, Bourbon and Brittany met at Pont-Audemer 'pour ordonner et appointer des estas et offices et du gouvernement du pais de Normandie'. This was the climax of a process in train since Louis and François II had met at Caen: the king was disposing of office throughout the province, wrote the Milanese ambassador on 22 December. The appointments Louis was making were his own only to the extent that the Bretons had not been able to command the whole Lower Norman situation.

Broadly speaking, places which had never been penetrated by rebel forces under Lescun – even if formal submission had been rendered – remained at the disposal of the king. This is the sense in which Comines's distant memories of these events are accurate: the king had recovered 'toute la duchie de Normandie, sauf les places qui demourerent à Monsieur de Lescun, pour l'appoinctement faicte à Caen'. So Cherbourg continued under Jean du Fou, and Guillaume de Vallée retained Saint-Lô. But where the agents of the new provincial regime had managed to place garrisons, these had been detachments of the rebel armies, ultimately in the service of Brittany. When Lohéac was placed in the captaincies of Vire and Avranches, or Jean de la Molière seigneur d'Apchon at Caen and Bayeux, these were ratifications of Breton provisions. This must be the context for Geoffroi de Couvran's recovery of the captaincies of Gavray and Coutances.¹⁰²

The same balance between king and duke was maintained in the next few months in non-garrison appointments. On 27 January Louis granted leave to Coquart Canne, his new *vicomte* of Caen, to exercise the post by lieutenant for one year 'attendu qu'il est continuellement occupe au service du duc de Bretagne comme son ecuier de cuisine'. Montauban's *maître d'hôtel* Alain de Plumaugat had been provided to the *bailliage* of the Cotentin on Louis's journey through the Beauce to recover Normandy. His continuation in office was surely not at the duke's initiative, even if his consent was obtained. Two hundred *ordonnance* lances were 'granted' to the duke, and the appointments he made were predictable: Aydie, Lohéac, and Couvran were all provided.¹⁰³

¹⁰²*Comynes* I p93, 95. *Maupoint* p97. *Milanais* IV p168, 173-74. For Cherbourg, GR7627. Lohéac continued captain of Avranches to late 1477 at least: GR7587. On Vire, Hunger 1925. François du Tiercent was replaced as captain of Bayeux on 23 Dec 1465 by Jean de la Molière *chevalier* seigneur d'Apchon who had been nominated 17 Dec. Apchon became *bailli* of Caen from 23 Dec, and held it until 1467: GR4249, 4740-41. He was granted leave to exercise the office by lieutenant 'attendu les grandes occupations qui le retenoient aupres du duc de Bretagne': *DLN/23* p2. Couvran was captain of Gavray at some time between Richemont's death and 1463, when he was described as 'nagaires capitaine' in a dispute over liability to *guet* which had surfaced first before the 1462 *Echiquier*: *Echiquier* 1463 p173; 1462 p187v°. After the Public Weal Michel de Couvran held the captaincy: *Echiquier* 1466 p168. Dupont-Ferrier believed that Couvran was captain at Coutances continuously from the 1450s through to 1467, but cited no source between May 1456 and his dismissal on 17 Oct 1467: GR7644; Stein 1919 p221n.

¹⁰³For Canne see appendix 3. Plumaugat was named *bailli* 11 Dec 1465 and gave the oath 17 Jun 1466: BN PO 2305 *Plumaugat* 52102, n°3; GR7075. Alain seigneur de Théville, mentioned in notice GR7074 is

The attendance of the lords of the blood on the king at Pont-de-l'Arche, the bastard of Bourbon and Louis de Laval on his right hand, was not merely demonstrative, but constitutive: it was the attitude of Brittany and Bourbon which had determined the course of events. In the terms Charles de France demanded through François II, he was surprisingly unabashed: he knew that Louis XI was not so completely the arbiter of the situation he appeared to the Milanese ambassadors. Even the obtuse Panigarola realised how eager Louis was to secure some agreement before François II withdrew to Brittany with his guest, and by 9 February he was reporting how unhappy the king was over Charolais's overtures to his brother. No one had a better idea than Louis himself of how destabilising for his own regime it would be if Charles was welcomed in Flanders. Georges d'Annono adopted a more measured tone than Panigarola's eulogies of the king's grandeur. He feared that Sforza might find himself entangled in a renewed struggle between a vengeful king and powerful princes.¹⁰⁴

We do not have to believe that the new settlement between Louis and François II was a warm one to see that it represented a recovery from disaster for both of them. For the time being Charles de France was an instrument in the hands of others, though his closeness to the throne meant that he was not reducible to a pawn. Normandy would remain for several years the main arena of the struggle between the brothers, largely because the new provincial establishment was the incoherent product of the exigences of 1465-66. The concessions which the king was prepared to make to retain the service of Bourbon and Brittany were not a quirk of royal liberality. They were an index of the distrust in which he was held, and of his continuing vulnerability.

not Plumaugat, *pace* Dupont-Ferrier, but Main Goyon. Plumaugat held the *bailliage* to 1468, when he was dismissed to resurface in Breton service some years later, having made his peace with duke François. Early in March the precise provisions of the Breton appointments were still in flux. Panigarola heard that Aydie would command the seventy lances which had been under Jean de Foix earl of Kendal (Candale), but in the event Candale retained fifty lances in Roussillon: *Milanais* IV p310-11, 316-17. This period is also the most likely context for Guillaume de Rosnivinen's re-entry into the barony of Courseulles, which took place between 1465 and wife's death in July 1470: *DLN*/11 p31, 35.

¹⁰⁴*Milanais* IV p231-32, 256-58, 280. For Annono, the risk was that if Milanese forces were withdrawn, Louis might be forced to cede ground to the point of sacrificing Milanese interests as he had done those of the Liègois and two allied lords, unnamed, but surely Nevers and Croy: p284-87.

CONCLUSION: NORMANDY, THE *BIEN PUBLIC* AND PRINCELY REVOLT

Louis's recovery of Normandy in the winter of 1465-66 was memorialised in stained glass a few years later in Evreux cathedral. The Chapel of the Virgin is unremarkable in deploying sacral themes and iconography to affirm Louis's right to rule. It is possible that a specific message relating to his dynastic problems and strategies in the later 1460s was being projected. Regardless of whether such a message can be decoded with confidence, the imagery deployed was generally and powerfully assertive of the king's position, portraying several tropes associated with the French crown and monarchist ideals. Three images are of particular relevance. In a very prominent position, the Virgin of *misericordia* spreads her mantle over the king. Blinded and crippled figures represent the Jerusalem mob attempting to obstruct the Virgin's funeral. Their miraculous discomfiture culminates in the Virgin's triumphal coronation by the Trinity. To a Norman audience in the late 1460s, the Evreux images justified and explained Louis's recent victories in terms of Marian protection, and asserted the continuing legitimacy of his regime in the province.¹

The Public Weal and its continuation in 1467-68 belong to that cycle of princely revolts which disturbed French royal politics in every generation across the fifteenth century: the Armagnac-Burgundian wars before they were subsumed into the Lancastrian conquest; the *attentats* mounted by the constable de Richemont in 1425-28; the *Praguerie*; the Public Weal itself; and finally the *Guerre Folle* of the minority of Charles VIII. These rebellions are a legitimate subject of enquiry. Better understanding of the forms of princely revolt, of the *how* rather than the *why*, would do much to illuminate the transformation of the French monarchy in the later fifteenth century. The index of this transformation may be the fact that for eighty years after the *Guerre Folle*, French kings faced no effective opposition in arms from their greatest vassals.

It is not possible to assert with confidence that, had Louis XI lost the Public Weal decisively, this transformation would not have happened. It is to dynastic fragility that we should attribute much of the vulnerability of Valois lines like Anjou, Burgundy and (Brittany). The royal line itself was ultimately no different. Default of male heirs was what put the crown's recovery of many provinces beyond doubt. Moreover, the crown's recovery occurred despite princely victories, not least in the Public Weal itself. Charolais recovered the *terres desengagées* and put beyond doubt a stable succession in all of his

¹Gary Blumenshine supplies a bibliography on this stained glass. He argues that it should be seen in the context of Louis's desire to secure the position of his daughter and heiress Anne through a Burgundian marriage directed against his rebel brother Charles. This is less plausible than his identification of the Jerusalem mob with the *ligueurs* of 1465: Blumenshine 1990 p177n, 180-82, 193-95.

father's lands. Brittany's successive interventions in France ensured that his regime – uniquely autonomous in France – would survive for another twenty years. Bourbon re-entered the royal counsels from which he had been excluded, placing his own servants and relations at the heart of royal government.²

Nonetheless, the character of Louis's survival was vital for the shape of the future. The loss of Normandy in 1465 would have been a disastrous blow, forcing him back into dependence on one or other princely house. With such constraints upon the king's ability to refurbish the wrecked patronage structures which had sustained his government in the early 1460s, the stable elite of the generation around 1500, the *maîtres du royaume* described by Mikhaël Harsgor, would not have emerged.³

The king's achievement in holding Paris, in keeping a regime intact through the stress of 1465, and in buying the support necessary to manage a recovery, was considerable. But the ease with which Louis's government in Normandy was swept away is an index of just how vulnerable Louis XI was *across the board* in the 1460s. This had its roots in political incompetence.

It is not easy to argue for the success of any of the regime's 1461 departures in policy. Louis's tax experiments aborted within two or three years. Military success in Roussillon dissipated, leaving the crown pursuing impossible objectives at the expense of traditional influence beyond the Pyrenees. Louis was slow to capitalise on the civil wars in England, and was indeed fortunate that Edward IV did not opt for Henry V's route towards dynastic legitimation in the middle 1460s or later. He alienated the Montforts in pursuit of insubstantial goals. His recovery of the Somme towns proved expensive, ephemeral, provocative and de-stabilising. The sweeping purges of the accession created the collective identity of the servants of Charles VII.

This litany of ineptitude could be extended. That it is rarely taken even this far is due to the continued currency of a peculiar yardstick of success, elaborated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: a national unity of acreage. The demolition of the Burgundian complex was decisive. Between 1475 and 1481 the crown swept away princely rule in Burgundy, duchy and county; Picardy and Artois; the Armagnac and Nemours lands in the Pyrenees, Massif Central and the Beauce; the Angevin apanage and Provence. Guyenne had preceded this bonanza in 1472 and Brittany followed in 1488-92. Thereafter, Bourbon alone remained of the princely houses which had blockaded Paris in 1465. Louis's second decade in power redeemed the desperate expedients of the first. The *féodalité* was crushed, the monarchy exalted. The long march to Versailles and thence the Tennis Court could proceed.

²For a contrary view, see Calmette 1937.

³Harsgor 1985.

It is time for an alternative view. Louis barely survived the 1460s. At least twice – 1465 and 1468 – he was at risk of deposition. It might be argued that survival itself was a major achievement, laying the grounds for future triumphs. The strong position of the monarchy left by *Le Très-victorieux* Charles VII makes this view seem unimpressive. Within four years of his accession Louis XI conjured out of a clear sky a storm which nearly destroyed him. Almost every apanage and princely house was represented in a massive rebel coalition. Only Foix, Eu, Nevers and the discredited Alençon stood by a king who had been notably ruthless, unpredictable and alienated from the successful and honourable political traditions and personnel of the previous generation.

Louis held the line, but at huge cost. His own entourage was partially dismantled, and men whose service he had repudiated hammered their way back into power. He was compelled to re-integrate in influence princely houses – notably the Bourbons – that he had hitherto marginalised. The Liègeois, the count of Nevers and the house of Cröy were left to their fate at the hands of their enemy Charolais. This forced abandonment of allies lost him credit with others, potential and actual, such as the Sforza in Milan.

There was one major consequence. Because Nevers and Cröy were his instruments in the Burgundian dynasty and household, the strategy Louis had concocted to manage Burgundy was wrecked. In consequence he exerted no influence over the succession to Philippe le Bon. To this extent, the Public Weal was a war of Burgundian succession, and Louis XI lost it.

This thesis began with three aims. It was first an attempt to explain the king's loss of grip on Normandy in the autumn of 1465. Second, it sought to identify the constituency of the ducal regime of the winter of 1465-66. Third, it attempted to account for the transience of that regime. These objectives have been pursued through an archaeology of Norman political society in the 1450s and 1460s. The Norman aristocracy has been examined as it re-rooted itself in the province, and the relationship of this with office-holding, maintenance, clientage and military patronage has been analysed.

This seemed a reasonable procedure: Normandy was the only royal province to join the rebels of 1465. Surely the cause must be rooted in difference of a structural character? A case can be made. Normandy fell into the hands of the *ligue* in part because it had a political tradition distinct from the rest of France. There may have been sentiment involved in this. Normandy's Lancastrian past was recent, and this is linked to a certain particularism. But there were less tenuous elements too: Champagne would have had to be conquered town by town, but Normandy was institutionally coherent. It had a single appellate court, a provincial legal and military executive in the *grande sénéchaussée*, a fiscal structure in waiting, a provincial structure of forest justice, and another of demesne administration. Once Rouen had fallen, the province might be expected to follow.

These broad points will not, however, fully account for the province's experience. Norman particularism interacted with Louis's tax experiments in the province and with the collective identity of *ligueur* courtier officers, an identity bound up with their role in the Caroline reconquest. The contingent reason for the fall of the province was that *ligue* forces were able to penetrate Rouen. Louis's support had been fraying throughout the crisis: the performance of his companies had been patchy; low-level administrative and military cadres were open to blandishments; their superiors were of imperfectly anchored allegiance. By October the process of dissolution had gone very far. Jeanne Crespin may have acted as she did because only action could preserve the unit of action, the men who had served and followed her late husband.

Louis was vulnerable. Normandy was ripe. Louis Sorbier and Jeanne Crespin made Charles de France a present of the province. Such an explanation may be less conjunctural than it appears. It highlights the importance of those political entities – dynamic, unstable, facing many ways – which English historians since McFarlane have grown used to calling affinities. The institutional efflorescence of the *ordonnance* and the *aides*, the *Parlement*, other central Parisian courts and parallel provincial institutions has impressed all French historians, but over-emphasis upon it is mechanistic. The machinery of government was not really machinery: it was persons, with their own kinship and personal connections, career strategies and collective interests.

These institutions were more fluid than Autrand's insight as to the fundamental distinction between office and commission implies. Because particular tasks were as easily delegated to or through *commissaires* as to local officers, pensions were regarded as in some sense substitutes for specific office. It might be better to say that the service it implied equated to a non-specific office. The desperate shuffling of pensions, offices, gifts, favours, *dons de mariage*, debt repayments and assignations of all kinds following the *Bien Public* illuminates the relationship of office to pension. It was a harsh light: the royal finances were in chaos. How could they not be, burdened with the weight of a series of campaigns, with the ongoing debts of the Roussillon war and the *rachat*, and now with the cost of pacifying every major figure who had been 'out' on either side during the *divisions*?

Royal counsellors annotated suggestions for retrenchment in interesting ways: L400 might be shaved off the pension of Pierre Pongnant, since 'depuis il a eue l'office de maitre des requetes'; L1,500 might come off the L5,000 pension of Louis de Laval seigneur de Châtillon, since he had both the *maîtrise des eaux et forêts* and the governorship of Langres, the latter worth about L500; L400 could come off the pension of newly rehabilitated Antoine d'Aubuisson seigneur de Monteil, since he had the *bailliage* of the Caux and the captaincy of Arques. Annotations of a precisely similar character were made on the assignations given on places and *recettes générales: premier*

échanson and captain of Cherbourg Jean du Fou had L2,000 assigned in Normandy and the same in Languedoc – ‘semble le Roy y peut prendre mille livres’.⁴

For the royal counsellors, their ingenuity stretched beyond breaking point by the king’s coerced largesse, it was perforce the cash values that mattered. The impression remains of a certain interchangeability between office and assignments on the demesne and the *aides*, even for those on the other side of the *comptoir*. If the captaincy of Rouen must go to the Constable, then Jacques de Brézé would have to be satisfied with that of Meulan; if nothing else, then a cash grant would have to sweeten the bitter pill of loss of place.

Office had the advantage of affording influence over those making disbursements. The exercise of office or control of a *commis* inscribed one in the nexus of bureaucratic give-and-take. With the crown always over-assigning on particular *recettes* and always over-estimating the values of its *greniers*, this was an important consideration.⁵ But cash was the bottom line only in the crudest sense. It was only one way of mediating service and favour: the capacity to place a client, influence a lawsuit, impede or expedite the execution of royal letters *et cetera* all inhered in local credit.

Affinity is structure. For Thomas Bisson the dynamic of the early medieval war-band ‘lay in a followership besmirched by ambition and greed but also conducive to the associative virtues of largesse and loyalty’. The description might equally be of an *ordonnance* company, and indeed for Bisson what in the English context is called Bastard Feudalism is merely yet another taxonomic venture into the crucial matter, lordship. The vigour of the debate on Bastard Feudalism and its derivatives does not extend into the French fifteenth century. This is to be deplored.⁶

Robert Harding’s claims for the centrality of *ordonnance* companies in the patronage networks of sixteenth century provincial and lesser governors revived interest from the mid 1970s.⁷ For no sound reason, this has been more pronounced for the early modern period than for the fifteenth century. In

⁴ Ms fr 20498 p58-62, three related documents entitled *Sensuivent les parties qui seront de creue sur les finances de ceste presente annee*; *Sensuivent les parties qui se pevent retrancher sur les charges nouvelles de ceste annee*; and *Sensuivent les parties qui se pevent retrancher sur les estaz de lannee passee*. The first is in part printed in *LMIQ*.

⁵The more placid operations of the fiscal machinery are best seen in Etienne Petit’s *Estat* for the last year of Charles VII’s reign, for he is at pains to explain normal procedure to the incoming regime in rather full *marginalia*: BN Ms fr 20498 p77ff.

⁶Bisson 1995 p747. Hicks 1995, chapter 1.

⁷Harding 1978. Carroll 1995. Greengrass 1986. The sixteenth century debate is summarised from a somewhat hostile standpoint by Neuschel, 1989, chapter 1.

arguing that the provincial governors were the archetypal political agents of the crown in the provinces, that they enjoyed thereby real and effective power, Harding had recourse to the informal attributes which explain and accompany the designation of a given magnate: name, status, a substantial clientèle on the one hand, and a share in and influence over the disbursement of royal favour, on the other.⁸

The problem when we attempt a comparison between Harding's governors and mid-fifteenth century *baillis* and *sénéchaux* is not just that we are dropping a level in some notional hierarchy. In moving back in time a century or so we find ourselves in the formative years of both governorships and the standing military companies of the crown. The companies of 1461 were the products of political contingencies between ten and twenty years old, and they were composed of groups which had defined themselves in the wars of the same period or earlier. Older and more organic forms of royal government were still vigorous: the crown worked through *baillis*, *sénéchaux* and their subordinates, men who held office in the localities and in the royal household. These men's formal role was defined by custom, but their significance derived from their Janus-like position, depending on personal contact with the ruler and networks of influence among the ruled.⁹

The articulation of the patronage structures of the crown and the princes remains obscure. Stein knew little more about these interconnections than the chroniclers could tell him, and the position has hardly been advanced at all. Without this understanding, we can scarcely tell how authority was propagated through royal office, for the king or those holding his commission would activate lines of influence which were independent of royal institutions conceptualised in hierarchical terms.

For this reason the delineation of affinities is important. That of Brézé has been analysed and those of Estouteville, Dunois and the Harcourt-Lorraine have been touched on. The base for analysis for each of these was the *ordonnance* company of its captain. Brian Ditcham saw the companies as a mechanism for converting tax revenue into patronage, and thereby 'nationalising' violence to the benefit of the crown.¹⁰ For Harding the *gendarmérie* was the crown's compromise with the aristocratic clientage networks of the provinces. In the generation centred on 1460 this was a compromise the terms of which were not yet finalised, however.

⁸Harding 1978 p26-37.

⁹In the regularity of their appointment and in the myths which legitimised them as a corps, the governors belong to the sixteenth century, only sporadically to the mid-fifteenth century. Only in the south or in times of emergency did provincial governors or royal lieutenants interpose themselves between court and locality. In Normandy their importance was ephemeral save where they possessed local significance derived in other ways, for example Richemont as constable and Louis d'Estouteville as *grand sénéchal*. Dupont-Ferrier's 1902 remarks on the governors still stand for the mid-fifteenth century: he thought them unable to construct 'une autorité constante, normale, sensiblement pareille en temps de paix à ce qu'elle étoit en temps de guerre'. They also had yet to achieve 'une fixité réelle' in geographical terms: Dupont-Ferrier 1902 p234.

¹⁰Ditcham 1978, chapter 4.

Ordonnance musters are only one route into a political society which was not structured by or through royal institutions alone. It is important not to identify company and clientèle too closely. The most dramatic pointer to this is the manner in which Louis XI imposed new captains on companies in 1461. Personnel changes did occur, and some companies may not have survived the process, but the majority were taken over and maintained intact by Louis's new men. They did not regard their *hommes d'armes* as mere adjuncts of the destituted captains, but 1465 was to show up the dangers of such disregard of clientage links.¹¹

Louis decapitated the patronage structures which had been in place in 1461. In consequence it was possible for civil war to demolish those in place in the spring of 1465. Charles de France could not escape the consequences of what had loosened his brother's grip on the province. Allegiance remained unfocussed, clientèles inchoate. Charles's failure to build a relationship with Norman political society is partly explained by the impossibility of solidifying an establishment easily or quickly in the autumn of that year. Although we may never have a fuller explanation as to why François II of Brittany was so drastically alienated so quickly, the crisis of December 1465 was the result of a process of self definition within the ducal entourage: a process which threatened vital Breton interests and worse, the honour and dignity of François II.

The forces which recovered Normandy for the king were not so very different from those which had taken it for the duke three months earlier. The events of 1461-65 did not annihilate the Caroline provincial establishment in the physical sense. Some individuals fell at Montlhéry, others, notably Dunois in 1467, disappeared before they could rebuild the position they had lost. Nonetheless, the establishment was broken in terms of the patron-client networks through which it had been co-ordinated.

If we see provincial politics over the late 1460s and 1470s in terms of a struggle to construct a new provincial establishment, then several points are clear. The tensions which would build to the continuation war of 1467-68 were basic to the provisional settlement of the winter of 1465-66. The Burgundian coalition which had faced Louis at Montlhéry was also represented, as Louis experimented in bringing the new constable, Saint-Pol, into Norman office. Upper Normandy became heavily focussed on Picard struggles, and men like Colart de Moy broke through in this context in the following decade.

From the viewpoint of influence in Lower Normandy, François II lost ground over the medium term to Bourbon – in the person of Montauban's successor as admiral Louis bastard de Bourbon.¹² In certain respects the Bourbon regime which emerged conserved some elements of that of the unlamented

¹¹ For comment on the difficulties associated with transferring companies in the sixteenth century, Harding 1978 p25.

¹² On whom see Fagart 1885-87.

Montauban. In addition to Jean du Fou and Main Goyon, *visamiral* Guillaume de Casenove dit Coulon and the future admiral Louis Malet de Graville can be placed in the politics of the early 1460s. The area was an arena of struggle for the rest of the decade. Charles de France retained in exile a significant Norman following. The threat he posed was conditional on Breton support, but the continuation war of 1467-68 would show that it was a real one.

The forms of government survived but the Caroline establishment was too damaged to be built upon: stability was not restored quickly or easily. In his invocation of the triumphal Virgin of Evreux and the symbolism of the breaking of the ducal ring in 1469, Louis sought to obscure the memory of near-disaster. He has since been assisted by royalist and nationalist teleology. But the course of the Public Weal also vindicates the author of the *Gens Nouveaux*. Louis's attribution of collective identity to his father's servants hurt him badly. In tearing down in order to rebuild what Chastellain called the 'edifice royal', Louis XI was one with his servants, the *Nouveaux*, in their litany of impossible promises to *Monde*:

Faisons oyseaulx voler sans elles,
Faisons gens d'armes sans chevaux ...
Faisons que tous les medecins
Parviennent tousjours en leurs fins
Et qu'ilz guerrissent de tous maux.

Appendices

Appendices

Appendix 1: The Norman *ordonnance* under Charles VII

- a) An order of battle (1451-52)
- b) Dunois's men (including the Harfleur garrison)
- c) Brezé's men (including the Rouen garrison and the Carbonnel company)
- d) Flocquet's men (including the Honfleur garrison)
- e) Torcy's men (with a note on the Arques garrison)
- f) Estouteville's men (the Mont-Saint-Michel garrison)
- g) Lorraine's men (the Granville garrison)
- h) Du Bueil's men
- i) The Bretons: Broons, Couvran, Rosnivinen, and men defecting from the royal *ordonnance* to Breton service in 1465
- j) Aydie's men (with a note on Aydie and Lescun)
- k) Desmarestz's garrison at Dieppe

Appendix 2: The Personnel of the *Echiquier*

Appendix 3: Biographical notices on selected Norman officers and *hommes d'armes*

Abbreviations and explanatory notes

av, *avocat*. avR, *avocat du roi*.
B, *bailli* or *bailliage*. LB, LGB, LPB, *lieutenant général/particulier du bailli*
cp, *captain*
coy, *company*
cr, crR, *conseiller, conseiller du roi*
gds, *garde des sceaux*
GMEF, *grand maître des eaux et forêts*
GO, *grande ordonnance*
GS, *grand sénéchal*
hda, *homme d'armes*
Lt, *lieutenant*
MEngRefEF, *maître enquêteur et reformateur des eaux et forêts*
PO, *petite ordonnance*
pr, sPr, PrR, *procureur, substitut procureur, procureur du roi*
rec, *receveur*
snl, *sénéchal*
sgt, sgtry, *sergeant, sergeantry*
sr, *seigneur/sieur*
trs, *trésorier*
V, *vicomte* or *vicomté*. LV, *lieutenant of the vicomte*
Vd, *verdier*

In the tables in appendix 1, a name in bold indicates that a notice exists on a man of this patronym in appendix 3. The numbers in the columns refer to position in the muster: a low number indicates prominence, though a high number does not necessarily indicate the reverse.

Appendix 1(a): an order of battle for the Norman *ordonnance*

Sources: *DLN/1* p62 (21 Apr 1451 order to pay 600 *lances fournies* and 450 *petits payés* from the third quarter of 1451); BN Ms fr 25712 n°247 (May 1451 order for payment of 3 months wages ‘pour le fait de la guerre que avons presentement ... pour la recouvrance’ de Guyenne); *DLN/24* p441 (text of Thomas de Louraille’s commission to receive musters, 17 Mar 1452, relating details for the *petits payés* only); Bernus 1908, pièce justificative n°1 (4 Mar 1454 grant of the office of *receveur des monstres* to Louraille, derived in part from the 1452 commission).

See next page for tables

1. Grande ordonnance lances

Captain	Dunois	Brezé	Flocquet	Bueil	Torcy	Lohéac	Couvran	Rosnivinen	Broons	Aydie
Apr 1451	100	100	100		100	60	40			20
May 1451	80	100	100	80	100		40	30	30	20
Mar 1454	100	100	100	80	100		40	30	30	20

2. Petits payés

Captain	Dunois	Brezé	Flocquet	Bueil	Torcy	Lorraine	Estouteville	Xaintrailles	Des-marestz	Orval
Apr 1451	97	80 & 8 Fecamp ¹	40		10 Arques ²	100 Granville	50 Mont-St-Michel		64 Dieppe	
May 1451	100 Harfleur	40 Rouen & Touques	40 Honfleur	50 Cherbourg	10 Arques	100 Granville	50 Mont-St-Michel & Tombelaine		60 Dieppe	10 Bayeux
Mar 1452	100 Harfleur	40 Rouen & 40 Touques ³	40 Honfleur	50 Cherbourg	10 Arques	100 Granville	50 Mont-St-Michel	10 Falaise	62 ⁴	10 Bayeux
Mar 1454	100 Harfleur	40 Rouen & Touques	40 Honfleur	50 Cherbourg	10 Arques	100 Granville	50 Mont-St-Michel	10 Falaise	65 Dieppe	10 Bayeux

¹ Captain unnamed in document, had been Jean de Brezé (d.1442): *Echiquier* 1453 p11.

² Captain unnamed in document.

³ Captain named in document Jean Carbonnel.

⁴ Of which 2 knights at double pay.

Appendix 1(b): *Ordonnance* Companies of the count of Dunois

Dunois's *Grande Ordonnance*

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1452.1	1456.2	1456.4	1457.1	1460.3	1461.1	1461.2	1461.3
Charles d'Arronville, Allonville	10		79		13	14	14	13
Jean Auffroy dit Frappefaute			19	20	29	30	30	23
Jeannet or Jamet Autier ¹					42			92
Guillaume d'Avaugour ²								94
Tristan de Bailleul ³	20	9	35		45	48	37	37
Cardinet Baudier					79	81	78	78
Guillaume de Bigars								89
Tristan Blouet ⁴	22						42	42
Martin bâtard de Bonnessel	50							
Simon Boucher			39	40	85	44	85	85
Jean Bouchireau	31		67	53				
Perrinet Boulay			16	17	26	27	27	27
Geoffroi Boyer			49	57	77	79	76	75
Guillaume Breceau ⁵			7	7	8	9	9	9
Jean le Breton	14							
Pierre le Breton			57		67	70	68	69
Jean Brochart, Brochet	48		42	43	51	54	52	50
Aymar Broin					19	20	20	19
Colinet de Broye	27		33	35	86	45	43	40
Colinet du Brueil <i>chevalier</i> ⁶							33	33
Yvon le Carmoisien ⁷	46		41	42	50	53	51	49
Macé Caviel, Caruel	55		69	55	84	87	84	84
Georges de Champeaulx			14	15	24	25	25	25
Jehannet des Champs ⁸	13							
Jean de Changrevault	30							
Guiot de Chartonne dit Brusac ⁹	33	18	62		73	76	74	88
Jean du Chastellier			56	64	66	69	67	68
Guillaume Chenu	28	12	48	56	59	59	61	61 ¹⁰
Guillaume Chenu <i>le jeune</i>			48		56	60	58	56
Jean Chenu			50	58	62	61	64	64

¹ Dunois's captain of Fréteval, qualified *écuier de son écurie* in late 1452: Merlet 1886 p22.

² Probably a Delphinal household man placed in the company on the accession of Louis XI: Guérin VIII p120n.

³ *Chevalier* by 1460.

⁴ Jacques dit Tristan Blouet *écuier* was the first husband of Jeanne de la Fontaine, daughter of Flocquet hda Jean de Fontaines *chevalier* in this period: Anselme VIII p850.

⁵ Also served in the Harfleur garrison. One Pierre Boisseau was named *cp* of the châtelet of Angoulême by Dunois in 1442: Guérin VIII p374.

⁶ Defected to the Bretons in 1465: Morice III p124.

⁷ In Jan 1445 Thugdual de Carmoisien *écuier de l'écurie* gave homage for the barony of Croisy in B Evreux in right of his wife Marie de Garencières. The following June he was allowed to delay giving *aveu et denombrement*: DLN/75 p33. A homonym was in the Dauphin's household.

⁸ Also served in the Harfleur garrison.

⁹ A possible identification is with Guiot de Brusac, second son of Mondot de Brusac *chevalier* and nephew of the prominent Périgordin/Poitevin *routier* Gaultier de Brusac *écuier d'écurie*, *sénéchal* of Limousin in the 1430s. Guiot was sr des Prés and la Tour-d'Asnières in the Châtellerauldais: Guérin VIII 221n. On the activities of his brother Pierre see Tuetey 1875.

¹⁰ *Chevalier* in this muster.

Companies of Dunois

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1452.1	1456.2	1456.4	1457.1	1460.3	1461.1	1461.2	1461.3
Jean Cholet			78		5	6	6	5
Robert de Cintray					64	67	65	66
Noel le Clerc	54		45	46				
Jacques de Clermont	2		2	2				
Gilet le Court			22	23	32	33		32
Charles Cresson	51							
Perrot Dany			10	11	20	21	21	20
Jean Dyel ¹¹	40		44	45	52	55	53	52
Pierre d'Entredeuxaues			38	39				
Janicot d'Espagne	38		64	50				
Guiot des Essars	9		25	26	35	36	35	35
Robinet des Essars	19		34	36	43	46	44	43
Pierre de la Ferté								91
Pierre bâtard de Fontaines	7		9	10				
Rigault de Fontaines	8		5	5				
<i>chevalier</i>								
Merien le Forestier ¹²		15	72		54	57	56	54
Jean Fou ¹³			20	21	30	31	31	30
Colinet de Fouquesolles		4	77		12	13	13	12
Amanieu de la Galande ¹⁴					10	11	11	11
Philippot Gaultier dit le Roux	39							
Jean le Gendre dit Blandin			51	59	69	72	70	71
Galiot de Genouillac					76	78	86	76
Jean de Glisy	21		28	30	38	39	38	44
Guillaume des Hayes					70	73	71	72
Jean de Han, Vuydehan	52		46	47	57	62	59	57
Jean d'Harcourt sr	3							
<i>Bonnétable</i>								
Jacques d'Harcourt			3	3	3	4	4	4
Jean Hardy ¹⁵	11							
Michel de la Haye			21	22	31	32	32	31
Pierre Herault ¹⁶			12	13	22	23	23	22
Hardy des Hommes					82	85	82	82
Antoine le Jeune			11	12	21	22	22	21
Guillebert, Guillaume de	37		52	60				
Juilly								
Fleurquin de Lattre ¹⁷	24		30	32	40			

¹¹ See the genealogy in Frondeville 1960 p595. A Jehannet Dyel resumed lands in V Caudebec in the year of the Reduction: *DLN/13* p269-73. A homonym witnessed a rent sale by Jean de St-Maard vicomte de Blosseville to Jean Godart sr Croville: *Rouen* 17 Aug 1465.

¹² Defected to the Bretons in 1465: Morice III p124.

¹³ Guérin (VIII p271n) gives a biographical notice of *routier* captain Jean Fol. He is mentioned in a 1446 remission as having been present at the 1420 seige of Pont-Saint-Esprit. He departed the royal host before Tartas in 1442 with 400 men to waste the Beaujolais, and followed Louis Dauphin to Alsace in 1444. If Fou and Fol are identical, then he must have been quite aged by the death of the king.

¹⁴ One of the commanders of a detached unit of Dunois's *ordonnance* at Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier in May 1456: BN Clairambault 220, n°83. He was an hda in Charles de France's service in 1465, alongside his presumed kinsmen Alain and Leon de Guerlande: BN Ms fr 21477 p2-6

¹⁵ Vd Longchamp: *Rouen* 28 Jun 1461.

¹⁶ Homonym was resident at Coulonces near Vire in 1464: *Monfaut* p409. He was perhaps a member of a larger Cotentin lineage. In 1453 Jean Herault gave *aveu* for the sergeantry and *fief d'haubert* of Herault (V Avranches). In 1465 the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel recognised the nobility of Guillaume Herault sr Dragey as of immemorial age: Poli 1895 n°1294, 1375.

Companies of Dunois

	1452.1	1456.2	1456.4	1457.1	1460.3	1461.1	1461.2	1461.3
<i>Hommes d'armes</i>								
Mathelin de Launoy	42		53	61				
Pierre le Breton				65				
Jacques de Licques		3	76		11	12	12	
Oudart de Licques								6
Pierre de Licques		2	75					
Robinet de Licques					6	7	7	7
Jean de Ligny ¹⁸	25		31	33	41	42	41	38
Martin Lombart	26		32	34				
Artur de Longueval	18		27	29	36	37	36	36
Louis Louvet ¹⁹								51
Louis de Luy	12		6	6	60	64	62	62
Cardin Malortie <i>chevalier</i>					4	5	5	87
Poncin Manan					49	52	50	48
Colin le Mareschal ²⁰	36		65	51	81	83	80	80
Guillaume Maubert ²¹								93
Antoine Mauchevalier ²²						43		
Lynet Mauprest	41		55	63	65	68	66	67
Jacques le Maire			17	18	27	28	28	28
Jean de Momplace	44							
Roger de Monteault <i>chevalier</i>		14	71		37	38	46	60
Jean de Montigny ²³	17	8	83		17	18	18	17
Pierre de Montmirail ²⁴	15		58	66				
Guillaume de Montours			23	24	33	34		
Jean Morice	47	16	73		55	58	57	55
Jacques du Moulin ²⁵			24	25	34	35	34	34
Domquain Navar	45		40	41				
Jean du Palais		1	85		1	2	3	2
Jacques du Palais ²⁶		13	70		46	49	47	45

¹⁷ *Demeurant* Jean dit Brunet de Lattre was *tuteur et gardain* of Colinet aux Coulombs *écuyer* whose lands were in V Arques and Neufchatel when he was put *hors de garde* in 1445: *DLN/4* p189. See also under Antoine de Lattre dit *Cannart écuyer*.

¹⁸ Mentioned by Contamine, *GES* p360 as sr Raray, descended from the Picard house of Ailly and hence kin to major Picard lineages including Mailly and Longueil, later *cp franc-archiers* of the *élection* of Paris.

¹⁹ Conceivably a connexion of Dunois's first wife: Guérin VII 364n has a notice on Charles VII's favourite *président* Louvet. Alternatively, he might be the Estouteville hda Louis Louvel sr Valency: other Estouteville men were appearing in othe companies immediately after the accession.

²⁰ Michel le Mareschal was *cp* Corbeil to 1464: *GR17044*.

²¹ Qualified *écuyer du seigneur de Dunois*: Morice III p66.

²² Jean Mauchevalier *écuyer* sr Guisencourt was the Constable's *prévôt*: *Rouen* 6 Sep 1472.

²³ A homonym were *pannetier* of Charles VII and *élu* of Paris, gave homage for the fief of Agy near Bayeux in 1455, and was late sr la Bigotière in 1463 when a *partage* was drawn up between his daughters, married into the Aulage and Bosc-Grimbault families: *AN P* 290 n°153; *Rouen* 18 Jan 1462/63. Identical with or connected to Brunet de Montigny *écuyer*, who witnessed various contracts of the Hellande family. Robert de Hellande *chevalier* was a member of the garrison of Dieppe and held the fief of Montigny: *Rouen* 18 Apr 1452, 12 Jul, 13 Aug 1456, 24 Jul 1458, 11 Jun 1462. Members of the Bataille family were also in the witness lists of these contracts.

²⁴ Also served in the Harfleur garrison.

²⁵ Homonym was co-heir with Robert Campion *écuyer* of Robert de Carrouge sr Fontaine-la-Sorel and Tailleul-Folle in V Orbec. These men and their wives (respectively Yudete and Louise de Thibouville) contested the patronage of the church of Fontaine with the bishop of Avranches in 1455: *Echiquier* 1453 p408v°; 1455 p12. Jacques's wife Yudette was the widow of Henry de Gouvis and he accorded with her son Jean de Gouvis over the fief of Fontaine-la-Forêt and his prospective rights in survivance. The accord was witnessed by Jean de Gouvis canon of Rouen, Robert Biote, Pierre Auber and Jean de Pierrepont *écuiers*: *Rouen* 26 Apr 1461.

Companies of Dunois

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1452.1	1456.2	1456.4	1457.1	1460.3	1461.1	1461.2	1461.3
Pierre du Palais			36	37	47	50	48	46
Dominique Palmart	23		29	31	39	40	39	39
Etienne Peppin			86	28	44	47	45	59
Jean Pertuis ²⁷	43	17	61		74	77	75	74
Pierre Pertuis	35		66	52	75	84	81	81
Jean de Pisseleu ²⁸	4		4	4	7	8	8	8
Bureau Postel			13	14	23	24	24	24
Jean Potier ²⁹			63	49	80	82	79	79
Gilbert de Prulay	34		68		83	86	83	83
Gilet de Prulay				54				
Guillaume de Prunelay						3		3 ³⁰
Jean de Prunelay <i>chevalier</i>					2		2	
Regnault du Quesnay					63	66	54	65
Pierre Raoulin	16							
Antoine Rocheford			37	38	48	51	49	47
Michelet de la Rosiere		6	81		15	16	16	15
François Sauvagier					68	71	69	70
Perceval Savary	49		43	44	53	56	55	53
Antoine Scosse	32							
Robert d'Ussel, du Sel					78	80	77	86
Guion de St Georges			26	27				
Jean de St Georges ³¹			15	16	25	26	26	26
Jean de St Girault			54	62	71	74	72	73
Pierre du Tilleul	53		47	48	58	63	60	58
François de Torcheselon				8	9	10	10	14
Jean de Torcheselon		5	80		14	15	15	10
Philippe de Trye			59	67				
Louis, Loiset de Valigny		10	84		18	19	19	18
Walquier de Valiquierville					61	65	63	63
Joachim de Velourt								90
Antoine de Vermoises			8	9				
Girault de Vignolles			18	19	28	29	29	29
Jean de Villarceau ³²	5	11	60		72	75	73	77
Fleurimont de Villiers ³³						41	40	41

²⁶ One of the commanders of a detached unit of Dunois's GO at Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier in May 1456: BN Clairambault 220, n°83. He commanded a detachment of six archers in garrison at the châteaux of Sainte-Coulombe-sur-Rhône in the second quarter of 1456: BL Additional Charters 1245.

²⁷ Jean and Pierre were brothers, sons of Pierre I Perthuis sr Champagne near Beaumont-sur-Oise: *CD*.

²⁸ Picard lord Jean de Pisseleu sr Fontaine-Lavagan was knighted at the coronation of Louis XI, pensioned as his *chambellan* by 1474, took as his second wife Jeanne daughter of Robert de Dreux-Esneval: Anselme VIII p745. Pierre de Pisseleu served in the Brézé company.

²⁹ Also served in the Harfleur garrison.

³⁰ *Chevalier* in this muster.

³¹ His involvement in channel piracy out of Dieppe in the later 1450s gave rise to lawsuits over the competing rights of the archbishop of Rouen and the officers of the admiral in the port. The archbishop's rights had been weakened when St Georges challenged the archbishop's officers over their right to sell consent to the landing of prizes and prisoners. Prisoners had been taken by those in one of his ships ('ung sien navire'); he obstructed the archbishop's officers by royal letters and thereafter he and others had refused to pay: ADSM G881 p8; suit dated 1463 between the archbishop and the admiral referring to events five years previous.

³² Also served in the Harfleur garrison. He was one of the commanders of a detached unit of Dunois's GO at St Pierre le Moutier in May 1456: BN Clairambault 220 n°83.

³³ In 1462 he accorded over a suit relating to a fief in the county of Aumale with Jean d'Escambourg/Estainbourg *écuyer*, his wife Lienor de Lisle, and Guillaume de Vierville: *Rouen* 11 Jun 1462.

Companies of Dunois

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1452.1	1456.2	1456.4	1457.1	1460.3	1461.1	1461.2	1461.3
Gilles de Villiers	6	7	82		16	17	17	16

Source:

1452.1, BN Clairambault 234 p33; 1456.2, Ms fr 21496 p87; 1456.4, Clairambault 234 p87; 1456.4, Clairambault 234 p87; 1457.1, Clairambault 234 p73; 1460.3, Clairambault 234 p101; 1460.3, Clairambault 234 p101; 1461.1, Ms fr 21497 p141; 1461.1, Ms fr 21497 p141; 1461.2, Ms fr 21497 p147; 1461.2, Ms fr 21497 p147; 1461.3, Ms fr 21497 p157; 1461.3, Ms fr 21497 p157.

Dunois's *Petite Ordonnance* garrison of Harfleur

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1452.3	1453.1	1453.2	1453.4	1456.4	1460.1	1460.2	1461.2
Pierre Alary	44		30	33	36			
Thibaut d'Armagnac dit de Thermes	1	1	1	1	1			
Guillaume Ayeul	36	35	46	48	25	24	24	25
Robin Bataille						32	32	20
Colinet Baudier ³⁴	30	30	39	42	20			
Arnaud-Guilhem de Bernede	2	2						
Louis de Bernede			8	8	18			
Laurens Bouglie, Venelier	28	28	26	29	34	34	34	34
Guillaume Breceau ³⁵	17	17	18	18				
Bernard de Bugat	31	31	41	44				
Jean Butaut dit Poitevin	50	50	38	40				
Lancelot de Canvy	24	24	23	25	30	29	29	30
Jean Chaillou ³⁶	34	34	48	50	26	25	25	26
Glaude du Chambon					42	42	42	42
Jean du Chambon	43	43	36	39				
Jean le Champenois	37	36	42	45	24	23	23	24
Jeannet des Champs			10 ³⁷	10				
Perrenet le Chandelier	7	6	6	6				33
Jean de Chaulieu						11	11	
Guillot de Hennelles, Chenevelles	29	29	27	30	35	35	35	35
Guillaume Coleman					12			
Jouennet de Covignon	4	4	3	3	14	14	14	14
Pierre de Cremis						2	2	1
Colinet de la Croix	14	14	14	14	5	4	4	4
Guillaume l'Enrage					17	17	17	17
Jean de l'Estandart	18	18	16	16	6	5	5	5
Jacob d'Estinbourg, Issembourg ³⁸	10	9	9	9	19	19	19	19

³⁴ Identical with or connected to Cardinet Baudier of the GO company?

³⁵ Also served in the *grande ordonnance* company.

³⁶ Charles de France's sergeant at arms in 1468, probably identical with Jean Taillon, ducal coustelier: BN Ms fr 21477 pp8-20, 44-49. Guion Caillou was a ducal *échanson* in Guyenne1: BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93.

³⁷ Forename illegible. Had also served in the *grande ordonnance* company.

Companies of Dunois

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1452.3	1453.1	1453.2	1453.4	1456.4	1460.1	1460.2	1461.2
Perrenot de Faveancourt, Sevancourt etc. ³⁹	25	25	24	26	31	30	30	31
Cardinot le Febvre	49	48	35	38				
Symonnet Folie	11	10	11	11				
Jean, Jehannet de Gaillarbos	8	7	4	4	15	15	15	15
Jean Galiot						12	12	
Pierre le Gendre	9	8	7	7				
Jean de la Gorce						36	36	36
Jean de la Grange	5	12						
Jean de Groucy, Grouchy	26	26	25	27	32	31	31	32
Mahiet de Groucy, Grouchy	27	27	43	28	33			
Jean de Hargeville ⁴⁰	3	3	2	2	13	13	13	13
Saguet de Jencourt	23	23		24				
Jean le Jeunehomme ⁴¹	19	19	19	19	8	7	7	7
Jean bâtard de Lignieres	6 ⁴²	5	5	5	16	16	16	16
Guillaume de Lindebeuf ⁴³	16		15	15	4	3	3	3
Jean de Lindebeuf		16						
Ligier de Mongevin	21	21	21	20	10	8	8	8
Colin du Mont ⁴⁴						33	33	
Pierre de Montmirail ⁴⁵								12
Maître Jean de la Motte	47	46	37	41	43	43	43	43
Guillaume Payen	42	42	31	34	38	38	38	38
Jean de Pennehouet	20	20	20	21	9	9	9	9
Jean Potier ⁴⁶	35	49	44	46				
Etienne de la Prée	22	22	22	22	11	10	10	10
Richart de Prulay	15	15	17	17	7	6	6	6
Guillaume de Prunelay						1	1	2
Huguet de Prunelay								11
Jean de la Salle						18	18	18

³⁸ A Jean d'Estainbourg *écuyer* and his wife Eleanor de l'Isle reached an accord with Florimont de Villiers and Guillaume de Vierville over a fief in the county of Aumale in 1462. Louis d'Estambourc *chevalier* witnessed deals relating to the financial difficulties of Guillaume Frétel sr Gerponville and Mathurin Brachet *snl* Limousin: *Rouen* 11 Jun 1462, 11 Apr 1458.

³⁹ Jean de Sevancourt served under Broons and was a ducal Breton household man.

⁴⁰ One Pierre de Hargeville *chevalier* had been *B* Evreux 1393-1410: *GR*12415.

⁴¹ Excused attendance at the 1470 musters of nobles of *V* Montivilliers where he was still *élu* 1474: *Caux* 1470 p300; *Rouen* 20 Oct 1474.

⁴² Listed in this muster, perhaps by error, as *Guillaume* bâtard de Lignieres. Possibly a Vexin family which had lost its lands under the English. In 1423 Thomas Dring received the extensive lands of Jean de Lignieres and his wife which Guy le Bouteiller sgr de la Roche-Guyon had held in his hands for default of heirs: *DLN*/3 p150. Jean de Lignières appeared in *harnois complet* at the musters of the nobles of the county of Longueville in 1470 as *substitut* for Monseigneur de Rambures: *Caux* 1470 p313.

⁴³ A homonym sr St Denis would be *lt* at Harfleur of Antoine de Chabannes *Grand Maître*: *GR*6433. Held lands in the *B* Caux in 1470: *Caux* 1470 p313-14.

⁴⁴ Too common a name for any sure identification. Homonyms were son and brother of Michel du Mont of Rouen. The brothers can be shown in deals relating to debts assigned on property in *V* Gournay: *Rouen* 9 May 1454. Michel was father in law of Louis XI's doctor and astrologer Pierre Choinet: 20 May 1464.

⁴⁵ Had served in the *grande ordonnance* company.

⁴⁶ Also served in the *grande ordonnance* company.

Companies of Dunois

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1452.3	1453.1	1453.2	1453.4	1456.4	1460.1	1460.2	1461.2
Etienne de Sasseville ⁴⁷	45	44			39	39	39	39
Jean de Sasseville			32	35				
Antoine Scoce					28	27	27	28
Marc de St Lienard	12	11	12	12	2			
Robert du Tilleul	38	37	47	51	27	26	26	27
Phillipot de la Tour					21			
Olivier des Trefz	48	47	34	37	41	41	41	41
Nicaise Tuillier, Cuillier, Feuillier ⁴⁸	33	33	49	49				
Antoine d'Ussel, du Sel		41						
Hector d'Ussel, du Sel	40	39	28	31	29	28	28	29
Pierre d'Ussel, du Sel	41	40	29	32	37	37	37	37
Jean du Val					23	22	22	23
Oudinet de Venderez	46	45	33	36	40	40	40	40
Jacques Vigier	32	32	40	43	22	21	21	22
Jean de Villarceau ⁴⁹				23				
Colesson de Villiers	13	13	13	13	3			
Girardin Ysebare	39	38	45	47		20	20	21

Sources:

1452.3, BN Clairambault 234 p54; 1453.1, BN Clairambault 234 p42; 1453.2, BN Clairambault 234 p62;
1453.4, Ms fr 21496 p72; 1456.4, BN Clairambault 234 p86; 1460.1, Ms fr 21496 p128; 1460.2, Ms fr 21496
p126; 1461.2, Ms fr 21497 p147.

⁴⁷ He was described as resident at Harfleur in Simon d'Aubertot's 1463 ratification of an *enseffement* made to him by Guillaume Payen *écuyer*. The ratification was witnessed by Robert Bataille *écuyer*: *Rouen* 22 Feb 1462/63. Sasseville, qualified *écuyer*, redeemed L10 rent owed to the same parties in 1464: *Rouen* 8 Aug 1464.

⁴⁸ Michel Cuillier was *rec ordinaire* of Verneuil in 1456 and 1458: GR 13202.

⁴⁹ Also served in the *grande ordonnance* company.

Appendix 1(c): companies of Pierre de Brézé, including Carbonnel's garrison at Touques

Brézé's *Grande Ordonnance* company

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.3	1452.4	1455.3	1456.2	1456.3	1460.1	1460.3	1461.2	1461.3
Jean d'Amilly	30	23	32	29		10	95	24	24
Jean d'Arbon, dit Bastidon ¹	69	28	36	33	34	46	41	41	41
Le bastard Ardillon ²									92
Jean d'Argouges		4	7	7	4	65	59	60	60
Jean d'Arnaigne	66	13	17	17	17	16	12	12	11
Grace d'Arseille, Arsey ³	91	57	55						
Claude d'Avallon ⁴	88								
Pietres d'Ayres	40	86	90	72	72	95	92	94	94
Guyot de la Barde									20
Jacques de la Barde ⁵		49							63
Michelet Basquet	77								
Jean Basset	95		45	88	86				
Michel Beaumaistre	72	89	28	81	80	52	47	47	47
Jean le Beauvoisien						28	22	21	21
Jean de la Lande dit Berry		78	82	64	64	85	74	75	75
Guiot le Besgue	54	47	71	53	53	75	81	83	
Olivier Bignany	5								
Jean de Billy	68	66	64	48	49	70	64	65	65
Jean Blosset <i>chevalier</i>						55	79	81	
Jean le Bordier ⁶	60	24	33	30	31	43	38	38	38
Jean de Bort ⁷		22							
Jacques de Boulay	56	15	19	19	19	18			
Jean de Bouquetot			56				55	56	56
Louis Boursier		97							
Gouffier de Boussac	84	37	42	85	84	33	29	29	29
Guy le Bouteiller ⁸			6	6	3	30	76	77	77
Pierre Bouteiller								82	84
Jean de Breze, Bressay <i>chevalier</i> ⁹			2	12	12	11	7		
Guillaume bâtard de Brézé							99		
Antoine de Buffevent	94		68						
René du Bus ¹⁰			12						
Pierre de Cailly	35	41	46	89	87	38	34	34	34

¹ Serving with du Bueil in 1470: Ms fr 21497 p176.

² Serving in Aydie's company for Charles de France in Guyenne, 1471.3: Ms fr 25779 n°38.

³ Grace d'Archelles was *commissaire du roi sur le fait de la fortification de Carentan* in 1475: *Bastard d'Estang* p167 (Registre d'Aubron II). Arsilles is an Angevin toponym, but Grace may have been identical with or kin to Jean sr d'Arcelles, Archelles who sold rents to members of the Grouchy family and to Jean le Mercier: *Rouen* 2 Dec 1461, 13 Sep 1468. Jean was cousin of Jacques Auber sr Biville bourgeois of Rouen: *Rouen* 30 Oct 1460. He was sr Arcelles, Espinay, le Chastillon and held property at Saint-Saens, and in redemption of rents owed to him there he was ceded in 1462 the fief of Bertheville, held of Biville, from his cousin Auber. He also bought rights in the parish of Claes near Neufchâtel: *Rouen* 3 Nov 1462, 21 Jan 1462/63, 29 Apr 1466. He mustered among the nobles of the V Arques in 1470: *Rouen* 2 Dec 1461, 13 Sep 1468; *Caux* 1470 p311.

⁴ An Angevin toponym (Avalou).

⁵ Serving with du Bueil in 1470: Ms fr 21497 p176.

⁶ Serving with du Bueil in 1470: Ms fr 21497 p176.

⁷ Homonym served under Torcy later in the decade.

⁸ *Chevalier* by 1460.

⁹ Brézé's brother, B Gisors: *GR*13004, 13006.

¹⁰ Substituting for Pierre Chapelle.

Companies of Brézé

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.3	1452.4	1455.3	1456.2	1456.3	1460.1	1460.3	1461.2	1461.3
Jean d'Amilly	30	23	32	29		10	95	24	24
Jean d'Arbon, dit Bastidon ¹	69	28	36	33	34	46	41	41	41
Guillaume Cannesson ¹¹	2	48	93	2	2				
Jean de Cassenne	50	20							
Jean le Cauchois	92								
Antoine Champenois				74	73	8	5	5	4
Pierre de Champigny		10							
Pierre Chantier, Chaussier, Sentier dit Fringues, Fourgues	63	69	99	80	79	27	21	53	53
Gouvon de la Chapelle ¹²	42	10	14	14	14	13	9	9	8
Merigon de la Chapelle	41	11	15	15	15	14	10	10	9
Pierre Chapelle ¹³	49	7							
Jean de la Chaussee	27	73	77	59	59				
Jacques de la Chaussee	87	90	29	83	82	54	50	49	51
Thomin de Chenaix	73								
Thomas Cheval	11	50	94	75	75	88	78	80	79
Jacques de Choisy	12	77	81	63	63	84	73	74	74
Guillemin, Guillot le Clerc	55	46	72	54	54	76	82		
Guillot Colas	22	26	34	31	32	44	39	39	39
Thibaut Combault (Gombaut)									25
Girault bourc de Comillon	53	9	13	13	13	12	8	8	7
Pierre de Coulonges ¹⁴	20		70	52	52	73	67	68	68
Martin de Dampont						35	31		
Pierre de Dampont		39	44	87				31	31
Tassin de Dampont	19	38	43	86	85				
Guion de Dresnay		5							
Jean de Dreux (1) ¹⁵				11	10	6	24	23	
Jean de Dreux (2)	31	75	79	61	61	41	36	36	36
Martin Driesche, Doresche						34	30	30	30
Charles Drouin	3								
Michel Drouin				38	39	57	52	52	52
Thomas Drouin		71							
Pierre, Perrenet Enguerrand		35	41	37	38	50	45	45	45
Jean d'Escourches, des Touches	70	53	96	77	77	87	77	79	78
Jacquesson d'Espinay	47	42							
Jean d'Estuer, sr la Barde	6								1
Guillaume le Fay ¹⁶				93	91	32	49	50	49
Jean, Jehannot Feron		32	38	34	35	48	43	43	43
Robin Feron	21	31	37			47	42	42	42
Jean de la Fontaine	18	25							
Jean de Forie	28	81	85	67	67	90	87	89	89
Guillaume Gadon dit Chauny	85	60	58	42	43	61	56	57	57
Jean Galon, de Gaillon	80		69	39	40	58	53	54	54

¹¹ Drowned during the Sandwich raid 1457: *Hérault Berry* pSOURCE.

¹² Both Gouvon and Merigon de la Chapelle were in a detachment of the Brézé company lodged at Thouars under Jacques de Clermont in 1447: BN PO 574 *de la Chapelle* 15778, n°55.

¹³ Also served in the PO.

¹⁴ Serving with du Bucil in 1470: Ms fr 21497 p176.

¹⁵ *Chevalier* by 1460.

¹⁶ *Chevalier* by 1460.

Companies of Brézé

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.3	1452.4	1455.3	1456.2	1456.3	1460.1	1460.3	1461.2	1461.3
Jean d'Amilly	30	23	32	29		10	95	24	24
Jean d'Arbon, dit Bastidon ¹	69	28	36	33	34	46	41	41	41
Drouet Gaultier	83	61	59	43	44	62	57	58	58
Guillaume Gazeau				9	30	51	46	46	46
Jean de Gincourt	29	74	78	60	60	82	85	87	87
Jean Gourgoux	64	59	57	41	42				
Andre Gras	44	84	88	70	70	93	90	92	
Jean bâtard de Graville ¹⁷	86	52	95	76	76	56	51	51	50
Jean Grignon	38	85	89	71	71	94	91	93	93
Philippe Guerin									80
Jean de Hauchet dit Bussy						36	32	32	32
Pierre Havart			30	82	81	53	48	48	48
Antoine de la Haye	59								
Guillemin de la Haye	26	30	73	56	56	78	84	86	86
Robert de Hellenvillier ¹⁸		36							
Pierre Houel	37	83	87	69	69	92	89	91	91
Jacques Houvet			54						
Pierre Houvet ¹⁹			24	24	24	23	17	17	17
Eustace de Leoncourt, Lenoncourt	13	65	61	45	46	68	62	63	
Philippe Luillier			10	51	11	7	25	25	82
Colinet de Longchamps		6	8	10		9	6	6	5
Martin de Lucy ²⁰	58	51	48	91	89	67	61	62	62
Nicolas du Lude	17	72	76	58	58	80	71	72	72
Jouen de Lux		16	21	21	21	20	14	14	13
Roland le Maigre ²¹	36	70	67	50	51	72	66	67	67
Hardouin de Maille	7	2	3	3	5	2	2	2	2
Alphonse de Maine		87	91						
Jean le Maire	32	64	63	47	48	74	68	69	69
Guillaume Malerbe			75	57	57	79	70	71	71
Cardot Malortie	82								
Arnouillet de Mancelles, Moiselles ²²	25	82	86	68	68	91	88	90	90
Robinet de Manneville		45	49	92	90	39	28	28	28
Charles de Marant ²³	34		26	26	26	25	19	19	19

¹⁷ See notice on le Cauchois.

¹⁸ Brézé's pr in taking possession of the *cpcy* Mantes, May 1450: *DLN/75* p115.

¹⁹ Had served under Sourdeval.

²⁰ He served in Charles de France's household in 1468, and as *archier du corps* in Guyenne: BN Ms fr 21477 p44-49; Ms fr 32663 p485-93; AN K71 n°15.

²¹ He secured at some stage under Charles VII or Louis XI a grant of the confiscated fiefs of Monchamp et la Chapelle (V Falaise, parishes Castillon and Boissay), in which title he successfully opposed the *bail à ferme* of the lands for L10. Since when 'ledit le Maigre s'est absente du party et obeissance dudit seigneur Roy et s'en est alle ou party et en la compaignie du Duc de Bretagne et autres rebelles ... parquoy ledit fief est de rechef forfait'. In Sep 1465 at Paris the king granted it anew to Jacques de Brézé's hda Gillet Adnisart dit Gamarde: *DLN/25* p121.

²² Identical with Arnouillet de Moiselles, *lt* of Sourdeval's company in Guyenne under Charles de France, 1470: BN Ms fr 21497 p191.

²³ Son of Châtellerauldais lord Guillaume de Marant *écuyer* sr Loubressay and other fiefs (some held from Parthenay), and his wife Alice Aigret/Esgret dame des Ormes: Louis may have been his brother. Both were Poitevin nobles and Louis was still serving under la Barde at the feast of the kings prior to Sep 1464, but had transferred to the service of marshal Rouault by that date. On the eve of the feast mentioned an archer (Pierre Person, Lorrain) and *coustilleur* (J Boutevillain, Norman) of his lance were travelling from their garrison in Normandy to Marant's

Companies of Brézé

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.3	1452.4	1455.3	1456.2	1456.3	1460.1	1460.3	1461.2	1461.3
Jean d'Amilly	30	23	32	29		10	95	24	24
Jean d'Arbon, dit Bastidon ¹	69	28	36	33	34	46	41	41	41
Louis de Marant			25	25	25	24	18	18	18
William Stroud, Guillaume de Marigny						81	94		
Thomassin Martel			51						
Jean Mauvoisin	93	80	84	66	66	89	86	88	88
Mace le Mee	75	63	62	46	47	69	63	64	64
Emond Merbury	9								
Jean Merbury	8	8	11	8	8				
Jean de Montgoubert	74	17	20	20	20	60	69	70	70
Guillaume de Montigny		96							
Jacques Mouchet	81	44	27	27	27	29	26	26	26
Jouan de Naudonnet ²⁴	61								
Alphonsille de Necault	79								
Jean de Pisseleu	65	14	18	18	18	17	13	13	12
Pierre de Pisseleu	16	27	35	32	33	45	40	40	40
Simonnet Poissonnet	76	68	66	84	83	26	20	20	
Antoine du Rieu ²⁵	4	21	31	28		42	37	37	37
Louis du Rieu	62	55	53 ²⁶	40	41	59	54	55	55
Jean de la Riviere		98							
Jacques Robbe	57	56							
Charles de Rougny ²⁷				36	37	5	23	22	22
Guillaume de Rouville						40	35	35	35
Guillaume le Roux	45	29	74	55	55	77	83	85	85
Pierre, Perrin le Roy	24	34	40						
Jean de Saâne		3	5	5	7	4	4	4	3
Menault de Saintgo		18	22	22	22	21	15	15	14
Benython de Salmenque	46	12	16	16	16	15	11	11	10
Remonnet de Salmenque ²⁸								7	6
Guillaume de Savoye	23	88	92	73	74	96	93	95	95
Robert du Scel, d'Ussel	10	54	52 ²⁹						
Jean Socie	15								
Jean de Sommiac, Soumac	78	40							
Remonnet de Soubrenne, Sombreviere	51	43	47	90	88	37	33	33	33
Pierre de St Florentin	33	76	80	62	62	83	72	73	73
Henriet Tahon	48		9	94	9				
Noel Terrible	52	33	39	35	36	49	44	44	44

lodgings in Limousin. They were subsequently pardoned for killing a Chauvigny *meunier* while acquiring one of his chickens: Guerin X 479-80.

²⁴ Arnaud de Naudonnet sr Lustrac had been a minor routier captain, Charles VII's *cap* Penne d'Agenais in the 1430s.

²⁵ *Lt* and *hda* of la Barde *snl* of Limousin, leading his company of 100 lances in Roussillon in 1462: BN Ms fr 6969 p187.

²⁶ Name mutilated: Louis (NN).

²⁷ Possibly identical with Charles de Rouy, *hda* in Charles de France's service in late 1465: BN Ms fr 21477 p2-6.

²⁸ Served as an archer before becoming an *homme d'armes*; qualified *écuyer* de Louviers in 1465. Was present in Rouen during the post-coup autumn of 1465; can be found buying rents from Alain de Hellenvilliers *écuyer*: Rouen 14, 16 Oct 1465.

²⁹ Name mutilated: Robert (NN).

Companies of Brézé

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.3	1452.4	1455.3	1456.2	1456.3	1460.1	1460.3	1461.2	1461.3
Jean d'Amilly	30	23	32	29		10	95	24	24
Jean d'Arbon, dit Bastidon ¹	69	28	36	33	34	46	41	41	41
Robin Teste ³⁰	71	67	65	49	50	71	65	66	66
Richard de Thieuville						64	80	78	81
Guillaume du Thou	14								
Pierre de la Touche, Tousche ³¹	90	58	97	78					
Louis de Tournebu								84	83
Jacques Turpin sr Crissey ³²			4	4	6	3	3	3	15
Sandre Valens, Vollant	43	62	60	44	45	63	58	59	59
Guillaume Vallee				1	1	1	1	1	
Pierre le Verrier	89		98	79	78	66	60	61	61
Huet de Vignes						31	27	27	27
Regnaulton de Villiers	67	19	23	23	23	22	16	16	16
Colin Volant (see Valens)	39	79	83	65	65	86	75	76	76
Henry Wyflet							98		

Sources:

1451.3, BN NAF 8607 n°4; 1452.4, Clairambault 123 n°539; 1455.3, Ms fr 21496 p81; 1456.2, Clairambault 234 p79; 1456.3, Ms fr 21496 p93; 1460.1, Ms fr 21496 p125; 1460.3, Ms fr26267 p485; 1461.2, NAF 8607 n°102; 1461.3, NAF 8607 °118.

Louis Destin was qualified hda of the company of Brézé in Feb-Mar 1463 when he was in Brittany 'venu des parties d'Escoce vers le Duc lui apporter lettres': Morice III p66.

Brézé's *Petite Ordonnance* garrison of the Pont, Palais and Château of Rouen

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1454.1	1454.3	1455.1	1460.1	1461.1	1461.2 ³³
Jean d'Argouges	7					
Jean Auber						3
Blanchet d'Aubigny						22
Guiot le Besgue		2				
Pierre Bouteiller			2	2		
Guy Affourd dit de Briouze					1	2
Oudin Quevrel, Caruel			18	12	12	10
Antoine Champenois			9			
Pierre Chapelle	3					

³⁰ Scotsman in a detachment of the Brézé company lodged at Thouars under Jacques de Clermont in 1447: BN PO 574 *de la Chapelle* 15778, n°55.

³¹ Led 10 lances of Crussol's GO company in Roussillon in 1462, which would seem to indicate that Crussol had recruited men of the Brézé company: BN Ms fr 6969 p187.

³² Also served in the PO. In the winter of 1455-56 Jacques Turpin dit de Cressay *écuyer*, hda under Brezé was lodged in the tavern of Guillaume Abelin in the parish of Saint Patix de Rouen: BL Add. Ch. 1243. Guérin X p331n mentions a late 14th century Guy Turpin seigneur de Crissé and Vihiers, second husband of Marguerite de Thouars dame de Talmont.

³³ Muster taken at Honfleur.

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1454.1	1454.3	1455.1	1460.1	1461.1	1461.2 ³³
Guillaume le Comte ³⁴			6	7	7	6
Perrenot le Cordier						11
Guion de Dresnay	6					
Jean de Dreux	10					
Jean d'Escourches		4				
Jean de Gaillon ³⁵			19			
Guillaume de la Haye		1				
Jacques Houvet, Hommet			14	11	11	9
Philippe Luillier	9					
Brunet de Longchamps			1			
Colinet de Longchamps	5					
Hardouin de Maille	1					
Jean le Marchant dit Marinachart			10			
Thomassin Martel			17	15	15	15
Guillaume Maubert			16			
Jean Morchon				13	13	
Jean Pinguet			4	4	4	4
Thierry du Pont ³⁶			12	9	9	13
Jean Poulain			8	6	6	3
Jean le Prince			7			
Jean Ravel, Remel			5	5	5	5
Guillaume le Roux		3				
Merigon du Rueil ³⁷			20	14	14	
Jean de Saane	4					
Lyonnet Seigneuriau ³⁸			11	8	8	12
Laurens le Serf			13	10	10	8
Jean Sainte			15			
Henriet Tahon	2					
Jacques Turpin sr de Crissey ³⁹	8					
Pierre de Vieuchastel			3	3	3	7
Guillaume le Vointe						6

³⁴ Possibly identical with Guillaume le Cointe, Jacques de Brézé's emissary to Sourdeval in an attempt in Apr 1466 to persuade him to submit to Louis XI after the *Bien Public*: *LMIQ* p449.

³⁵ Also served in the GO.

³⁶ Had been in Brézé's garrison at Louviers before May 1451 when he transferred to Rouen and settled with Henri Hurel bourgeois of Rouen acknowledging a debt of 9 *écus* for a quantity of cloth, and issuing his creditor with a procuration to collect his wages for the previous two months: *Rouen* 14 May 1451.

³⁷ Brother-in-law of Etienne de Bouquetot. In right of their wives they held lands which they had forfeited by rebellion in *V* Orbec: these had been re-granted by Henry VI in 1438. Cardot du Rucil or Rouyl *écuyer* sr Retailles (¼ fief at Sap) was executed after participating in a conspiracy at Gacé in 1437. Jean du Rouil *écuyer* gave *aveu* for these lands in Aug 1457. It therefore appears possible that Merigon was kin (perhaps son) to Cardot, and entered Valois service in the late 1430s. In 1469 Merigon appeared in the general musters of *V* Beaumont as sr Bunel (at Combon) and Bray: Frondeville 1936 p92, 190, 241.

³⁸ Probably identical with Guillaume Seigneuriau who was Brézé's lieutenant du Pont de Rouen in March 1450, and who announced to the counsellors of the town that they could if they wished unblock the Porte Sainte Hilaire: *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Communales de Rouen* I p49. The bastard Seigneuriau was an archer under Carbonnel.

³⁹ Also served in the GO.

Sources: 1454.1, BN NAF 8637 n°60, taken at Rouen; 1454.3, NAF 8637 n°62; 1455.1, Ms fr 20587 n°59 (*Ustencilles* roll); 1460.1, 1; Ms fr 21496 p124; 1461.1, Ms fr 21496 p140; 1461.2, Ms fr 21497 p143 and NAF 8607 n°101.

The Touques garrison under Jean Carbonnel seigneur de Sourdeval

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1452.1	1454.1	1456.1	1456.2	1456.3	1458.3	1461.2	1461.3
Pierre Auber, Osber ⁴⁰		1						
Jean le Barbier			1		1			
Robin le Barbier	16	19		1		1	15	1
Louis Beaulieu	9							
Pierre le Beuf	15	16	9	9	9			
Clemens des Bois ⁴¹		17	14	14	14	14		
Pierre de la Boissiere								
Robert de Boneul	11							
Raoulet Caradreux	1							
Emond Carbonnel		4				3	3	3
Guillaume Carbonnel		7						
Jean Carbonnel							2	4
Robinet de Chanteleu ⁴² , Champibleu	13	14	12	12	12	12	7	12
Charlot des Champs	17	5		5			12	7
Jean de Conches ⁴³	2	9	7	7	7	8	13	5
Robert le Gascon		13	13	13	13	13		15
Guillaume Guernon	6	2	2	2	2	2	5	8
Pierre Houvet ⁴⁴	2							
Charlot Leschamps	17		5		5	6		
Guillaume Mahault ⁴⁵	4	11	4	4	4	5	11	11
Le breton du Maine ⁴⁶	19							
Guillaume Malerbe	3							
Robinet Maurice		12						

⁴⁰ A homonym can be found in association with Robert Biote and Jean de Gouvis canon of Rouen and archdeacon of Bayeux, with other important Cotentin nobles of the Louvel and Trihan families, and as guardian of the children of the late dame Jeanne Carbonnel and Jean sr Fourmentières *chevalier* in 1466: *Rouen* 26 Apr 1461; *Echiquier* 1466 p168, 187.

⁴¹ Presumed kin to Perrette des Bois, wife of Sourdeval.

⁴² Resident in the Cotentin parish of Montgardon in 1464. One of three brothers who proved their nobility before Monfaut. The others were Guillaume and Hervieu. Guillaume is presumed identical with Guillaume sr Verguereul, of the main Lower Norman Chanteloup line, for whom La Roque preserved an early 16th century genealogy, which has Guillaume the son of Mathieu de Chanteloup, husband of Jeanne Pigache and father of Louis de Chanteloup: *Harcourt* II p1980. Hervieu de Chanteloup served under Bricquebec in the 1470s: *Poli* 1895 n°1391; *Monfaut* p370, 426, 427.

⁴³ Sr du Bois and Matonvilliers: BN PO 835 *de Conches* 18734, n°6.

⁴⁴ Also served in Brézé's GO.

⁴⁵ Still serving under Carbonnel in the service of Charles de France in Guyenne, 1470.4: BN Ms fr 21497 p191.

⁴⁶ Still serving under Carbonnel in the service of Charles de France in Guyenne, 1470.4: BN Ms fr 21497 p191.

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1452.1	1454.1	1456.1	1456.2	1456.3	1458.3	1461.2	1461.3
Prieur Nolant ⁴⁷	5	3	6	6	6	7	4	2
Jean de Paris ⁴⁸	8	2	8	8	8	9	9	14
Guy Patry		15						
Jean de la Pierre	7	8	15	15	15	15	8	9
Thibaut Poullain	18	18	11	11	11	11	14	13
Guillaume Sanson	12							
Jean le Sec	14	6	3	3	3	4	6	6

Sources: 1451.2, BN Clairambault 234 p35; 1454.1, NAF 8607 n°12; 1456.1, Ms fr 21496 p85; 1456.2, Clairambault 234 p81; 1456.3, Ms fr 21496 p94; 1458.3, Ms fr 21496 p109; 1460.1, Ms fr 21496 p137; 1461.2, Ms fr 21497 p152; 1461.3, Clairambault 235 p117.

⁴⁷ Sr Limbeuf in V Pont-de-l'Arche, which fief was *en non valleur* on the Reduction: *Bastard d'Estang* p93 n°841.
⁴⁸ See the notice in appendix 4 under le Sec.

Appendix 1 (d): *Ordonnance* of Robert de Flocques *bailli* of Evreux

Flocquet's *Grande Ordonnance*

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1451.2	1451.3	1452.3	1452.4	1456.2	1456.4	1458.2	1460.2	1460.4
Guillaume d'Abancourt ¹	39	17		28					
Etienne l'Alemant	79	77		78	15	31	75		90
Aubert Amiot ²	42	21		35			52	52	28
Jean de Anisy, Anezy								16	
Jean d'Annebaut	1	50		61	22	1	48	63	2
Remonnet d'Argeau	46	26		38	3	4	26	25	26
Etienne Bardin	47	27		39			57	56	31
Silvestre de Baternes	21	66		5			12	11	58
Jean de Beausse ³				9	10	11	28	27	67
Guillaume de Bellegarde ⁴	22	4		53			29	28	54
Jean de Berneres							35	35	44
Vin de Berville ⁵	54								
Jean le Beuf ⁶	36	6		17			3	3	41
Guillaume Bolehart, Bollehaie, Boullehart, Belhart ⁷	57	32		25	12	13	45	45	52
Cardinet de Brevedent	4	52		69	23	14	88	70	17
Crespy du Buc, Bec									72
Cardin Bulletot ⁸	61	33		24	33	25	46	46	47
Antoine Cannart							81	95 ⁹	97
Begon de Cassenoir		37							
Guillaume le Caucher									20
Denis Caudet				51	28	19	92	74	16
Begon de Cazenac	62		9				58	57	32
Pierre le Cesne ¹⁰	52	18		43	6	7	41	41	51
Jean Charetier dit Limoges	60	30		12			6	6	70
Denis du Chastellier	18	62							

¹Bray/Beavais nobility, srs Abancourt and Courcelles-les-Campeaux: see the genealogies in *VSA3* and *CD*. On his involvement with Parthenay and Rouville, see chapter 2.

² Discharged from his rights in the *sgtry* Orbec by Louis XI, 11 Dec 1465, in favour of Jean Baudouin. He appeared at the 1470 Orbec musters in *habillement d'hda*, qualified 'escuier sergent fieffé de la sergenterie d'Orbec': *Evreux 1470* p38. Jean Amiot 'absent et ennemi du roi' (Henry VI) in 1444 resumed lands at Auquainville and Meulles in *V* Orbec after the Reduction: Frondeville 1936 p89, 90, 242.

³ Richard de Beausse, qualified 'sergent et commissaire des cinq paroisses', presented himself as a vouger in the 1469 muster of the nobles and officers of *V* Conches: Bonnin 1853 p58. At the musters of the nobles of *V* Evreux in 1469, Colin de Beausse stood in as an archer for the obese Nicolas de Louvigny *écuyer* sr du Mesnil-Augeron in *V* Montreuil, *B* Alençon: *Evreux 1470* p3-4.

⁴ Guillaume de Mainemares dit Bellegarde *chevalier* sr de Hellenvilliers presented himself as an *hda* with Jean de la Mare in *corset blanc* and two archers at the musters of the nobles of *V* Conches in 1469: *Evreux 1470* p58-9.

⁵ Jean de Berville *écuyer* sr Berville and la Forestière presented himself as an *hda* with Roger le Sayneur *brigandiner*, 2 other *vougers*, a *coustilleur* and a page at the musters of the nobles of *V* Orbec in 1469: *Evreux 1470* p37.

⁶ *Chevalier* by 1458.

⁷ A Family Boullart, seemingly a local toponym, had established itself at Honfleur by c.1475 when one Jean Boullart was master of a *navire*: Bréard/Barrey 1906 p245.

⁸ Homonym sr de Nogent in *V* Conches presented himself as a mounted javeline at the 1469 musters: *Evreux 1470* p54.

⁹ Mutilated: Antoine ...

¹⁰ Also served in the PO. Qualified as *écuyer* sr de la Ppialièrre (sic: la Puthenaye?) in *V* Conches he appeared at the 1469 musters armed as *demi-lance à cheval*: *Evreux 1470* p55.

Companies of Robert de Flocques

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1451.2	1451.3	1452.3	1452.4	1456.2	1456.4	1458.2	1460.2	1460.4
Bernard Cheval	9	55		50					
Pierre Chrestien	70	34		49					
Robert Chrestien <i>chevalier</i>							49	49	35
Jean le Clerc							51	51 ¹¹	38
Guillaume de Clercy	66	42		6	31	22	94	75	14
Guillot Colas ¹²							34	34	40
Jean Colin								43 ¹³	43
Jean Coquin	43	20		36					
Robert de Coudrelles, Couldrelle	51	41		42					
Roger de Courcelles	32	68		14	1	2	24	23	55
Colinet de la Croix	14	58		4			85	67	11
Jean Cuon ¹⁴								71	5
Jean de l'Eau ¹⁵	77	75		89	20	36	79	93	94
Jean Ero, bâtard de Rosières	67	38	2						
Perrenet d'Acquembourg, Escambourg, de Cambourg ¹⁶	3	49		65			82	64	3
Guillemot d'Escançon	59						10	9	69
Jean d'Espagne	76	74		76	18	34	77	91	92
Jean d'Esterville, Estreville	41	40		34			83	65	19
Robinet, Robert de Fierbois, Foybois	17	61		60	27	18	95		
Charlot de Flocques ¹⁷				66			55	54	37
Jean de la Fontaine <i>chevalier</i>	86	84		85	16	32	80	94	96
Jean de la Fontaine (2)						22			
Henri de Gaillarbois				52			5	5	60
Jehannequin de Gaillarbois	2	51		62	26	17	91	73	6
Gilet Gauchier				57					
Etienne de Gien, Gyecy		87		90	19	35			
Guillot Gilbert	49								
Yvette de Gouvier, Gomer ¹⁸	16	60	6				84	66	8
Jean le Grant dit Chalivant	35	43		21	8	9	43		
Martin le Grant	25	11	3				53		21
Robinet le Grant				26		28	32	31	77
Alixandre de la Haye				10	32	23	96	77	7
Gilles de la Haye							19	18	78
Guillaume de la Haye	88	86							

¹¹ Mutilated: Jean le ...¹² Also served under Brézé.¹³ Mutilated: Jean ...¹⁴ Also served in the Honfleur garrison.¹⁵ Cp Bernay for the Lancastrians shortly before Aug 1443 when he was ordered 'd'aler promptement et hastivement jour et nuyt de ... Rouen a Conches avec d'autres et illec entrer pour resister aux adversaires du Roy ... estans en grant nombre devant ledit lieu de Conches tendans de icelui lieuprendre par assaulx et puissance ...': Plaisse 1984 p121 citing BN ms fr 26071 n°4837, 4840.¹⁶ Pierre Erquembourg mustered among the nobles of Y Montivilliers in 1470, as also did Thomas and his son Guillaume Erquembourg: *Caux 1470* p302, 297.¹⁷ Also served in the Honfleur garrison.¹⁸ Served in Charles de France's household in Brittany and as *écuier de l'ecurie* and cp of 10 lances in Guyenne: BN Ms fr 21477 p8-20, 21-23; PO 1351 *de Gomer* 30606, n°2, 3. Ms fr 32263 p485-93. He was retained as a minor cp after Louis XI's recuperation of the ducal following in 1472-73: BN Ms fr 20498 p106v°.

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1451.2	1451.3	1452.3	1452.4	1456.2	1456.4	1458.2	1460.2	1460.4
Jean de la Hayette ¹⁹	30	10		22			37	37	50
Louis du Han, Vuydehan	33	69		13			4	4	56
Mace, Marc de la Haye	24	9		59			59	58	23
Jean Houel	73	88		88	14	30	74	88	89
Jean de l'Isle dit Jehincot	78	76		77			73		88
Jean Jouen dit Bleriau	68	39		8			40	40	66
Guillot de Laz ²⁰	11	2		16	9	10	44	43	45
Gilet de Laz	34			18					
Pierre bâtard de Ligneul	83	81		82					
Guillaume Lucas ²¹								76	15
Jean de Maigny	53								
Guillaume Mailloche, Maloche				75			67	82	83
Ymbault Mailloche	75	73		74			66	81	82
Julien Malet, Mallet ²²	23	8		55			60	59	24
Jean de la Marche ²³	45	25		37	2	3	25	24	76
Adenet de la Mare	6	45		63		26	97	78	18
Robinet de la Mare	48	22		40	4	5			
Jean Marie ²⁴	31	15		48	7	8	42	42	49
Pierre de Marigny		28		44			15	14	25
Jourdan de Marsac, Marzale ²⁵	74	72		73			65	96	81
Antoine de Melun <i>chevalier</i>				3			2	2	53
Jean bâtard de Melun	15	59	5				8	7	61
Louis de Merle							33	32	57
Jean de Mery	27	14		58			17		74
Guillaume, Guillin du Mesnil ²⁶	56	7		46	25	16	23	22	12
Naudin du Mesnil							27	26	13
Guillemin bâtard du Mesnil dit Vastry ²⁷	7	54		68			90	72	4
Pierre Michel	71	70		71			63	79	79
Martin Moisy ²⁸	5	53		64	24	15	89		
Guillaume le Monnier				7					
Olivier Monsieur	19			2			16	15	73
Guillaume de Montosson,		24		41	30	21	62	61	30

¹⁹ Qualified *écuyer* sr du Chesne in V Conches he presented himself as a *vougier* with page at the 1469 musters: *Evreux 1470* p48.

²⁰ Guillaume de Laz *écuyer* sr Vausselas was cp Conches 1451-73, B Evreux in 1466-72: *DLN/10* p41; *GR12846*, 12439; *Evreux 1470* p1.

²¹ Jean Lucas *l'ainé* had been a *demeurant*, deputy to the Estates of 1441, charged with matters relating to judicial investigations at Bernay in 1444, LPB Evreux in 1447, 1449; Jean Lucas *le jeune* was rec des aides at Bernay in 1446: Frondeville 1936 p284.

²² He presented himself as an hda at the 1469 musters qualified as co-sr with Guillaume du Mesnil of la Riviere, Cauverville, Cieffreville, Neufville: *Evreux 1470* p38.

²³ Homonym, *élu* of Evreux presented himself as hda at the 1469 musters: *Evreux 1470* p14.

²⁴ Probably identical with the sr de la Vallée and l'Escureul in V Conches and Bréteuil whose children were in wardship in 1469: *Evreux 1470* p65.

²⁵ Vd Pacy in V Evreux 1460-61: *DLN/14* p359.

²⁶ Co-sr of la Riviere, Cauverville, Cieffreville, Neufville with Julien Mallet he presented himself as an hda at the 1469 musters of V Orbec: *Evreux 1470* p38.

²⁷ Possibly identical with Guillot du Mesnil *écuyer* sr of a portion of a fief at Saint-Vincent de Bouley who presented himself as hda at the 1469 musters of V Evreux: *Evreux 1470* p3.

²⁸ Also served in the Honfleur garrison.

Companies of Robert de Flocques

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1451.2	1451.3	1452.3	1452.4	1456.2	1456.4	1458.2	1460.2	1460.4
Montcochon									
Louis de Montberon, Montbelon	65	47		29					
<i>chevalier</i>									
Jean de Mouerson	50								
Guillaume le Mouliner, Moulmier							18	17	
Pierre de Mucidan, Massident	28	13		56			21	20	22
François de Naillac	84	82		83			70	85	86
Louis de Naillac							71	86	95
Coppin de Nebouchel, Nedoucel	20	64	4				87	69	10
Loiset de Neufville ²⁹	29	16		54			54	53	27
Pierre Olivier		63							
Michel, Michelet de Parsoy, Persoy							11	10	62
dit Grosbois									
Antoine de Phelippe	81	79		80			68	83	84
Pierre Picquet ³⁰	80	78		79			69	84	85
Jean Pierre				87	17	33			
Guillaume de Pierre-court	40	19		33			39	39	34
Jacques de Poissy ³¹							31 ³²	30	63
Pierre Potart	8	67		30	29	20	93	33	59
Jean de Preaux	72	71		72			64	80	80
Jean Prieur							76	90	91
Gilet Psalmon	26	12			5	6	61	60	
Jean Raoullet							9	8	64
Robert de Rougemont	64	48	1						
Jean du Ru, Rieu, Ruy, Ry	63	31		47			56	55	39
Martin Semelon	58	36		27			7	62	33
Guillaume, Guillot de Setausson,		35	8						
Steusson									
Glaude de St Julien	69	23	7				38	38	29
Jean de St Julien	12	56		70	11	12	30	29	68
Colin Tauppin	38	3		31			13	12	75
Richard de Thieuville ³³				67					
Etienne de Thou	82	80		81			72	89 ³⁴	87
Colin Trousetot	37	44		19	34	27	47	47 ³⁵	46
Etienne de Valence	87	85		86	13	29			
Jean de Varennes							22	21	71
Hector de Verdun	85	83		84	21	37			
Guillaume de la Vergue ³⁶				15					
Vin de Verville		29		45					
Guillaume de Vieupont	44	5		32			14	13	48
Jean Vignolles, de Vignolles	13	57		11			20	19	65

²⁹ Common name, but there was a local lineage of this name: Pierre de Neuville *écuier* gave *aveux* in 1408, 1437, 1453 for the fiefs of Pretreville and Grey (at Meulles) in V Orbec: Frondeville 1936 p91.

³⁰ Thomas Piquet resigned the office of Vd Touques to Jean le Conte, 1456: *DLN/75* p211.

³¹ Also served in the Honfleur garrison.

³² Orthography here Pouy.

³³ Went on to serve under Pierre de Brézé.

³⁴ Mutilated: Etienne ...

³⁵ Mutilated: Colinet ...

³⁶ Pierre de la Vergue was Jacques de Brézé's *veneur* in 1470 when he was discovered *in flagrante* with his master's wife Charlotte de Valois, and murdered: Anselme VIII p272.

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1451.2	1451.3	1452.3	1452.4	1456.2	1456.4	1458.2	1460.2	1460.4
Pierre de Villecay, Willessey ³⁷			10				86	68	9
Charlot de Villeneuve	55	46		23			50	50	36
Tauppin Vipart							78	92	93
Louis, Loiset Ydet	10	65		20			36	36	42

Sources: 1451.2, Clairambault 234 p21; 1451.3, Clairambault 234 p29; 1452.3, Clairambault 234 p51; 1452.4, Clairambault 234 p55; 1456.2, Ms fr 21496 p89; 1456.4, Ms fr 21496 p99; 1458.2, Ms fr 21496 p112; 1460.2, Clairambault 234 p99; 1460.4, Ms fr 21496 p133.

Petite Ordonnance garrison of Honfleur under Robert de Flocques

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.3	1453.2	1453.4	1456.2	1460.1	1461.3
Sire Antoine ³⁸	18					
Jean Bellengier, Berengier ³⁹	2		3			
Robin Bente, Beuse	8	2	2	2	2	2
Marc de Boulogne	4	6	10	4	5	13
Guillaume de la Bruyere					10	10
Jean Cabot	10	13	15	13	14	15
Guillaume le Cesne	20	14	9			
Pierre le Cesne					4	5
Cardot le Chevalier	15	17	16	7	8	11
Jean Cuon, de Cuoy ⁴⁰	17	10	20	12		
Msgr d'Esponville	19					
Jean Farcy ⁴¹	3					
Charlot de Flocques	14					
Jean Grente	11	19	6			
Pierre de Malleville		11	4	10	11	
Jean bâtard de Mathan	6	9	12	6	7	9
Jacques de Mesieres	12	5	18			
Guillaume le Moigne						4
Martin Moisy ⁴²					13	14
Bernard de Navarre	5	4	14	14	15	7
Jacques de Poissy ⁴³		16	5	9		
Perot de Sallenove l'ainé	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pierre de Sallenove le jeune		15	7	11	12	3
Jean de Soucy, Sourcy	9	7	11	5	6	12

³⁷ Also served in the Honfleur garrison. Homonym nominated *contrôleur de l'artillerie* of Laon in Aug 1461: BN Ms fr 20490 p23.

³⁸ Conjecturally Antoine de Melun *chevalier*, who served in the *grande ordonnance*,

³⁹ Acting as *snl* of Fontaines-la-Soret (priory of abbey of Bec) in Jan 1452, with Jean Jouin (*qv*) as his *LQ*: Baudot 1993 p109. Homonym of the parish of Fresnes in *V* Orbec was executed for treason some time prior to Sep 1444: Frondeville 1936 p258. There was a Norman family of this name, prominent by the reign of Henri IV, mentioned in *VS*415 p324-25.

⁴⁰ Also served in the *grande ordonnance* company.

⁴¹ A homonym defaulted at the 1469 musters of *V* Orbec where he was *sr de la Capperonière*, as being resident in *B* Rouen: *Evreux* 1470 p42.

⁴² Also served in the *grande ordonnance* company.

⁴³ Also served in the *grande ordonnance* company.

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.3	1453.2	1453.4	1456.2	1460.1	1461.3
Durandin de Thieuville		20	8			
Jean Tournemine	7	3	19			
Robin le Tourneur	16	8	17	8	9	6
Le Baudrain Touzé, Touscy		12	13	3		
Jean le Velu					3	8
Jean le Veugier		18				
Pierre de Vilessay ⁴⁴	13					

Source: 1451.3, BN Clairambault 234 p27; 1453.2, Clairambault 234 p57; 1453.4, Ms fr 21496 p74; 1456.2, Ms fr 21496 p90; 1460.1, Ms fr 21496 p123; 1461.3, Ms fr 21497 p158.

⁴⁴ Also served in the *grande ordonnance* company.

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1451.3	1454.1	1454.2	1454.3	1456.2	1456.3	1457.2	1460.1	1460.4	1461.1	1461.3
Pierre de l'Arche	30										
Jean de l'Assise	49	53	53	87	42 ¹	37	38	41			
Jean d'Aurilly											46
Gauthier d'Aussigny	25	66	66	64	65	25	25	28	20	29	27
Colinet de la Barre	18	7	7	77	78						
Gauvain de la Barre	10	6	6	7	8						
Jean Beaucousin	66	49	49	69	70	27	28				
Jean Beguet, Becquet ²	82	9	9	68	69						
Jean de Bellefosse	40	71	71	54	55	20					
Jennequin de Bellestre	13	75	75	50	51						
Lyonnel de Bellestre ³	12	74	74	10	11						
Bertault de Berthemont	3	68	68	60	61						
Guiot de Bonny, Brugny						36	37				
Huguelin de la Borde	44	61	61	75	76	32	33	37	29	38	
Guillemin Bourgeois				39	40	45					
Jean bâtard de Bourmonville	24										
Robin de Bourmonville		82	82								
Jean de Bout dit Lancemin	65	37	37	52	53						29
Henri Bouteiller											
Quentin le Bouteiller ⁴	27	85	85	17	18						
Jean sr de Breauté	5	3	3	3			2	3	4	4	3
Roger de Breaute					3						
Berthelemy le Brest	35	43	43	58	59	21	42				
Rifflart Brouet	45	89	89	92		39	39	42	35	44	40

¹ Mutilated name: Jean de NN.

² Ennobled 1441 for service at the capture of Pontoise, where he was among the first into the Tour de la Friche: Lebeurier 1866 page iv.

³ Perhaps as provision before he departed to the Roussillon war Lionnet ceded his brother Jeannequin de Bellestre all his lands and revenues in the parishes of Millebois (78 acres) and Luquerne (37 acres) in the county of Eu, and made him his pr for all transactions in Normandy. Both men were described as hda's of the company of Torcy's successor Lau: *Caen* 30 Dec 1462, p40.

⁴ Sr Bois-Gensien, he married the daughter of Jean de Versailles in 1456. She was to be dowered at 200 écus and L15 rent, with the prospect of half his inheritance: *Caen* 30 Nov 1456, p25v^o.

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1451.3	1454.1	1454.2	1454.3	1456.2	1456.3	1457.2	1460.1	1460.4	1461.1	1461.3
Guillaume de Brugny	16	56	56	86							
Jean de Camon	28										
Jean Chabot dit l'Enfant de Martonelle	54	70 ⁵	70								
Didier de Champagne	64	86	86	29	30						
Jean des Champs	43	78	78	73	74						
Guillaume de Chantepié ⁶		25	25	61	62	23	22	25	17	26	26
Gassot de Chaumont	59	23	23	30	31			22	14	23	15
Guillaume Chenart dit Roussin	15	60	60	13	14			13	43	14	16
Pierre Chenart	83	40	40	79	80		34	38	30	39	
Etienne Chesson dit Brigant	48										
Viterbe de la Cheze ⁷	38	14	14	19	20						
Guillaume Clairet, Quieret ⁸	55	45	45	62	63	22	23	26	18	27	25
Pierre de Cleux	67	48	48	70	71	28	29				
Jean de Commargues	9	54	54	95		41	41	43	37	46	44
Jean le Courtois ⁹	84	55	55	15	16			23	15	24	
Husson le Courveur, Tourneur, Douillier	34	46	46	63	64	24	24	27	19	28	6
Roger de la Crique	71	51	51	76	77						
Jean de Croix								40	33	42	39
Girard Desquay ¹⁰		*	*	37	38			16	46	17	19
Thomas le Doulx	26	76	76	90		38					
Jean bâtard d'Enghien	23	22	22	38	39	46					
Guillaume d'Espinay	94	80	80	43							

⁵ Girard Desquay acting as his pr in this and the following muster.

⁶ Homonym was V commis Condé-sur-Noireau when that Rohan seigneurie was in royal wardship: *Echiquier* 1464 p164, 1466 p83, 1469 p110. His pr in these cases was Jean Pillais.

⁷ Sold a small local fief he had acquired to Caen bourgeois Richard des Hayes: *Caen* 12 Nov 1453, p178v^o.

⁸ Witnessed a *bail à fief* by Jean de la Roche on behalf of Guichart de Montberon in 1457: *Caen* 21 Jul 1457, p147.

⁹ Witnessed 1456: *Caen* 5 Apr 1456, p53.

¹⁰ Sr Franqueville (V Caen). Brother of Jean Desquay sr Tessel south east of Caen, witnessed the *partage* of the Percy inheritance among three daughters of Jean de Percy, married to Guillaume le Beauvoisien baron of Courtômer and Pierre Baudrain: *Rouen* 2 Jun 1454; *Caen* 13 Oct 1450, p149v^o. He acted as pr for the absent Jean Chabot in the two asterisked musters.

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1451.3	1454.1	1454.2	1454.3	1456.2	1456.3	1457.2	1460.1	1460.4	1461.1	1461.3
Guillaume du Fay	61	81	81	96	44	42	43	44	38	47	45
Simon Filleul	33	44	44	59	60						
Jean de Fismes	57	24	24	33	34	10	13	14			
S le Fort dit Joye de Guisson	78										
Girard de Fourneuve	41	29	29	55	56	47					
Jean Frétel	37										
Thibaut Gamelin	72	95	95	27	28						
Guillaume Gastéble	31	65	65	28	29	8	11	12	42	13	14
Etienne Gauthier	85	47	47	66	67	26	27	30	22	32	
Henri bâtard Gras	96	33	33	47	49	17	19				
Mathieu de Grouchy									11	20	23
Hutin de Guebienfay	86										
Jean Guérin									44	15	17
Regnault Guillaume	50										
Jean de Hangest	68										
Perrenet le Hardi	93										
Charles de Hermanville		4	4	4	5	2	3	4	5	5	5
<i>chevalier</i>											
Jacques Hobbes		64	64	94		40	40				
Jean de Haucourt (1)	7	8	8	6	7	4	5	6			
Jean de Haucourt (2)		73	73								
Lancelot de Haucourt,	4	2	2	2	4						
Honcourt											
Perrotin de Haucourt	8	72	72	36	37	13	15				
Antoine des Jardins	46	87	87	71	72	29	30				
Jean de Jencourt											49
Guillaume Langlois								31	23	31	30
Geoffroi de Lestre, Lattre ¹¹	98	42	42	81	82	34	35	39	31	40	38
Jean de Lisle, l'Isle	22	69	69	11	12				25	34	32
Jean du Louet dit	62										
Grosseteste											
Pierre de Mailloc								32	24	33	31
Colinet de Malleville	36	31	31	45	46	16	18	21	13	22	24

¹¹ Geoffroi de Lître defected to the Bretons in 1465: Morice III 120. Was he related to Antoine de Lattre dit Cannart?

<i>Homme d'arnes</i>	1451.3	1454.1	1454.2	1454.3	1456.2	1456.3	1457.2	1460.1	1460.4	1461.1	1461.3
Raoul Marcelet									6	6	7
Guillaume Martel											10
Jean de Mery	11	5	5	9	10						
Jacquet de Messieres	32	21	21	25	26						
Jean de Mirendel	87	41	41	80	81						
Etienne Mohier	69			65	66	43	26	29	21	30	
Jean de Monningal, Mourigal	89	88 ¹²	88	83	84	35	36	46	32	41	42
Colin du Mont	80	93	93	67	68			19			
Despare du Mont	29	35	35	49	50	18	20				
Bertrand du Montreau									39	9	47
Guillaume du Montreau								45			
Jean de la Morisse					48						
Colin Mouller									36	45	43
Jean de la Mousche	100	34	34	48							
Antoine le Moyne	21	62	62	12	13	5	6	7			
Guillaume de Normanville											36
Jean de Novion, Nouion		11	11	16	17						
Jean de Noyers ¹³	99	28	28	41		15					
Colinet de Nuysant	42	50	50	72	73	30	31	34	26	35	33
Henri d'O											37
Jean d'Offencourt, Aussencourt		26	26	88							
Guinot d'Oriac	52 ¹⁴	27	27	40	41	14	17	18	10	19	21
Guiot d'Oriac	79	30	30	44	45			20	12	21	22
Guerin Paiton	95										
Pierre la Personne		90	90	57	58						
Jean de Pierrecourt	76	77	77	74	75	31	32	35	27	36	34
Geoffroi de Pinchot ¹⁵	90	38	38	56	57						

¹² Jean le Monnier for him in this and the following muster.

¹³ Bertrand de Noyers was resident in the parish of Noyers-Bocage west of Caen in 1464: *Monfaut* p367.

¹⁴ Pledging Lancelot d'Haucourt.

¹⁵ Jean Hamelin dit Pinchot was a Caen native 'nouvellement venu d'Orléans' in 1450, when he sold a hôtel recently resumed to its *detenteurs*. Roger Pinchon was LGV Caen in 1451: *Caen* 24 Aug 1450, p136; 15 May 1451, p206v^o.

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1451.3	1454.1	1454.2	1454.3	1456.2	1456.3	1457.2	1460.1	1460.4	1461.1	1461.3
Jean de Poitou	74	32	32	46	47						
Pierre de Pons	56	63	63	32	33	9	12				
Guillaume de la Porte	70	39	39	78	79	33		36	28	37	35
Simon Prevostal	73	36	36	51	52	19	21	24			
Berthelemy du Puis	58										
Jean du Puis		94	94	42	43			16	25		
Pierre Rasille	17	12	12	8	9						
Regnauldin de Ravenel	39	52	52	82	83						
Jean de la Roche l'ainé ¹⁶	53	16	16	22	23	6	9				
Jean de la Roche le jeune	75	19	19	23	24	7	10	11	41	12	12
Pierre de la Roche								10	40	11	13
Thevenin Roland	101	59	59	53	54						
Oudet de la Roque	92	20	20	24	25						
Robinet Roussel				84	85						
Tandon de Salignac	81	58	58	91							
Robinet le Senechal ¹⁷										48	
Jean de Separie dit Grandjean	77	13	13	18	19		8	9	9	10	11
Alabie de Seulze, Souze											
Jean de St Maard dit Blosseville	47	67	67	34	35	11	14	15	45	16	18
							16	17	47	18	20
Jean de St Martin	14	10	10	14	15	44	7	8	8	8	9
Cardin de St Ouen	97	57	57	93							
Guillaume St Poullac	88	15	15	21	22						
Jean de Tillay	60	84	84	31	32						
Bâtard de Torcy										28	
Pierre de Tournay	91	92	92	89							
Guillaume de Trousseauville ¹⁸								7	7	7	8

¹⁶ Made enfeoffments of property at Caen in 1456, in the presence of Jean de Bures and Jean le Courtois: all were qualified *écuier*. *Caen 5* and 19 Apr 1456, p53, 57. Acted as *pr* of Poitevin lord Guichart de Montberon baron of Champeaux in a *bail à fief* in the presence of other Torcy men in 1457: *Caen* 21 Jul 1457, p147.

¹⁷ Born c. 1432; raised in Torcy's household to the death of Charles VII; sr du Plessis and knighted by 1472: *DLN*/11 p27.

¹⁸ On whom see notice under Jencourt.

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1451.3	1454.1	1454.2	1454.3	1456.2	1456.3	1457.2	1460.1	1460.4	1461.1	1461.3
Philippe de Vassy								34	43	41	
Jean bâtard de Versailles	19	83	83	26	27						
Jean de Versailles	6	17	17	5	6	3	4	5	3	3	4
Thibaut de Versailles	20	18	18	35	36	12					
Tristan de la Vieuville								33			
Gouvyn, Guillaume Villeneuve	51	79	79	20	21						
Mathieu, Mathelin de Villiaglin	63	91	91	85	86						

Company of Torcy

Antoine de Roumecy *chevalier*, Jacques de Longroy, Perrenet de Maigneu, Jacques de Bellestre and Jean de Castel were hda's of Torcy's PO garrison at Arques in 1452.4: BN PO 2843 *de Tillay* 63145 n°6.

In 1461 Louis XI ordered Thomas de Louraille to reimburse Antoine Raguier for having made payments for 1461.2 independent of the musters to three of Torcy's hda's, Guion de Maumont, Guillaume de Sully and Pierre de Champgirault: BN Ms fr 20436 p3.

Men serving under Lau and Lancelot d'Haucourt in the spring of 1465, mentioned in ADC 386 Edp/33, *Compte de la recette ... de la ville de Faloise*:

Pierre de Haucourt sr Huppy	Guynot d'Oriale
J d'Aussencourt, Houssencourt sr Bonnetot	Cardin de St Ouen
Bertrand sr de Mirabel	Tandon de Salminac
Sr St Girault	Girard de Fourneuve, Sommiere
Pierre de Tournay <i>écuier, fourrier et logeur</i> of the company	Jehannot la Personne
Jean du Puis	Roger sr de la Crique

Estouteville's *Petite Ordonnance* garrison at Mont-Saint-Michel and Tombelaine

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.2	1453.4	1458.2	1458.4	1459.2	1460.2	1461.2	1461.3
Jacquet l'Angevin	25	23						
Estevennot, Thevenot Aze ¹	5	15	14	14	14	14	12	24
Guillaume Barbes dit Courteault	23	19 ²	18	18	18	18	16	22
Guion baron des Biars	16	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Pierre Bourdon ³	11	20	19	19	19	19	17	18
Jean de Brecey, Brege, Brere	14		9	9	9	9	25	10
Jean de Camprond			16	16	16	16	14	16
Jean de Chantelou, Canteleu, Champloup	20	13	12	12	12	12	10	14

¹ Presumed kin of or less likely identical with Thomas Aze, who at the 1453 and 1466 *Echiquiers* was associated with Pierre des Loges *tuteur* of the children of Guillaume Aze in suits against various parties: *Echiquier* 1454 p92, 1466 p101. He also became involved in a suit at Avranches assises with Jean Allart over the fief of Mesnil-Adellée. Aze claimed title by exchange with Renault Rouault against the fief of Sermentot, which he had earlier acquired from dame Marguerite Servain dame de Saint-Paer-le-Servain. Robert Biote and Guillaume le Coq brokered an accord at the 1463 *Echiquier*. Thomas Aze was noble resident in the parish of Mesnil-Adelée in 1464: *Harcourt* I p101, *Monfaut* p411. In 1418 Henry V had granted a confiscated fief at Vaux-sur-Aure belonging to the absentee Guillaume Aze. Imbert and Hugues Aze were still in the garrison of the Mont in the 1510s: Poli 1895 n°912, 1431, 1440. In 1464 another Guillaume Aze resided at Mesnil Thome in the election of Avranches: *Monfaut* p413.

² Illegible name: conjectured to be Barbes, but another possibility would be Brecey.

³ Mention was made in a remission of Jan 1451 (relating to 1448) of Gervaise Bourdon of the garrison. One Jean Bourdon was in garrison at Pontorson in 1489: Poli 1895 n°1279, 1402.

Company of Estouteville

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.2	1453.4	1458.2	1458.4	1459.2	1460.2	1461.2	1461.3
Petit Jean du Carrey	7	16	15	15	15	15	13	15
Thomas Chisenal <i>chevalier</i>	21	14	13	13	13	13	11	25
Pierre Crespin Marquis de Mauny	19	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Pierre Drouet dit Pincot	9	17						
Maître Jean l'Espagnol ⁴	18	12	11	11	11	11	9	13
Jean des Essars			24	24	24	24		
Simonnet Ferrant	24	^s						
Thomas Gohier			22	22	22	22	20	23
Jean Guiton	22	4						
Giles Guiton, Guythou			4	4	4			
Jacquelin Hay	4	7	7	7	7	7	7	8
Gauvain de la Haye	17	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
Jean de/du Hestray	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	6
Robinet de Hural	6	10	8	8	8	8	8	11
Guillaume des Loges			23	23	23	23	21	21
Jean des Loges		24						
Alain de Longues	2	8						
Jean de Longues	3	9						
Louis Louvel						4	4	5
Louis de Mauny							24	4
Jean Pevrel	12	6	6	6	6	6	6	7
Robinet Pevrel	15	11	10	10	10	10		
Jean le Picard	13	21	20	20	20	20	18	9
Jean Roques	8	18	17	17	17	17	15	17
Philippot le Roux			25	25	25	25	23	19
Guillaume le Tellier	10	22	21	21	21	21	19	20
Vigor Vivien							22	12

Source: 1451.2, BN Clairambault 234 p23; 1453.4, Ms fr 21496 p76; 1458.2, Ms fr 21496 p107; 1458.4, Clairambault 234 p95; 1459.2, Ms fr 21496 p113; 1460.2, Ms fr 21496 p118; 1461.2, Ms fr 21497 p154.

⁴ A near homonym, Grantjean l'Espagnol was *archier extraordinaire* of Charles de France in Guyenne: BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93.
⁵ Hereafter an archer; may have been a member of the Cotentin noble family of this name. Jean Ferrant *écuyer* appears as a witness in an inquest taken by Nicolas le Sage LGB Cotentin at the assises of Coutances 28 Feb 1458/59. His homonym was Lancastrian rec aides in V Falaise in the 1430s: BL Additional Charters 3861, 3888, 1246.

Appendix 1(g): Jean de Lorraine’s *Petite Ordonnance* garrison at Granville

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.2	1451.31	1452.1	1452.4	1454.4	1455.2	1455.4	1456.1	1456.3	1457.3	1460.1	1460.3	1461.3
Bruin d'Ache											37	39	37
Jean Aupoix, Au Paix etc.	4	4	4	4	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	10	49
Bryent d'Aussais ¹					51	50	50	50	50	48	47	50	47
Robin Auvray	19	19	19	19	26	26	26	26	26	26	24	26	24
Guillaume de Baranton ²	47	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	44	43	46	43
Berthelemy Barrecte ³	8	8	8	8	15	15	15	15	15		⁴		
Charles Barrecte	17	17	17	17	24	24	24	24	24	24	22	23	22
Le Connestable de Barrecte	9												
Jean de Baudry, Baudre	25	25	25	25	32	32	32	32	32	32	30	32	29
Pierre bâtard de Beauvoisien										15	14	15	14
Jean Bertram ⁵				31	38	38		37	37	50		44	41
Thomas Bertram	27	27	27	27	34	34	34	34	34	34	32	34	31
Cardin Beuse	33	32	32	32	39	39	38	39	39	37	35	37	35
Gracien Blavecté ⁶	38	37	37										
Colas du Boisyyvon	21	21	21	21	28	28	28	28	28	28	26	28	26
Vincent du Boisyyvon					35	35	35	35	35	35	33	35	33
Jean de Bonsincourt			3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Jamet le Bouteiller	23	23	23	23	30	30	30	30	30	30	28	30	27
Henri le Breton	20	20	20	20	27	27	27	27	27	27	25	27	25
Guillaume Cadebourg	13	13	13	13	20	20	20	20	20	20	18	19	18

¹ Replacing feu Pietre (de Thory).

² A certain Guillaume de Barteran was resident of the parish of Cleville east of Caen in 1464: *Monfaut* p368. No Guillaum appears in the genealogy of the srs Baranton, la Touche-Bureau, la Mottes in Anselme VIII p583.

³ Jean Baratte was resident at Touquettes east of l'Aigle in 1464: *Monfaut* p149.

⁴ Thomas de Louraille *trs des guerres* refused to pay his wages for Jul-Dec 1459 on the orders of Jean le Boursier. He took his case to the king, who ordered Louraille to restore these sums 'pource que nous avons assez congnoissance dudit Berrecte et que son fait est favourable': BN Ms fr 20436 pl.

⁵ A homonym was resident in the parish of Beaubigny on the coast west of Valognes in 1464: *Monfaut* p429.

⁶ Presumed kinsman of Henri Blavette *écuyer* who after the Reduction mounted *marchié de bourse* in the right of his wife, co-heiress of Jean de Tournebu *chevalier* on the fief of Montoire in V Argentan against the heirs of Saguet de Jencourt and his son-in-law Louis de Fontaines sr Dendemare and Saint-Aubin-sur-Cailly. The case was before the *Echiquier* in the mid-1460s and Blavette appears to have lost: *Echiquier* 1464 p117; 1466 p35.

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.2	1451.31	1452.1	1452.4	1454.4	1455.2	1455.4	1456.1	1456.3	1457.3	1460.1	1460.3	1461.3
Mathieu Caignolle	10	10	10	10	17	17	17	17	17	17	16	17	16
Guillaume Casault dit le Grant ⁷	15	15	15	15	22	22	22	22	22	22	20	21	20
Enguerrand de Caumont ⁸		45	45	45	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Jacquet, Jacques de Champeaux	22	22	22	22	29	29	29	29	29	29	27	29	32
Jean le Chevalier	43	42	42	42	9	9	9	9	9	9	8	9	8
Pierre le Chevalier	42	41	41	41	8	8	8	8	8	8		8	
Robin Chevalier	41	40	40	40	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Roger Chevalier					42	42	41	42	42	40	39	40	38
Richard Coulomp	14	14	14	14	21	21	21	21	21	21	19	20	19
Florimont Danes	35	34	34	34	41	41	40	41	41	39			
Philippot Desmarestz	3	3											
Jean Enguerrand	46												
Cardot l'Escuier	34	33	33	33	40	40	39	40	40	38	36	38	36
Guillemin d'Escuivres	45	44	44	44	45	45	44	45	45	43	42		
Jennequin de Escuivres												45	42
Brunet/Louvet de l'Estandart	48	47	47	47	47	47	46	47	47	45	44	47	44
Blanchet d'Estouteville ⁹	32	31	31										
Antoine de Fontenay	30	29	29								38		25
Jean de Fontenay													

⁷ Menault de Casault was *maître* des requêtes of Charles de France in Guyenne: BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93. Jeannot de Casaulx was Bueil hda 1470.2.
⁸ Richard de Caumont *écuier* is mentioned as owning a hôtel at St-Lô in 1467: *DLN/I* p408. Fouquet de Caumont was resident in St Nicolas des Villages near Coutances in 1464: *Monfaul* p423.

⁹ Descended from the Torcy branch of the Estouteville, third son of Jeannet *le jeune* d'Estouteville sr Mesnil-Simon and his wife Michelle dame de Montdoucet and Villebon. Both his elder brothers were dead by 1433, but he could not take possession of his lands before the Reduction. His inheritance was a substantial one on the Perche-Chartrain marches. He was sr la Gasines, Montdoucet and Villebon. He died soon after 1472, leaving a large troop of children from his two marriages. His first wife Marguerite was the daughter of Robert de Vendôme vidame de Chartres. In March 1455 he married their younger daughter Louise to a man who would figure in the Public Weal, Lancelot seigneur de Haucourt and Villedieu. His second wife Isabeau was daughter of Charles de Savoisy seigneur de Seignelay. He married their daughter Marguerite to the Cauchois lord Jacques sr de Bethencourt, son of Jean de Bethencourt. *CD sub* Estouteville, branche des seigneurs de Villebon; La Morandière.

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.2	1451.31	1452.1	1452.4	1454.4	1455.2	1455.4	1456.1	1456.3	1457.3	1460.1	1460.3	1461.3
Petit Jean Fouquet ¹⁰	12	12	12	12	19	19	19	19	19	19	17	18	17
Jean de Garençieres	39	38	38	39	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
St-Gris	29												
Robert de la Haye	31	30	30	30	37	37	37	38	38	36	34	36	34
Robin Heaumat				29	36	36	36	36	36	49		43	
Thevenin de Houdreville	40	39	39	38	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Godart de Ligorne		9	9	9	16	16	16	16	16	16	15	16	15
Andre Lombart	16	16	16	16	23	23	23	23	23	23			
Pierre Lombart	11	11	11	11	18								
Cardot Louvel	7	7	7	7	14	14	14	14	14	14	13	14	13
Jean de la Maison Neuve dit le Grant	5	5	5	5	11	11	11	11	11	11	10	11	10
Jean de la Mare		43	43	43	12	12	12	12	12	12	11	12	11
Mongin Maubert	44											48	
Guillaume du Melle (1)												48	48
Guillaume du Melle (2)													9
Robinet de Mesnil ¹¹	18	18	18	18	25	25	25	25	25	25	23	24	23
Perrin de la Motte	6	6	6	6	13	13	13	13	13	13	12	13	12
Jean de Moussy	36	35	35	35									
Robin Papillon ¹²	24	24	24	24	31	31	31	31	31	31	29	31	28
Pierre Pappain ¹³						18	18	18	18	18			
Jean Paynel											21	22	21
Nicole Paynel <i>chevalier</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Guillaume Quinzejours	49	49	49	49	49	49	48	49	49	47	46	49	46
Guillaume Roussel ¹⁴	26	26	26	26	33	33	33	33	33	33	31	33	30
Jean de St Vasse				37									

¹⁰ Homonym gave *aveu* Dec 1456 for the fiefs of la Vespière and le Besnerey near Orbec: Frondeville 1936 p91. Another homonym was resident in the parish of Saint-Ouen-le-Brisoult east of Domfront in 1464: *Monfaut* p218.

¹¹ Homonym resident in the parish of Manneville near Pont-l'Eveque in 1464: *Monfaut* p149.

¹² Who engaged in rent deals of small value with Louis de Pillais seigneur d'Ableiges in 1459: *Rouen* 8 Mar 1458/59.

¹³ Guillaume Pappain was Richemont's *châtelain* of Parthenay, 18 Jul 1449; *pr* to accept the wardship of the young François de Bretagne comte d'Etampes: *Gruel* p275.

¹⁴ No less than three homonyms were resident in 1464, in the parishes of Saint Laurens de Terregatte near Saint-James-de-Beuvron, Chalandrey and Mesnil-Rainfroï both east of Avranches: *Monfaut* p412.

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.2	1451.31	1452.1	1452.4	1454.4	1455.2	1455.4	1456.1	1456.3	1457.3	1460.1	1460.3	1461.3
Byret, Duret Tapis	37	36	36	36	43	43	42	43	43	41	40	41	39
Jean Targeul		28	28	28									
Pietre de Thory, Jore	50	50	50	50	50								
Guillaume Verron	28	48	48	48	48	48	47	48	48	46	45	48	45
Nesmes de Villiers ¹⁵					44	44	43	44	44	42	41	42	40

¹⁵ Resident in the parish of Longueville near Granville in 1464: *Monfaut* p423.

Sources: 1451.2, BN Ms fr 22439 p121; 1451.31, Ms fr 22439 p119; 1452.1, Clair234 p43; 1452.4, Ms fr 22439 p126; 1454.4, Ms fr 22439 p129; 1455.2, Ms fr 22439 p131; 1455.4, Ms fr 22439 p132; 1456.1, Ms fr 22439 p134; 1456.3, Ms fr 22439 p133; 1457.3, Ms fr 22439 p135; 1460.1, Ms fr 22439 p139; 1460.3, Clair234 p103; 1461.3, Ms fr 22439 p140.

Appendix 1(f): *Grande Ordonnance* company of admiral Jean du Bueil

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1456.1	1456.1/2	1456.3	1459.4	1460.1	1460.4	1461.2
Rostain, Roffin d'Aché			36		36		50
Le Bourc d'Aydie						63	40
Pierre d'Alefons, des Fons		15	62		65	62	65
Jean d'Aragon			27		27	25	26
Postan Archier						49	
Thomas Atquinson, Atlimpton			6		6	6	6
Jean des Aubitz			33				
Louis Auve	3						
Adenot Baude ¹	1			1			1
Pierre Basque, Basse		21	76		52	48	45
Louis, Lorin bâtard Foret			10		10	9	10
Amaury Beaudenis ²			72		73	73	73
Jean de Beaumont		18	65				
Richard Benoist		7	56		59	57	48
Pierre de Boissay, Boessay		26	47		49	45	42
Antoine Bonin, Bonne dit Jeu ³			34		34	31	54
Guillaume de Boucart dit Blancaford ⁴		19	70		72	72	70
Jean Bouchart dit Hervin ⁵			15		15	14	15
Pierre Bournin ⁶		2	4		5	5	5
Jean Boyer			41				
Roger Boyer					53	51	10
Jean Briec ⁷					48	44	64
Thomas le Bruyt, Bouyt	7			8			8
Guion de Bures			5		4	4	4
Guillaume Carbonnel ⁸			24		24	22	24
Hector de Cardillac ⁹		24	69		71	71	69
Jacob de Chalons	11			12			12

¹ Served at double pay, so clearly *lt*.

² Was du Bueil's *lt* and *garde* at Carentan from at least 1452, and through to 1466: *DLN*/16 p159, 155.

³ Ranked 56 in du Bueil's company in 1470.

⁴ *Chevalier* by 1461.

⁵ Near homonym Jean Boucher still serving du Bueil 1470.2: BN Ms fr 21497 p176.

⁶ Ranked 11 in du Bueil's company in 1470.

⁷ Homonym resident in the parish of Les Moutiers near Condé-sur-Noireau in 1464: *Monfaut* p409.

⁸ Led the admiral's men on the Sandwich raid: *Héraut Berry* p407. A homonym sr Naqueville was resident in that eponymous parish (mod. Acqueville) near Cherbourg in 1464, but it is not quite certain whether the Bueil hda was him or another homonym, sr Auxais resident near Pontorson, Sourdeval's son-in-law: *Monfaut* p429, 411.

⁹ In Sep 1447 Mathurin de Cardaillac obtained remission for violences against *gens d'armes* of Rodrigue de Villandrando: *BEC* VI (1886) p231. Raymond de Cardaillac sr St-Cirq-la-Popie was hda *de la garde* of Charles de France in 1472. . Raymond continued to serve as hda of Curton (1474): Stein 1919 p789; BN PO 596 *de Cardillac* 13906, n°17.

Company of Admiral Du Bueil

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1456.1	1456.1/2	1456.3	1459.4	1460.1	1460.4	1461.2
Rostain, Roffin d'Aché			36		36		50
Pierrot de la Chapelle ¹⁰					40	36	34
Pierre de la Chapellerie			75			65	52
Herve de Chaunay ¹¹						67	51
Colas Ciquant			53		56	54	59
Henri Coquebourne			38		60	59	61
Mery de Coue ¹²			2		2	2	2
Guillaume Couette			37		37	33	56
Jean Couette			26		26	24	25
Jean Coup dit Peppie, Peppat ¹³		3	52		55	53	71
Robert Courtin			3		3	3	3
Jean de la Cousture			43		45	42	39
Jacques de la Cousture ¹⁴		14	61		38	34	32
Hector de Dampierre			40		42	39	36
Pierre de Dampont			7		7	38	7
Jean le Denin ¹⁵	5			6			6
Jean Denis dit le Prieur			11		11	10	11
Jean Desquay ¹⁶			23		23	21	23
Jean Estevenart			18		18	17	18
Jean de Favieres ¹⁷					31	28	30
Jean Fleury			39		41	37	35
Robert de Gaigny			8		8	7	8
Jean Gervaise		27	49		51		
Jean Godebert	10			11			11
Thibault Gouvin	9			10			
Pierre des Hayes		5	54		57	55	60
Philippin Herpin ¹⁸	4			5			5
Jean Heuze	12			2			2
Jean d'Illiers			64		67	77	67
Jean de Laage			28		28	26	27
Mathelin Langlois			13		13	12	13
Jean de Lasnier		28	48				
Pierre de Lay			16		16	15	16
Raoulin Lenfant ¹⁹			73			74	76
Jean de Lespays ²⁰			22		22	20	22
Thomas de Levemont		16	63		66	76	66
Pierre Limosin			31				

¹⁰ François and Olivier de la Chappelle were both present in du Bueil's company in 1470, ranked 7 and 85.

¹¹ Ranked 4 in du Bueil's company in 1470.

¹² Still ranked 2 in du Bueil's company 1470, and Hardouin de Coué ranked 95.

¹³ Defected to the Bretons in 1465 and mustered under Lescun: Morice III p124.

¹⁴ Was serving in Charles de France's household in 1468: BN Ms fr 21477 p44-49. Ranked 40 in du Bueil's company in 1470.

¹⁵ Resident in the parish of Tinchebray in the Avranchin, 1464: *Monfaut* p413.

¹⁶ Homonym was resident in 1464 in the parish of Tessel, west of Caen: *Monfaut* p367.

¹⁷ François de Favieres ranked 29 in du Bueil's company in 1470.

¹⁸ Jean Harpin, Herpin was Charles de France's *maître d'hôtel*, *commissaire* for works at Caen in 1468; still in the household in Guyenne and *cp* of the château of Ilâ at Bordeaux: BN Ms fr 21477 p8-20, 21-23; Ms fr 26092 p2; Ms fr 32263 p485-93.

¹⁹ Resident in the parish of Montmartin near Carentan in 1464: *Monfaut* p426.

²⁰ Ranked 46 in du Bueil's company in 1470.

Company of Admiral Du Bueil

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1456.1	1456.1/2	1456.3	1459.4	1460.1	1460.4	1461.2
Rostain, Roffin d'Aché			36		36		50
Guillaume de Loncelles			74		75	75	74
Jacques la Longue						47	44
Alexandre de Lussault ²¹			51		76		
Pierre de Maillac			19		19	18	19
Charles le Maire			45		47	43	41
Jean le Maire dit l'Archidieu ²²	6			7			7
Berenger de Mandragoux		1	50		54	52	72
Yvonnet le Mareschal						64	21
Guillemin de Meaulne ²³			35		35	32	55
Henri de Meaulne			29		29	27	28
Jean de la Mer					50	46	43
Guerin de Montclar			12		12	11	12
Jean des Mottes dit Affe ²⁴			14		14	13	14
Jacques Oudart						66	53
Jean du Parc ²⁵	4						
Jean Pele			9		9	8	9
Guillaume du Pérrier ²⁶	2						
Guillaume le Picard		6	55		58	56	47
Jean de Plumers, Plumieres		20	66		64	61	58
Jean Potafeu	8			9			9
Jean du Pouez			44		46		
Jean Raoul		25	71		39	35	33
Poncet de Riou			46				
Louis de la Roche							
Ambroise Rochelle		22	67		69	69	75
Antoine Roux ²⁷	32		32		29	50	29
Antoine Ryvault, Regnaut ²⁸		8	57		43	40	37
Jean Ryvault					68	68	49
Robin Scot			17		17	16	17
Jean Simon			42		44	41	38
Pierre Simon					33	30	31
Jean des Sottes			20		20	19	20
Colinet de St Osmer, St Ouen			30		30		
Gaultier de Silly, Sully ²⁹	2			3			3
Guillaume de Thusse							
Robert de Tiercelin ³⁰		11	60				

²¹ Louis de Lussault served Charles de France in 1465: BN Ms fr 21477 p2-6.

²² The Angevin nobleman Jean le Maire sr la Roche-Jacquelin and his wife Isabeau Quatrebarbes were the parents in law of René de Scépaux: Anselme VII p228.

²³ Regnault de Maune was Charles de France's *valet de chambre* in Guyenne: BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93.

²⁴ Defected to the Bretons in 1465: Morice III p124.

²⁵ Ranked 10 in du Bueil's company in 1470.

²⁶ Led the admiral's men on the Sandwich raid: *Héraut Berry* p407.

²⁷ Jean Roux ranked 60 in 1470.

²⁸ Ranked 62 in du Bueil's company in 1470.

²⁹ Sr la Houlette, resident in the parish of Quettetot west of Valognes in 1464: *Monfaut* p429. There is a genealogy in Anselme VIII p171-72. His son Berthin de Silly went on to be **B** Cotentin and **cp** Pont-Douve after 1468: GR7076, 7687.

³⁰ Jean Tiercelin served under Lescun in 1465 and was in the service of Brittany at a pension of L240 in 1466: Morice III p124. François, Huet and Jacques Tiercelin served in du Bueil's company in 1470.

Company of Admiral Du Bueil

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1456.1	1456.1/2	1456.3	1459.4	1460.1	1460.4	1461.2
Rostain, Roffin d'Aché			36		36		50
Colin Tintemare	3			4			4
Baudouin Touerneaux ³¹					63	60	63
Jean de la Tour			21		21		
Alain le Vasseur		10			61	58	62
Jean le Vasseur ³²			58				
Jean de Veussay ³³		23	68		70	70	68
Perrot de Vignolles ³⁴		13	25		25	23	57
François Villenouveau							46
Jean de Villiers		9	59		62		

Source: 1456.1, Clairambault 234 p75; 1456.1/2, BM Caen *Monstres* n°356 (*ustencilles* muster for Jan-Jun 1456); 1456.3, NAF 8607 n°19; 1459.4, Ms Fr 21496 p115; 1460.1, Clairambault 234 p97; 1460.4, Ms Fr 21496 p131; 1461.2, Ms Fr 21497 p150; 1470.2, Ms Fr 21497 p176. I have not consulted the *ustencilles* rolls for 1455.3, 1455.4 minuted in *Bastard d'Estang* p166 (Registre d'Aubon II). These show the company lodged around Valognes and Montebourg.

In 1456 Charles VII granted letters patent to the *généraux des finances* in favour of admiral du Bueil, who has requested that René de Scepeaux *chevalier*, Guillaume du Périer, Louis Auve and Jean du Parc *écuiers*, hda's of his GO company be paid their wages for 1456.1. These men 'se tiennent continuellement avec luy pour le accompagner'. The *généraux* had refused ' obstant que pour la continuelle residence quilz font avec icellui nostre cousin ilz ne soient aux monstres': BN Ms fr 20587 n°67. Du Périer gave quittance for his wages as hda of the company in Jul 1461, though he does not appear in the musters: *Bastard d'Estang* p97 n°879. Were these du Bueil's household men?

³¹ Ranked 59 in du Bueil's company in 1470.
³² Sr Ancreteville: he raised money in Rouen in Oct 1465 by allowing his cousin to redeem a rent drawn on the manor of la Houssaye: *Rouen* 24 Oct 1465.
³³ Ranked 66 in du Bueil's company in 1470.
³⁴ Ranked 12 in du Bueil's company in 1470.

Appendix 1(i): The companies of Breton captains Geoffroi de Couvran, Olivier de Broons and Guillaume de Rosnivinen in Lower Normandy, 1450-61, and the defectors of 1465

Geoffroi de Couvran's company

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.3	1453.1	1453.4	1455.1	1456.1	1461.3
Guillemot d'Angoulevvert, Angoumeaux	23	22		29	26	
Mery Beaumont	12					
Jean Bigot ¹	37	37		39	37	39
Jean Blanchelaine ²	20	19		33	29	32
Jacquemin de Bournonville ³ , Berneville	18	17		37	35	36
Guillaume le Breton	21	20		34	31	34
Jean du Brueil ⁴	28	27		25	22	27
Guillaume Bruieres	38					
Raoul de Brully <i>chevalier</i>						2
Guillaume Caladieux		35		32	30	33
Jean Calhavon				40	38	40
Jean Caliorne ⁵		7		12	9	12
Jean de Caraudrain, Keradieux ⁶	5	5		5	3	6
Alain de Carbusy	40	40		15	12	
Guion de Cointihan ⁷	13	12		9	6	
Jean de Conteville						20
Henri de Couvran						3
Roland de Couvran	2	2		2		
Philibert de Digorne, Digoine	8		9	10	13	
Pierre Druault, Deaut	8	8		10	7	10
Pierre le Forestier	39	39		35	32	35
Helyot Fouquet	32	31		21	18	21
Pierre Gilbert					39	37
Guillaume Gillebert	10	10				
Jean Gorgecte ¹⁰	26	25		17	14	17

¹ Defector in 1465.

² One Blanchelaine had led a company of the Constable's Bretons following Louis Dauphin in Alsace, 1445: Cosneau 1886 p349.

³ A prominent Burgundian family. Jacquemin might be identical with Jacques de Bournonville sr la Vallee, Vinterhu, la Coquardiere who died before 1474: Anselme V p845.

⁴ *Maître* Roland du Brueil had served of Artur III as *alloué* of Dinan: Morice II 1709. Olivier du Brueil was *conseiller* of Pierre II 1454-55 and of François II 1460; was targeted for arrest for *lezé-majesté* by Louis XI 28 Oct 1461: Morice II 1643, 1745, 1758.

⁵ Had served under Rosnivinen.

⁶ Jean de Karadieux sr Neufvillette was *pensionnaire* of Pierre II (1454-55); *conseiller et chambellan* of Louis XI, *bailli* Evreux 1472-73: Morice II p1643; GR12440. Pierre de Keradieux was in receipt of gifts from Pierre II and Thomas de Keradieux was hda under Malestroit for Pierre II in Sep 1456: Morice II p1727.

⁷ Guion de Cottingham was conjectured by Allmand to be an English renegade descended of Laurence Cottingham, *contrôleur* of Saint-Lô in the 1430s. Guion did homage for a fief in Y Gournay held in the right of his wife Robine Herpe in 1461 and served on behalf of Guillaume Herpe at the musters of nobles of the Y in 1470: Allmand 1983 p80; *Caux 1470* p321.

⁸ Served as an archer.

⁹ Served as an archer.

¹⁰ Defected in 1465.

Companies of the Breton captains

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.3	1453.1	1453.4	1455.1	1456.1	1461.3
Jean de Haultbois ¹¹		9	4	28	31	31
Jean de la Haye dit de Bretagne ¹²	22	21		22	19	23
Guion le Heuc ¹³	25					
Mathieu bâtard de Hommet						15
Jean Huz, Hux, Hues ¹⁴	19	18		14	11	14
Jacquet Jouin, Jouvin, Tournin ¹⁵	29	28		11	8	29
Yvon Jouin	11					
Guillemin Lame, Lamery	30	29		16	13	16
Pierre Larchier	14	13		13		
Richard de Lescouet ¹⁶	24	23		23	20	24
Jean Viars dit le Picard Lespine	31	30		20	17	17
Jean de Loncelles						22
Andre Lorrain	15	14		24	21	26
Pierre Malet, Mulet		24		18	15	18
Michel Meschinot ¹⁸	35	34		28	25	
Olivier le Moine	17	16		30	27	30
Jean d'Origny ¹⁹						9
Bertrand du Parc	6	6	3	7		
Charles du Parc	20	4	2	6	4	7
Guillaume du Parc	3	3		3	2	5
Jean du Parc	21			23	25	
Andre Parent	27	26		36	34	
Jean de Pontbryent ²²		38		4	33	4
Pierre Prieur, Prioul ²³	36	36		38	36	38
Pierre Riou ²⁴	4		25			
Jean Robin	33	32		26		
Roland Robin	34	33		19	16	19

¹¹ Defector in 1465. Pierre de Haultbois was *maître de la chambre aux deniers* of Maine: Morice III p77.

¹² Artur III's captain of nobles in the *bailliage* of Chastaillon. Pierre de la Haye was also a household man of Artur III: Morice II p1709, 1722.

¹³ Went on to serve under Rosnivinen.

¹⁴ Homonym was sr Pargaz in *bailliage* of Jugon; defected to serve under Lescun 1465; hda of the *garde du roi* under Couvran 1473: Morice III p5, 124, 266. Perhaps identical with the Jean Hue who in Dec 1462 gave *aveu* for the fief of Rozel in V Valognes: Poli 1895 n°1368.

¹⁵ Defector in 1465.

¹⁶ Tanguy Lescouet was *écuyer* of Pierre II 1451-52 and hda under Henri de Villeblanche Sep 1456; Pierre Lescouet was *archier de corps* of Pierre II 1451-52; Guillaume Lescouet was *écuyer* of Pierre II 1454-55: Morice II 1604, 1643. Yvon de Lescouet served in Charles de France's household in Guyenne: BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93.

¹⁷ Served as an archer.

¹⁸ Jean Meschinot was *écuyer* of Pierre II (1451-52); hda under Gallois de Rougé (Sep 56); in the household of Artur III; hda of François II (1461-62): Morice II 1722, 1727, 1777.

¹⁹ Went on to serve under Rosnivinen.

²⁰ Served as an archer.

²¹ Served as an archer.

²² A homonym had been of the garrison of Mont-Saint-Michel when he was ransomed by the English Avranches garrison for 200 *salus* in 1435: Poli 1898 n°1216.

²³ Gillet Prioul of the garrison of Mont-Saint-Michel had been granted remission in May 1458 for murder of another garrison member shortly before the Reduction: Poli 1895 n°1355.

²⁴ Jean Riou was *fourrier* of Pierre II and of François II: Morice II p1604, 1643, 1745.

²⁵ Served as an archer. Subsequently went on to serve under du Bucil.

Companies of the Breton captains

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.3	1453.1	1453.4	1455.1	1456.1	1461.3
Jean de Rosnahon, Rosemahou, Rosenarhou ²⁶	16	15		27	24	28
Olivier de Rosnivinen	7					
Jean Tiernant	9					
Jean de Torcy		11		8	5	8
Philibert de Torcy						29

Sources: 1451.3, BN Ms fr 20587 p52; 1453.1, ADSM *Fonds d'Anquin*, carton 16 n°29; 1455.1, Clairambault 234 p69 (taken at Coutances by Marshal de Laval-Lohéac); 1456.1, Ms fr 21496 p86 (taken at Coutances); 1461.3, Ms fr 21497 p159. See also BN Ms fr 20587 n°56 (*ustencilles* roll for 1451).

Olivier de Broons' company

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1452.2	1454.1	1454.3	1456.4	1457.3	1460.1	1460.2	1460.3	1461.2	1461.3
Guerrart d'Aussais, Auffais, du Paix	26	9	9	7	7	7	6	6	7	9
Guillaume le bâtard Barillet	11	12	12	10	10	10	9	8	10	12
Guillaume de Beaulieu ²⁷	7	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Jean de Beaulieu	8	5	5	21	21	21	20	19	21	4
Alain de Beaurepaire ²⁸	21	23	23	15	15	15	14	13	15	22
Jean Boeleaue ²⁹	20	22	22	28	28					
Julien de Brehault ³⁰	6	8	8	6	6	6	5	5	6	8
Perrenet le Breton	19	21	21	27	27	27	26	26	28	19
Julien de Broon	3	3	3	24						
Bertrand Ferrant ³¹	25	27	27	18	18	17	16	15	17	25
Perrenet Gourmil	17	19	19	26	25	25	24	24	26	20
Mace, Michault Grangier ³²	18	20	20	23	26	26	25	25	27	21

²⁶ An archer of this name was killed 28 Jun 1466 on the marches of Biscay when he was in the *ordonnance* company of Yvon du Fou *chevalier, grand veneur*. Olivier de Rosenarho was captain of Breton *francs archiers* in 1465-66, and he and his men were left in garrison at Châteaudun on the march into France; he was GO hda under Tanguy du Châtel by 1475: Morice III p147, 298.

²⁷ In the household of Artur III (1457-58); defected from the royal *ordonnance* (Oct 1464); lt of the company of Broons (1471); hda *garde du duc* (1480-81): Morice II p1722, III 121, 238, 388. Pierre de Beaulieu was a Breton financier, ducal *receveur* of Lamballe in the 1470s. His wife was Jamette de la Villéon. They had a son Olivier. In the 1450s Pierre was involved in shipping enterprises with his partner Jean le Bigot. Kerhervé 1987 p829, 863.

²⁸ Ambroise de Beaurepaire served under Lohéac in 1473: Morice III p285.

²⁹ Jean Boylevé was a Breton financier, and a certain Boyleaue was Richemont's *pr* before the *élus* of Paris in the 1440s: Kerhervé 1987 I p155; Cosneau 1886 II p649).

³⁰ Third son of the Breton knight Geoffroi de Bréhan sr Belle-Issue and Mont-Bréhan (d.1453). One Antoine de Brehant, not identifiably a brother, was a ducal receiver in the 1440s: CD; Kerhervé 1987 *passim*.

³¹ May have been a member of the Cotentin noble family of this name. Jean Ferrant *écuyer* appears as a witness in an inquest taken by Nicolas le Sage LGB Cotentin at the assises of Coutances 28 Feb 1458/59. His homonym was Lancastrian *rec aides* in V Falaise in the 1430s: BL Additional Charters 3861, 3888, 1246.

³² Subsequently became lt of Philippe de Savoie count of Bresse and secured the *cpcy* of Granville after Montauban's death. Ratified the treaty of Ancenis Sep 1468, qualified *écuyer d'ecurie* of Louis XI: Morice III p194; BN Ms fr 20428 p100.

Companies of the Breton captains

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1452.2	1454.1	1454.3	1456.4	1457.3	1460.1	1460.2	1460.3	1461.2	1461.3
Guillaume Jaan, Jehan	9	10	10	8	8	8	7			
Louis de Karmene ³³	12	13	13	11	11	11	10	9	11	14
Thomas de Karmene	13	14	14	22	22	22	21	20	22	13
Aguenet Malet	29	29	29	29	29	28	27	27	29	28
Jean Marcilly ³⁴	27	18	18	14	14	14	13	12	14	18
Pierre Mauregart	10									
Robin de Membriec	15	16	16	25	24	24	23	23	25	16
Guillaume le Moine ³⁵						30		22	24	5
Pierre de la Paluelle									8	10
Jean du Plessis ³⁶	30	30	30	30	30	29	28	28	30	29
François le Prevost	16	17	17	13	13	13	12	11	13	17
Guillaume Prieur	22	24	24	16	16	20	19	18	20	
Pierre Raguene ³⁷	24	26	26	19	19	18	17	16	18	38
Perrinet de la Salle ³⁹	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Guillaume de Sauvaget ⁴⁰	14	15	15	12	12	12	11	10	12	15
Herve de Servelle										24
Jean de Serancourt, Fevancourt ⁴¹		11	11	9	9	9	8	7	9	11
Guillaume de St Pierre	28	28	28	20	20	19	18	17	19	26
Thomas de Tillay					23	23	22	21	23	27
Olivier d'Estriac, de Triac ⁴²	23	25	25	17	17	16	15	14	16	23
Alain de la Villion ⁴³	5	7	7	5	5	5	29	4	5	7
Berthelot de la Villion ⁴⁴	4	6	6	4	4	4	4	29	4	6

Sources: 1452.2, Clairambault 234 p49; 1454.1, Clairambault 234 p65; 1454.3, Ms fr 21496 p77; 1456.4 (taken at Avranches), Clairambault 234 p89; 1457.3, Ms fr 21496 p102 (taken at Avranches and Gavray); 1460.2, Ms fr 21496 p116 (taken at Avranches); 1460.3, Ms fr 21496 p130 (taken at Avranches and Gavray); 1461.2, Ms fr 21497

³³ Was in the service of François II by 1467: Morice III p238.

³⁴ Masset de Marsilly had been in the French garrison of Dreux 1431: Poli 1898 n°1174.

³⁵ Defected in 1465.

³⁶ A homonym was V Bayeux after 1461, but there is little basis on which to link them.

³⁷ Defected to serve under Lescun in 1465, and under la Hmaudaye in 1474: Morice III p124, 271. Jean Raguene³⁷ vicomte de la Bellière had been in Richemont's service up to 1427: *Gruel passim* to p57. Jean Raguene³⁷ sr Bois in the diocese of Nantes signed the complaint against the bishop Nantes in 1471: Morice III p234.

³⁸ Served as an archer.

³⁹ Jean de la Salle *chambellan* of François II (1460): Morice II p1745.

⁴⁰ Yvon Sauvaige was household man of Artur III: Morice II p1722. Eonnet Sauvaget sr du Plessis-Guerrieff was captain of the Clisson garrison on the eve of the Public Weal and still in 1474; he was hda of the ducal guard and took part on the march into France (col 121, 147); he was in the ducal hhold in the spring of 1466 when he was given mourning for the duke's mother (col 146); a prisoner of Tanguy du Châtel in 1472, when he was bought by L XI to set at liberty under the terms of the treaty with Fr II the ransoms of he and Jean des Rames *chevalier* sr Vigneu amounted to 9,000 *écus*: Morice III p120, 121, 146, 147, 239, 253.

⁴¹ Household man of Artur III; hda *de la garde* of François II from Mar 1467: Morice II p1722, III p238.

⁴² Resident in the parish of Cristot, west of Caen in 1464. His claim to nobility was initially refused but he continued to enjoy it nonetheless: *Monfaut* p369.

⁴³ Defector in 1465.

⁴⁴ Defector in 1465.

p155 (taken at Avranches and Gavray); 1461.3, Ms fr 21497 p161 (company now under Jean du Pont et Rostrenen, muster taken by Guillaume de Bigars and Jean Pevrel *commis* of Louis d'Estouteville).

Guillaume de Rosnivinen's company

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1452.2	1454.4	1456.2	1456.4	1460.1	1461.2	1461.3	1461.4
Colinet Albray	27	17						
Guillaume de Bagas ⁴⁵	10	22	19	5	6	28	10	10
Pierre de la Bastide	17							
Roland du Bois						12	20	20
Thomas de la Boissiere ⁴⁶		18	15	17	18	16	22	22
Jean Bourre	19	23	14	13				
Guillaume de Bouteville ⁴⁷		29	16	24	25	23	11	11
Nicolas de Bouteville					28	26	12	12
Guillaume Cahidenc, Caydenc ⁴⁸	25	16	22	14	15	13		
Jean Caliorne	26							
Herve de Callac ⁴⁹	3	4	6	4	9			
Jean Cloheur	23	10	29	10	12	10		
Yvon l' Engale, Guion Langala ⁵⁰			17	20	21	19		
Thibaut Goheau	16	28	23	27	27	25	18	18
Olivier Goyon			26	29	29	27		
Henri Hamon	12	19	21	19	20	18	16	16
Robin Heaumet	20							
Christophe le Heuc ⁵¹					5	6	15	15

⁴⁵ Defected from the *ordonnance* before 1 Jan 1465. Raoul de Bagas was *maître d'hôtel* of Pierre II de Bretagne in 1451-52 and 1454-55. Anceau de Bagas was *écuyer* of Pierre II in 1451-52; Morice II p1604, 1643, III p121.

⁴⁶ Chesnaye-Desbois lists a family of this name from the diocese of Quimper. Jean de la Boissière was in Richemont's service in the 1420s, commander of the archers of the constable's guard by 1435 and was present at his marriage to Jeanne d'Albret in 1442: *Gruel* p49, 99, 179. Macé de la Boissière and two archers defected from the royal *ordonnance* 27 Nov 1464; Guy de la Boissière *chevalier* followed with two archers, and defector Alain de la Boissière, archer, was given gifts to enter the ducal guard: Morice III p121-22. Guillaume de la Boissière was ducal *pr* of la Gacilly at the *plaids* of Ploermel in 1462; a homonym qualified *sr* Brantonech appended his name to the complaints against the bishop of Nantes in 1472. Guillaume de la Boessiere was still in du Fou's company at Cherbourg in 1470.2: Morice III p34, 237.

⁴⁷ A homonym served under Rieux in 1474 (s271). Chesnaye-Desbois gives a family in the Cornouaille of this name. Jean de Bouteville *sr* Faouet followed François II in the *Bien Public* with 7 hda's and 35 archers, and Pierre served under du Pont: Morice III p124.

⁴⁸ Member of the Cahideuc family in the diocese of Quimper? Charles Cahideuc (fl. 1450s, son of Guillaume III Cahideuc *chevalier*) married (1467) Isabeau d'Angoulevret: Chesnaye-Desbois.

⁴⁹ Perhaps identical with Hervé de Garlot, household man of Artur III: Morice II p1722. Robert de Callac was Pierre II's captain of Jugon: Morice II p1709.

⁵⁰ He and Olivier de Rosnivinen *écuiers* witnessed the *donation mutuelle* between Guillaume de Rosnivinen and his wife Perrine de Meulenc given at Vire 12 Nov 1459: Morice II p1743.

⁵¹ In the summer of 1468 he and Roland de la Motte *écuyers* were paid for having captured Yvon Trigally de la Basse Bretagne and Thomas Luffault 'larrons agresseurs des chemins et infracteurs des treves': *DLN*/18 p99.

Companies of the Breton captains

<i>Homme d'armes</i>	1452.2	1454.4	1456.2	1456.4	1460.1	1461.2	1461.3	1461.4
Guion, Guillaume le Heuc ⁵²		11	5	6	7	29		
Jean Janvier ⁵³	13	12	20	15	16	14	9	9
Pierre Malet, Maret	18							
Jean Mauhugeon	7	15						
Jean d'Origny	30							
Durant d'Oultre	11	27	27	22	23	21	19	19
Jacques du Pe, Puy ⁵⁴	5	5	7	11	13	5	8	8
Guillaume Pied de Vache	22	20	18	28				
Denisot de Portmolan, Pouvirollain ⁵⁵	24	24	28	21	22	20	17	17
Pierre de Quevriac, Cabriac	6	6	8	12	14	11	4	4
Pousset de Riou	29							
Alain de Rosnivinen ⁵⁶	8	7	4	23	24	22	2	2
Jean de Rosnivinen l'ainé ⁵⁷	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Jean de Rosnivinen le jeune		21	11	9	11	9	7	7
Jacques de Rosnivinen	14	8	9	25	2	2	5	5
Louis de Rosnivinen ⁵⁸	15	9	10	26	26	24	6	6
Olivier de Rosnivinen		3	3	3	4	4	3	3
Yvon de Rosnivinen	4	2	2	2	3	3		
Guillaume Simon	21	14	24	16	17	15	14	14
Alain St Raoul, Saraoul ⁵⁹					8	7	21	21
Olivier de Tillay ⁶⁰		26	25	7				
Lancelot d'Estriac, de Triac, de Trait	9	13	12	8	10	8	13	13
Marquet de Villiers	28	25	13	18	19	17		

Sources: 1452.2, Clairambault 234 p47; 1454.4, Clairambault 234 p67 (taken at Bayeux); 1456.2, Ms fr 21496 p88 (taken at la Charité-sur-Loire); 1456.4, Clairambault 234 p83 (NB month of date is conjectural, text is water damaged); 1460.1, Ms fr 21496 p121 (taken at Bayeux); 1461.2, Ms fr 21497 p148 (taken at Bayeux); 1461.3, Ms fr 25779 n°4 (*ustencilles* roll, Bayeux).

⁵² Guillaume le Heuc was a Breton household man in 1457-61, and was targeted for arrest by Montauban as guilty of *lezé-majesté* in Oct 1461: Morice II 1758.

⁵³ Homonym was Breton ducal receiver of l'Isle in the 1480s: Kerhervé 1987 p739, 745.

⁵⁴ Homonym of a 1470s hda of the ducal *garde*: Jones 1985 p155.

⁵⁵ Still serving in the company of du Fou at Cherbourg in 1470.2. One Denisot was given leave by Charles VII to serve François I after the seizure of Fougères, alongside Lohéac, Joachim Rouault and Odet d'Aydie: these men and others were with the constable's 100 lances and the men of his household at the siege of Coutances in Sep 1449. Couvran, Rouault and Denisot checked English raids on Mortain in Jan 1450: *Gruel* p196-99; *CMSM* I p55.

⁵⁶ Captain of the Breton *francs archiers* of the diocese of St Brieuc in 1477: Morice III p321.

⁵⁷ Artur III's captain of Dinan: Morice II p1709.

⁵⁸ *Chambellan* of François II (1460-62). Was asked to facilitate interview between ducal *conseillers* Tanguy du Châtel and Guion de Quenelec with the dying Rohan, Feb 5 1462: Morice II p1756, 1764.

⁵⁹ Yvon Sarraul was in the Breton company of Morice du Mené in 1474: Morice III p326).

⁶⁰ Antoine de Tillay *chambellan* François II (1460-62): Morice II p1756.

Bretons and others defecting to François II in the winter of 1464-65 who can be shown in the Norman *ordonnance* in the 1450s

Among the defectors of 1464-65 listed in the *comptes* of Olivier de Baud Breton ducal *trs guerres* (printed Morice III p119-25) were men who shared the names of *hommes d'armes* in five *ordonnance* companies normally stationed in Lower Normandy in the previous decade. Eleven men had served under Rosnivinen; seven under Broons; seven under Couvran; perhaps two under Aydie, and two more under du Bucil. Several of these twenty-nine men took Breton service with companions who shared their patronymic. These could have been their kin serving with them under the crown in lesser capacities. Others listed as defectors cannot be shown to have themselves served in Normandy in the 1450s, but shared the patronyms of men who did, and can be connected with them more or less plausibly. In addition homonyms of members of the Caroline Norman *ordonnance* mustered under various captains on the eve of the march into France.

No members of Jean de Lorraine's former company can be identified among the defectors, but the garrison of Granville did open the town to him or his emissaries and held out against a seven-week royalist siege commanded by Alain de Plumaugat B Cotentin.

Defectors from the former company of Rosnivinen

1. Guillaume de Bagar or Bagas
2. Guillaume de Bouteville
3. Nicolas de Bouteville
4. Guillaume de Cahideuc
5. Jean de Cloheux: Yvon de Cloheux also listed as a defector.
6. Thibaud Goheau, Goyau mustered under Lescun.
7. Olivier Goyon
8. Christophe le Heuc: Laurent le Heuc also mentioned as a defector. (2)
9. Guion de Quevriac
10. Alain de Rosnivinen mustered under Lescun in 1465.
11. Guillaume de Rosnivinen mustered under Lescun in 1465.
12. Jacques de Rosnivinen mustered under Lescun in 1465, and subsequently entered the service of Charles de France: *archier du corps* and *pensionnaire* (1471.4, 1472.1): BN Ms fr 32663 p485-93; AN K71 n°15.
- 13a and b. Jean de Rosnivinen: perhaps both *l'ainé* and *le jeune* defected, since one was listed as a defector and his homonym simply mustered under Lescun.
14. Yvon de Rosnivinen mustered under Lescun in 1465.
15. Guillaume Simon. He became an archer of Charles de France's household and at Domfront in 1468. He was the brother of Hervé Simon, Charles's *sommelier de panneterie*: BN Ms fr 21477 p8-20, 44-49.
16. Lancelot de Triac or d'Estriac

Jacques du Pe and Thomas de la Boissiere were Rosnivinen hda's: the latter was retained by du Fou in 1461: Guy and Macé de la Boissiere cannot be shown in the Norman *ordonnance* but defected 1465; similarly Jean du Pe defected and was retained by du Pont in Breton service.

Defectors from the former company of Olivier de Broons

1. Guillaume de Beaulieu
2. Alain de Beaurepaire was retained by Jean du Pont in 1461 and listed as a member of his company in Breton service absent from the musters
3. Julien de Brehault. This man is the only instance of the company from which a man was defecting being named. Having served under Broons throughout the 1450s and in the same company in the new reign under du Pont, he was stated to be one of the three absentees from du Pont's company when it mustered in Breton service. In October 1465 he was paid £120 for having rallied to the duke, deserting the company of the *grand sénéchal*. He may have refused to desert in the winter of 1464-65, and found place with Brézé, finally defecting after the opening of Rouen.
4. Bertrand Ferrant
5. Jean Marcilly mustered under Lohéac in 1465: he was then qualified *chevalier*.
6. Guillaume le Moine mustered under Lescun in 1465.
7. François le Prevost
8. Olivier de Triac
9. Alain de la Villion mustered under Lohéac in 1465.
10. Berthelot de la Villion, served under Blosset, went on to serve in François II's *garde* by 1481: Morice III p388.

Louis de Karmene had served under Broons and was serving in François II's *garde* by 1467: Morice III p238. Jean de Broons is also listed as having defected from the PO. Pierre Ragueneil had been hda of the *ordonnance* under Broon, archer under du Pont: his homonym mustered under la Hunaudaye in 1465.

Defectors from the former company of Couvran

1. Jean Bigot or le Bigot, defected from the *ordonnance* before 1 Jan 1465, and served under Lescun 1465. He was hda of the *garde du roi* under Couvran in 1473. Possibly connected with Jean le Bigot, Breton financier, ship merchant, tax-farmer and officer in the ducal *Chambre des Comptes* in the 1460s and 1470s. His son Maurice became abbot of Rillé and his son Jean abbot of Beauport. His partner in ownership of a 40-ton vessel was Pierre de Beaulieu: Morice III p121, 123, 266; Kerhervé 936, 939, 645, 647, 649, 730, 746, 789, 921, 780.
2. Pierre le Forestier
3. Pierre Gilbert
4. Jean Gorgette had served under Couvran, but is noted as defecting from the PO.
5. Jean du Haultbois, served du Pont in the *Bien Public*, and was serving in the Breton *ordonnance* under la Roche in 1474: Morice III p125, 270.
6. Jean Huz and variants, mustered under Lescun in 1465, captured in the continuation war 1467-68. François II contributed £323 to his ransom: Morice III p222.
7. Olivier le Moine; Richard le Moine also a defector
8. Charles du Parc
9. Jean du Parc; Pierre du Parc also defected
10. Jean de Pontbriant mustered under Lohéac in 1465.
11. Pierre Prieur

Guion le Huc had been a member of the company evicted in 1461 and pursued by Montauban for seditious language. He was employed by François II in the repair of the fortifications of Clisson in 1464 and served as hda of François II's *garde* in 1465. Yvon Jouin may be identical with defector Yvon de Jourdan who was retained by Jean du Pont on the accession and listed as a member of his company in Breton service absent from the musters. Guillaume de Keradieux

entered du Pont's company in Breton service. The company had been taken over by du Pont in 1461 and it may therefore be from this unit that Guillaume, Olivier and Roland de Rostrenen defected.

Dunois's men: Jean du Chastellier served under Lohéac in 1465. Merien le Forestier mustered under Lescun in 1465. Neither is listed under recent defectors so may have left the *ordonnance* before or after the autumn of 1464: Morice III p124. Colin or Colinet du Brueil *chevalier* and Jean Morice mustered under Lescun in 1465.

Aydie's men: Gogier de Champigny or Champaigne defected in 1465: he had been an archer under Aydie. Guyot de Navailles mustered under Lescun in 1465. Jean du Pont or a homonym was retained by du Pont in Breton service, but this is a very common name. On the assumption that his homonym formerly in du Bueil's service remained with Montauban, it may be Aydie's Mery de Coué who mustered under his former master in 1465.

Du Bueil's men: Jean Coup or Coz dit Peppie and Jean des Mottes dit Affé may both be identified with confidence. The ex-admiral's household man René de Scepaux *chevalier* mustered under Lescun: BN Clairambault 221 p143. Jean de Beaumont has too common a name for certainty, but his homonym served under Lohéac in 1465.

Roland le Maigre had served under Brézé and mustered under Lohéac in 1465. The Pierre Houdri who mustered under Lohéac might at a stretch be identifiable as ex-Torcy man Perrenet le Hardi. Torcy man Geoffroi de Lattre/Lestre may be the defector Geoffroi de Litte. Gilles de Buat who defected from the PO may be connected with a lineage resident near Corbelin in the Avranchin in 1464: *Monfaut* p412. Pierre de Kerdrennec defected and served du Pont in Breton service: he was a former Dauphinist and lost grants of revenues in Dauphin which had been restored to him in 1461 (see chapter 5). Guillaume le Roux *chevalier* mustered under Lescun in 1465. A common name, but his homonym (not qualified knight) had served under Brézé.

Grande Ordonnance Company of Odet d'Aydie.

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.2	1454.4	1456.2	1460.2	1461.2	1461.3	1461.4
Jean d'Aragon	5	12		16	14		
Perot d'Ausserain							
Bertrand d'Aydie					20	19	12
Le Bourc d'Aydie							
Perot d'Aydie	2	2		2	2	2	
Remonnet le Bourc de Bearn	9	11	5	8	8	8	5
Nicolas Beauvoir							
Remonnet de Benac, Perat	20	7		10	10	10	7
Pierre de Bercy							
Jean Blancart			¹			14	9
Richard de Boulieres	16						
Jean de Bresson	3						
Bertrand Bourc de Burosse, Buroche, dit Louvet	15	17					
Guillaume de Casenove dit Coulomp	10	3		3	3	3	1
Jean Chrevel	13						
Gaston de Chyros				5	5		
Jean de Coguron							
Thibaut de Corrasse, Couraise	18	6	9	7	7	7	4
Mery de Coué				6	6	6	3
Perot de Disse ²		8		4	16	16	10
Bernard de Frex							
Pierre Gallye					³	11	
Remonnet de Gorges	7						
Bastard Hardillon							
Jean Hollande, Hellande	8	19	⁴	17	15	15	
Remonnet de Jardrest, Jardvoys		14		13	13	13	
Regnault de Laa, Laz, Lieure	4		6	19	17	17	
Pey, Pierre de Leans, Lyans, Liens		18	8	9	9	9	6
Regnault de Leans, etc.		4	2	14			11
Michaud de Manneville, Magneville	12	15		20	18	18	
Pierre Meloques	11	16		11	11		
Olivier le Moine ⁵				22	19	20	13
Guillaume de Montetruc	19						
Gaston de Navailles ⁶						5	2
Guillaume le Nepveu	6	10		12	12	12	8
Guion de Pascannel, Pignouel, Prensanel	14	13	4				

¹ Served as an archer.

² Lieutenant of Aydie's company under Charles de France in Guyenne, 1470: BN Ms Fr 25779 n°38.

³ Le Gaille serving as archer.

⁴ Serving as an archer.

⁵ Served Charles de France in Guyenne under Aydie: BN Ms fr 25779 n°38.

⁶ Defected to the Bretons and served Lescun 1465: Morice III p124-25.

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.2	1454.4	1456.2	1460.2	1461.2	1461.3	1461.4
Bertrand de Rams							
Remonnet Regnault de Doynet	17	20	7	21			
Gachart Renault						4	
Jean de St George							
Jean de Thays							
Guichart de Valiroz, Valizos		9		18	4		
Jean de Versun		5	3	15			

Source: 1451.2, BL Additional Charters 4067; 1456.2, BN PO 15 *Aidie* p4; 1454.4, Ms fr 21496 p78; 1460.2, Ms fr 21496 p119; 1461.2, Ms fr 21497 p153; 1461.3, Ms fr 25779 n°3 (company now under admiral de Montauban); 1461.4, Ms fr 26088 p42 (*ustencilles* roll at Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte); 1471.3, (muster taken by Antoine le Champenois in the name of Charles de France duke of Guyenne at Bordeaux).

Note on Aydie and Lescun

According to Anselme's unsourced and unverifiable notice Odet d'Aydie Charles VII's *bailli* of the Cotentin (GR7071) is to be distinguished from his nephew and namesake, seigneur de Lescun in right of his wife, future Erroll Flynn of the Public Weal, count of Comminges and admiral of Guyenne. According to this plausible view, the *bailli* was a former *routier*, going by the soubriquet 'le Senecque', but it has not been universally accepted: see for example the biography given in Harris 1994 p32-36. To complicate matters further Lescun had a younger brother, Odet *le jeune*. One cannot be confident about either the genealogy given in Anselme VIII p860, or about the separation of the roles of the three men. No consistent differentiation can be detected in the quittances, musters *etc.* from the 1450s. According to BN Ms fr 25712 n°247, *Etat* of the garrison of Normandy dated 21 Apr 1451, the commander of the company of 20 lances *fournies* was explicitly Odet d'Aydie seigneur de Lescun. If this is an error, it is a broadly contemporary one. It is not possible to sustain the argument that the *bailli* and the captain were different. More than one muster identifies the captain of the *grande ordonnance* company at Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte as the *bailli*: see *e.g.* BN PO 15 *Aidie* n°4. One cannot rule out the possibility that Lescun was implausibly precocious in royal service, even if he was actually lieutenant of his uncle. If there were two homonyms, uncle and nephew, then both had or came to have links to Antoinette de Maignelaiz: BN Clairambault 782 p167-68; Ms fr 21405 p122; Ms fr 23271 p430.

It would be useful to know more about other early Breton associations of the family, but sadly, Jaurgain's biography of Lescun focuses on his later career to the exclusion of its foundations: Jaurgain 1919. Constable de Richemont's Gascon marriage (to Jeanne d'Albret) in 1442 may be relevant to the obscure accidents of their early fortunes, but when Aydie was granted the office of *bailli* in Dec 1454, Richemont played no public role. The letters were given by the king and the count of Foix in council, and the act was witnessed by du Bueil, Antoine de Chabannes, Etienne Chevalier and Pierre Doriolle. The future *bailli* had served under Richemont before Fougères in 1449, at the *siège* of Coutances, and at Formigny. He was rising in royal

counsels in the mid-1450s and was used as liaison with Dunois, notably during the treason of Alençon: *Gruel* p196, 199, 207; *Beaucourt* 1881 VI p16, 60. The Aydie-Maignelais link is the obvious explanation for Lescun's arrival at the Breton court in the early 1460s, but Louis XI's submissions to Maine in Sep 1463 linked him to the dukes of Brittany through his brother 'demourant avec le duc': *Morice* III p45. The brother here could be Odet *le jeune*, or one of the other *hommes d'armes* in the Saint-Sauveur company who shared their captain's patronym: Perot, Bertrand, or the bastard who went by the soubriquet le Bourc.

It is possible to estimate Aydie's income from Lower Norman office on the basis of the figures he gives in a 1465 memorandum. His wages as bailli were the usual L360. He was in receipt of a pension of L2,000. On the death of Charles VII the rights of *guet* flowing to Aydie as captain of Domfront and Saint-Sauveur amounted to a striking L1,400 *per annum* by his own estimate: BN Ms fr 20430 p44. We should add his perquisites as *ordonnance* captain which, following Contamine (*GES* p438), amounted to L180 and L12 per man, or L420 *per annum*. He was thus worth over L4,000 per annum in royal perquisites in 1461.

Appendix 1(k): Charles Desmarestz company at Dieppe

<i>Hommes d'armes</i>	1451.2	1453.1	1453.3	1456.4	1458.3	1461.1
Jean de Basuye	24	20	20	14	17	17
Naudin de Baudribosc	16	9	9	8	8	8
Raoulin Blanchaston	19	28	28	20	23	23
Guillaume du Bois	10	15	15	11	13	13
Jean le Bon	18	30	30	22	25	25
Jehannequin Boulton	25	25	25	18	21	21
Robin Bouchier	26	26	26			
Charles de Braquemont	11	13	13		11	11
Colin Breceau	30	29	29	21	24	24
Hutin de Cantiers	4	5	5	5	5	6
Thomassin de Carrouges	21	12	12		10	10
Jean de Chantelou	6	23	23	16	19	19
Jean le Chat		21	21			
Henri de Chauvigny	20	18	18		15	15
Guillaume de Clercy, Clercy	9	14	14	10	12	12
Roger de Criqueot	3	3	3	3	3	3
Tassin Croquemole	28	17	17	12	14	14
Pierre Hamon	13	10	10	9	9	9
Jean de la Heuse	5	6	6	6	6	4
Guiot de Hoqueville	29	7	7	7	7	7
Jean de Hural	8	11	11			
Jean le Petit Poitevin	27	16	16			
Jean de la Lande	7	24	24	17	20	20
Pierre de la Marcezerie	12	27	27	19	22	22
Robert des Marestz	23	4	4	4	4	5
Guillaume, Guillemet Martel	14	22	22	15	18	18
Jean Masquerel ¹	2	2	2	2	2	2
Mace Saillart	15	8	8	23		
Bart de St Blimont	22	19	19	13	16	16
Audon de St Ouen	17					

Sources: 1451.2, BN Clairambault 234 p25; 1453.1, Clairambault 234 p59; 1453.3, Clairambault 234 p63; 1456.4, Ms Fr 21496 p97; 1458.3, Ms Fr 21496 p110; 1461.1, Ms Fr 21496 p139.

¹ On whose difficulties with Laurens de Boissay, see chapter 2.

Appendix 2: the personnel of the *Echiquier* 1453-64

Officer, with qualification in register	Post	Dates
Louis d'Harcourt, archbishop of Narbonne	président	1452-59
Jean Pregent, bishop of Saint-Brieuc	président	1462-64
Guillaume Cotin, dean of Paris, <i>conseiller au Parlement</i> and <i>président des enquêtes</i>	conseiller clerc	1452-54
Richard Olivier (de Longueil), archdeacon of Eu	conseiller clerc	1452
Mille d'Illiers, dean of Chartres	conseiller clerc	1453-56
Blaise Gresle, archbishop of Bordeaux	conseiller clerc	1452-53
Hector de Coquerel, dean of Lisieux	conseiller clerc	1453-56
Laurent Surreau, canon of Rouen	conseiller clerc	1453
Roger d'Etampes, <i>official</i> of Bayeux	conseiller clerc	1453
Jean le Sellier, archdeacon of Brie	conseiller clerc	1454
Philippe de la Rosel, treasurer of Notre Dame de Rouen	conseiller clerc	1452, 1454
Jean le Beauvoisin, dean of La Saussaye	conseiller clerc	1456
Brande de Castillon, archdeacon of Vez	conseiller clerc	1456
Guy Burdelot, <i>conseiller clerc au Parlement</i>	conseiller clerc	1459
Jean de Courcelles, archdeacon of Jozas	conseiller clerc	1462-64
Jean du Mesnil, <i>conseiller clerc</i> of the Parlement	conseiller clerc	1462-64
Pierre de Chateaupers	conseiller clerc	1462-64
Jean de Gouvis, archdeacon of Bayeux and canon of Rouen	conseiller clerc	1462-64
Jean du Breil, archdeacon of Bourges	conseiller clerc	1463-64
Jean le Boursier, <i>général des finances</i>	conseiller lai	1452-59
Jean Dauvet, <i>procureur général du roi au Parlement</i>	conseiller lai	1452
George Havart, <i>Maître des Requêtes de l'Hôtel</i>	conseiller lai	1452-54
Jean le Demoisel, <i>conseiller au Parlement</i>	conseiller lai	1452-53
Robert Thibout, <i>conseiller au Parlement</i>	conseiller lai	1452-53
Jean de Longueil, <i>conseiller au Parlement, Lieutenant civil au Châtelet</i> (Paris)	conseiller lai	1452-59
Pierre de Reffuge, <i>général des aides</i>	conseiller lai	1453-54
Girard le Boursier, <i>maître des requêtes de l'Hôtel</i>	conseiller lai	1456
Jean Bailler, <i>conseiller au Parlement</i>	conseiller lai	1456-64
Jean Hardouin, <i>trésorier de France</i>	conseiller lai	1454
Fouques de Bailleul	conseiller lai	1456
Jean Henry, <i>conseiller au Parlement</i>	conseiller lai	1459
Jean Fare, <i>général des aides</i>	conseiller lai	1452-64
Robert du Valvendrin	conseiller lai	1452-54
Jean Lenfant, <i>maître des requêtes de l'Hôtel</i>	conseiller lai	1462-64
Robert Biote, <i>maître des requêtes de l'Hôtel</i>	conseiller lai	1462-64
Guillaume le Coq	conseiller lai	1462-64

Officer, with qualification in register	Post	Dates
Guillaume Prévôteau	conseiller lai	1462-64
Jean Havart, <i>maître d'Hôtel</i>	conseiller lai	1464
Thomas de Louraille, <i>maître d'Hôtel</i>	conseiller lai	1463-64
Jean de Moulins	greffier civil	1453
Guillaume Picart	greffier civil	1453-64
Thomas Tribole, <i>secrétaire du roi</i>	greffier criminel	1452-53
Bertrand Briçonnet	greffier criminel	1454-64
Colin d'Esquetot	greffier commis	1463
Legier de Saint-Laurens	receveur des amendes	1459-62
Jean des Loges	lecteur	1452
Jean du Bosc	audiencier	1452
Jean Present	huissier	1452
Pierre Lamer	huissier	1452
Jean Ogier	huissier	1463-64

Sources: *Registres Manuels* for 1453-64; ADSM 1B 27, 1B 29, 1B 31, 1B 34, 1B 35, 1B 37, 1B 40; BN PO 1511 *Henry en Normandie* 34225, n°14, and 557 *Burdelot* 12575, n°9. Esquetot is attested in Beaurepaire 1868 p20 and Saint-Laurens in ADSM *Fonds d'Anquin* C 5 Etats n°26, & *ibid.* C II sub 30 Sep 1462. For 1452, Pierre de Brezé's 'Declaration de la Despense ... de l'Echiquier', and Roll of *conseillers* giving quittance for expenses, in *DLN/15* p307-309. Ogier is attested in Beaurepaire 1868 p49.

No *Registre manuel* list survives for 1459.

The following men are listed in Pierre Baille's *Comptes* for 1448-49, as officers in the Lancastrian *Echiquier* of October 1448: Jean Lenfant *maître des requêtes de l'Hôtel, président*; Bertin Entwhistle; Sir John Hanneford; Pierre de Rouville *chevalier*; Maître Philippe de la Rose *conseiller maître des requêtes*; Maître Jean du Mesnil *docteur en lois*; Maître André Marguerie *conseiller du roi d'Angleterre en sa court du conseil à Rouen*; Maître Guy Affourd *licencié ès lois*; Richard Berroc *licencié ès lois*; Maître Nicole Dany archdeacon of the Cotentin; Guy de la Villette *conseiller en la court du conseil à Rouen*; Jean Cousin *clerc/auditeur en la Chambre des Comptes*; BM Additional Ms 11509 p42v°.

Appendix 3: biographical notices on Norman officers and *gens d'armes*, 1449-65

The format of notices is as follows:

Name and alternative orthographies, birth/death dates if known.

a) Career in royal or other service. Office held with dates, source indicating incumbency. U indicates usufructuary interest. P, B indicates purged on or beneficiary of the accession of Louis XI. HH indicates position in the royal household.

b) Source of genealogy or indications of kinship, individuals sharing patronym.

c) Possessions, residence.

Guillaume Abelin

a) Rec aides at Caen 1465: *Caen* 13 Mar 1464/65, p46. He went into the service of Charles de France and appears as his trs and rec of Angoumois under snl Robert de Balsac in May 1470, when he established pr's for the purpose of selling all his Norman rents: *Caen* 28 Jan 1470/71. He was an associate of Thomas de Louraille sr Escoville. He witnessed the recovery of Marcellet from Escoville by Guillaume Carbonnel and Jeanne Carbonnel in 1456, a contract involving Escoville's in-laws the Chevalier in 1465: *Caen* 27 Sep 1456, p106v^o; 8 Jan 1465/66, p26. Finally he accompanied Louraille into collaboration with the ducal regime in 1465: BN Clairambault 221, p143ff.

b) His 1470-71 pr's in Normandy were Raoullin le Villain, Guillaume de Verson, Germain Villefranche, Girard Cingal, Marguerite widow of the late Raoullin le Villain, Roger de la Vallette (*qv*) and maître Roger de la Villette, Jean de Joliz, Jean Drouin (*qv*).

c) Bourgeois de Caen: *Caen* 13 March 1464/65, p46.

Bruin d'Aché, Achy

a) Hda of Jean de Lorraine at Granville, identical with Jean d'Achy le jeune dit le Brun. The year after the Public Weal he was being pursued before the *Echiquier* by the PrR and defaulted, though there is nothing to prove that the suit had its origins in his activities during the war: *Echiquier* 1466 p22.

b) Son of Olivier d'Aché, who was still alive in 1452: *Caen* 29 Nov 1452. Jean's younger brother André, *maître es ars* and *curé* of Cabourg, quit his share in the paternal succession to his brother for 'bonne amour' and because of the cash spent by Jean in supporting him while he was acquiring his degree. Among the witnesses was Jean de Garencières (*qv*) and *Maître* Guillaume his brother: *Rouen* 26 Nov 1461. There was another branch of the family holding Beuseval and Gonneville in the Auge, represented in the Rouen *tabellionage* by the late Jean d'Aché and his son Jacques d'Aché *écuyer*: e.g. *Rouen* 4 Sep 1451, 3 Apr 1467 etc.. They were kin to the Harcourt and the Tournebu, and the more substantial branch by the 16th century: *CD sub* Aché de Marbeuf; *VS4*. Rostain d'Aché was hda Bueil 1456.3, 1461.3.

c) Sr Achy, Cabourg *en partie* and Leure, all in the Alençon apanage.

Jean Adam

a) Secretary of Charles de France (1466-67 1468.1): Poli 1895 n°1281, 1376; BN Ms fr 23262 p4.

b) Four members of this family were resident at Courcy near Coutances in 1464. Michel and Robin Adam were brothers and related to Drouin Adam. Robin is presumed identical with Robert Adam LV Coutances in the 1450s: GR7505. Louis Adam was a cousin. A Guillaume Adam was resident in the nearby parish of Cambernon : *Monfaut* p423.

c) Sr Poilly; he was resident at Urville in the high Cotentin in 1464: *Monfaut* p429.

Gillet Adnisart dit Gamarde

a) Hda of Jacques de Brézé in Sep 1465 when he and his heirs were granted the fiefs of Monchamp et la Chapelle in V Falaise (parishes Castillon and Boissay) for services in war. The fief had been granted to Roland le Maigre (*qv*) who had defected to the Bretons. The *Chambre des Comptes* subsequently modified the grant to one for life only: DLN/25 p121. Two identities may be posited for this man: Guillaume Adigars and Gilles d'Anisy. Adigars was an officer of Jean de Villiers baron of Hommet in 1456, perhaps his cp Hommet. He was party to a suit over the fief of Neauflé which also involved Guillaume Vallée: *Echiquier* 1456 p215; 1466 p98, 123v°. He was party to the du Prael suit over tenements in the faubourgs of Carentan described in chapter 1.

Jean Alorge

a) Vd Longbouel 1452, 1453, 1454, 1456, 1460, 1462: DLN/15 p287, /17 p269; *Echiquier* 1453 p13, 1454 p13; *Rouen* 30 Dec 1456, 28 Aug 1460; ADSM 6E 13 *Notes de Beaurepaire*, p101. Rouen cr dismissed on the royalist recovery of the city, Jan 1466: BN Ms fr 6972 n°241v°.

Jacquet l'Angevin

a) Hda of the Mont-Saint-Michel garrison 1451.2 to 1453.4. Poli considered him one of those who had long served at the Mont, perhaps as an archer before becoming an hda: Poli 1895 pCXIII.

b) Richard or Cardin l'Angevin was described as *homme de guerre* at the Mont when in 1448 he was slain in a brawl. Gueret Langevin was serving in the GO of Jean d'Estouteville sr Bricquebec in the 1470s: Poli 1895 n°273, 1391.

Jean d'Anisy, Anezy

a) GO hda Flocquet 1460.2. In 1474 he acted as pr of his affinal kinsman François sr de Beaumont in a settlement with Jean Blosset of a long dispute among various heirs of the Meullenc family: *Rouen* 15 Nov 1474. Jean resumed his fief of Tillart in the paroisse du Pin in V Orbec after the Reduction: Frondeville 1936 p83, 191, 197. In the early 1460s he had a homonym residing in the parish of Grantcamp: *Monfaut* p148.

b) Son of Lambert d'Anisy *écuyer*, himself the sixth son of Jean d'Anisy *écuyer* sr Courbépine and Jeanne de Vassy. Lambert (*fl.* 1411) died outside the English obedience and his lands were granted to various English

détenteurs. For the Anisy genealogy see *Harcourt* I p996-7. Monfaut recognised the nobility of several members of the lineage in Lower Normandy. The *demeurant* Bessin lord Girard d'Anisy and his wife Guillemette de Vaux had two sons called Gilles, the eldest and youngest of five. In V Falaise Guillaume d'Anisy held the fief of Castillon and Guion d'Anisy held that of Combrisart (or Courbesart): *Monfaut* p369, 218, 147, 148. The family was married into the Hamon, le Sens, and Flambart. Girard d'Anisy *fl.* 1439, 1448, rendered *aveu* for Anisy 1451, 1458, and sold it 1476. He resided at Ver in the Bessin in 1464. The sale of the fief is interesting given that we have a contract of Mar 1450 whereby Philibert de Brecy, Charles VII's governor of Langres and his wife Marguerite d'Anisy coerced Robert d'Etampes canon of Bayeux curé ND du Pin into surrendering the property, which he had acquired from Jean d'Anisy c sr Anisy for L400. She was the daughter and heiress of the late Pierre d'Anisy *chevalier*: *Caen* 17 Mar 1450, p181v^o; 2 Oct 1455, p2v^o; 20, 21 Oct 1456, p13 where Brecy is stated to be in her right sr/baron Saint Celerin, Anisy, Nouiers and du Pin. Anisy had passed to the Goyon by 1470, when it was included in the *partage* passed to Alain Goyon of the Norman inheritance of his mother Marguerite de Mauny: *Caen* 1 Dec 1470, p220.

c) A homonym resided at Le Pin in the Auge in 1464 and another at Grantcamp: *Monfaut* p147, 48. When permitted to default at the musters of the nobles of V Orbec in 1469 as being of the *ordonnance*, the former was qualified sr Tillars, Moustier, Crulley-la-Table and Asnières assis a Pin: *Evreux* 1470 p44.

Jean III d'Annebault

a) GO hda Floquet 1451.2-1460.4. His highest ranking was first, so he may have exercised a *litcy* within the company. He was granted his first delay of homage in 1443, so was then adult. Homonym *écuyer* resumed or acquired the fief of Saint-Aubin de Scellon in V Orbec after the Reduction and gave *aveu* in 1455: Frondeville 1936 p83. He was *chevalier* cp Touques and sr de Messey in V Conches/Breteuil when excused the 1470 musters as being in the *ordonnance*: *Evreux* 1470 p64.

b) See the genealogy in Anselme VII p178ff. He was the son of Jean I d'Annebault, a household man of the count of Aumale, and Marie Vipart. Jean III's first wife was Marie daughter of Jean Blosset sr Carrouges (*qv*). His second wife was Perronne daughter of Jean de Jencourt (*qv*). His son Claude became marshal of France, married extraordinarily well in Brittany and broke through to major political importance.

c) Sr Annebault, Brestot, Appeville, Aubigny. Resident in the parish of Bonnebosc in the *sgtry* of Pont-l'-Eveque in 1464: *Monfaut* p127.

Jean Anquetin, Anquetil

a) Officer (V, rec and pr) in the county of Harcourt before 1455, and possibly in the 1430s under the English: *Echiquier* 1455 p3, p29; 1455 p29; GR12520. He is probably identical with a homonym witnessing a sale of rent by Jean Carbonnel *chevalier* sr Sourdeval to Robert Biote: *Rouen* 21 Dec 1465.

b) Richard Anquetin had been V Harcourt in 1430: GR19219. Chesnaye-Desbois lists two families under this patronym, one srs Saint-Vaast, the other from the *élection* of Valognes: the arms indicate a link.

Nicolas/Colart Anquetil was V Evreux 1417-26, of Conches and Breteuil 1422-26, of Pont-de-l'Arche 1426-28, finally prR Evreux 1431-43: *GR*12676, 19335, 12520. Charlot Anquetin was an officer of the B Evreux and GdS of the barony of Ivry, 1454: *Echiquier* 1454 p203; *DLN*/15 p137.

Mathieu Anquetil *écuyer* was in the garrison of Mont-Saint-Michel in 1422-23: *Poli* 1895, *preuves* n°8. Jacques Anquetin, sPrR in V Valognes 1455, continued in the service of the Estouteville. He witnessed a document in the château of Bricquebec relating to a procuration drawn up for Michel d'Estouteville baron de Gacé and his wife Marie de la Rocheguyon, Dec 1463: *GR*7272; BN PO 1083 24901, *d'Estouteville*, n°194.

c) Two homonyms are mentioned in the B Evreux muster lists for 1470. One held nobly in the V Orbec, the other, sr du Bois in V Beaumont supplied a substitute 'pour son antiquite et fiesblesse': *Evreux* 1470 p21, 68. either may be identical with the Jean Anquetin of Orbec who failed to have his nobility registered by Monfaut in 1464: *Monfaut* p202.

Jean d'Argouges, d.1475.

a) Hda GO Brézé 1452.4-1461.3; Jean II d'Argouges was one of Brézé's Lower Norman supporters, a member of the GO throughout the 1450s. His father (d. Dec 1466) was a Bessin and Cotentin lord with a *demeurant* background, but whose cousin had served in the defence of Mont-Saint-Michel. It was probably a link to the Carbonnel which was crucial to his entering Brézé service. A branch of the Carbonnel possessed lands in the Aure valley east of Bayeux, not far from Argouges itself: his father or grandfather had married Charlotte Carbonnel in the 1420s: *Frondeville* 1960 p52; *CD*. She was the daughter of Jean Carbonnel sr d'Acqueville and Buat, and Jeanne Carbonnel.

b) In the previous generation two branches of the family had belonged to that curious world of Lower Norman nobles on the political cusp of Lancastrian and Valois allegiance. His father Jean d'Argouges *écuyer* sr Gratot was *élu* of Coutances in the 1430s, and during the truces he continued to play a prominent rôle in Lancastrian fiscality in the Cotentin, attending the estates as pr of Coutances: BN PO 91 *Argouges* 1892, n°17-18. During the Reduction, however, he seized the fief of Cosqueville, claiming that it belonged to him by hereditary right as heir of his namesake and cousin, on whom see below. He appealed to Brézé as arbitrator over this dispute before 1452, and the parties settled in the presence of his officers Pierre du Vieuchatel, Jean de Saâne father and son and Jean Houel: BN PO 91 *Argouges* 1892, n°179. Jean II's brother Enguerrand was canon of Coutances, and another Robert canon and *grand vicaire* of Coutances, later canon of Bayeux: *Béziers* 1894-96 II p90-94. In 1462 Jean II married Jeanne daughter of Louis l'Abbé *écuyer* sr de Boussigny in V Bayeux, and Jeannette Poucin. She brought him considerable lands: Boussigny, Cormolain, le Teil, Vaux-la-Champagne and Pelleville or Pléville: *Frondeville* 1960 p52.

Jean's father was of a cadet line descended from Philippe sr Gratot, whose nephew Jean sr d'Argouges and Cosqueville had also been *demeurant*, holding office and in receipt of Lancastrian grants of lands in the 1420s. This man was son of Guillaume II (*fl.*1407), grandson of Jeanne de Clamorgan and brother-in-law of Thomas de Clamorgan. He and Guillaume de Clamorgan were retainers of the Earl of Suffolk in 1430: BN PO 91 *Argouges* 1892, n°9-15; *DLN*/1 p332; *CMSM* I p294. He subsequently joined Louis d'Estouteville at Mont-

Saint-Michel, and was invested with the duke of Orléans's Order of the Camail, along with Pierre Crespín Marquis de Mauny: *DLN/29* p373.

The family acquired numerous benefices, probably during the occupation. Gratot's brother Raoul, *docteur ès droits* (who in 1466 ceded all his rights in the paternal succession to his nephews) was curé by presentation of his family of Saint-Malo de Bayeux, and canon of Avranches. One Martin d'Argouges was *commis Receveur* of the goods of the Cardinal of Angers and the bishop of Verdun in 1469, and one Nicolas d'Argouges was canon of Saint Martin de Tours: BN PO n°20, 21.

Jean II d'Argouges had a brother Pierre sr Gratot, married in 1472 to Marie Aux-Epaules dame de Carquebut, daughter of Richard Aux-Epaules and Jeanne de Surienne: Frondeville 1960 p52. He was a deputy to the Estates of Tours in 1483: *Harcourt II*, p1527.

c) Sr Argouges, Gratot, Cosqueville. Resident at Argouges in 1464: *Monfaut* p369.

Thibaut d'Armagnac dit de Thermes *chevalier*, d. before Nov 1457.

a) B Chartres 1432-57, *écuyer d'écurie du roi*, given the credit for the fall of Chartres Easter Sat 1432, cp of 32 hda's 1433-34: *GR6644*. cp Chartres 1432-1442: *GR6777*. Captured by the English 1436/37, credited with reduction of Dreux and of la Chevreuse 1438 hence cp Dreux 1443-57 for the house of Albret (swears oath 1446) at L800 royal pension: *GR6804*. Dunois's lt at Harfleur: *GR6429*. First-named in the musters of the Harfleur garrison 1452.1-1456.4. He was succeeded by Florent d'Illiers (*qv*) as B 1457-61: *GR6646*. M. Jean de Montescot was Thibaut's lt at Chartres 1432-57: *GR6670*. Robert Poignant was *commis* to exercise the jurisdiction of B Chartres in 1457 while Thibaut was still living: *GR6645*. He was succeeded as cp Chartres by Philippe de Fleurigny *chevalier, chambellan du roi*, and after 1451 by Charles de Culant: *GR6778-79*. He took part in Brézé's great raid on Sandwich 1457, where he was knighted: *Héraut Berry* p405.

Giovanni Arnolfini, Jean Arnoulfin, Arnulphin *chevalier*, d.1472

a) Luccois merchant based in Bruges, with strong links to the Burgundian ducal household from the late 1440s: Kruse 1995 p291. Negotiated in Rouen on behalf of the Hanse with Brézé in 1459 over conditions posed by the French for limiting the depredations of Dieppe and Honfleur pirates in the channel: Mollat 1952 p93. Brought by Louis XI to France and made *général de finances* in 1461. He defected to Charolais in 1465 and was replaced as *général* 28 Jul 1465. His property at Rouen was confiscated, and the grant of a hôtel in the Clos de Gallées at Richebourg near Rouen made to his wife was re-granted in 1466 to royal *valet de chambre* Jean de Brisemur: *DLN/25* p123. Arnolfini became a ducal *chambellan*. Subject of the Arnolfini marriage in the National Gallery. See the notice in Dupont-Ferrier 1930.

b) Married Catherine Cename (d.1480): *DBF sub* Arnulphin. Had a brother Michel: Kruse 1995 p291.

Legier Arnoul

a) Financier and household man of Dunois: mentioned in a *Chambre des Comptes mandement* (30 Aug 1451) to V Gisors in respect of payments by the farmers of the *péages* of Vernon and Andelys: he is qualified Dunois's *familier* and *commis* 'pour la garde du chastel de Vernon dont monsr de Dunois a la garde': *DLN/10* p41.

Charles VII had granted the cpcy to Dunois in 1450: *Preuves d'Escouchy* p373. The implication is that in the early 1450s Arnoul was a household servant entrusted with Vernon. Along with Joachim de Velort (*qv*), Arnoul qualified *secrétaire du Roi* and *contrôleur général* of Normandy witnessed a complex accord between Georges baron de Clères, the archbishop and chapter of Rouen, and the *procureur du roi* (*Rouen* 21 Sep 1454). See also *Sécrétaires* p11, giving the following details; royal secretary 1444-70, *receveur des aides* of the diocese of Bourges 1444, *grenétier* of Sommieres 1447, ennobled 1450, Norman *contrôleur général des aides* 1449-60.

Charlot d'Allonville, Arronville, Arrainville

a) Hda GO Dunois 1452.1-1461.3. One of the commanders of a detached unit of Dunois's GO at Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier, May 1456: BN Clairambault 220, n°83. Marie d'Harcourt's nominee in her cpcy Meulan in 1464-65; after Dunois's adherence to the Public Weal Arronville was replaced in this post by Brézé man Philippe Luillier dit Huet *échanson du roi*, Mar 23 1464/65: GR15056-67; DLN/75 p275. After the peace of Saint-Maur the captaincy was again restored to a Dunois man.

b) There had been a link between the Bigars and this family: the first husband of Yudete, daughter of Godefroy de Bigars and Lienore de Sacquenville, had married into the Arronville, and her son Jean d'Arronville was living in 1463: *Rouen* 17 May 1463. A man of this name qualified sr Maubuisson and Bigars c.p. presented himself with his son at the 1470 musters of V Beaumont-le-Roger: *Evreux* 1470 p67. Arronville was a parish on the Bray/Vexin borders, but the d'Allonville were a Dunois family, srs de Perruchay and Bouville in the mid-15th century, represented by Pierre *fl.* 1405-61 and Guillaume: Tarragon 1863-77 II p339.

Grace d'Arseille, alias Arsey

a) Hda GO Brézé 1451.3-1455.3. Presumed identical with, or kin to, Jean sr d'Arcelles who sold rents to members of the Grouchy family and to Jean le Mercier (*qqv*).

b) Jean was cousin of Jacques Auber sr Biville bourgeois of Rouen: *Rouen* 30 Oct 1460.

c) Jean was sr Arcelles, Espinay, le Chastillon (V Arques). He held property at Saint-Saens, and in redemption of rents owed to him there he was ceded in 1462 the fief of Bertheville, held of Biville, from his cousin Auber. He also bought rights in the parish of Claes near Neufchâtel: *Rouen* 3 Nov 1462, 21 Jan 1462/63, 29 Apr 1466.

Guillaume Auber, d.1482

a) Canon of Rouen and of Coutances, trs and chancellor of the archbishopric by 1454 and up to 1480: Beaurepaire 1868 p20ff; Toustain de Billy 1880 II, p301. Vicar-general of the cardinal when he witnessed Jean d'Estouteville's redemption of old rents: *Rouen* 7 Jun 1458. He was exiled after the Public Weal and his post of trs exercised 1466-68 by Geoffroi Charles: Beaurepaire 1868 p21; Fallue 1850 p515-16. His testament, ADSM G 3 423.

b) Frondeville 1960 p274 begins his genealogy with Guillaume I Auber (d.1501) bourgeois of Rouen, who married in 1468 Catherine le Tabletier dame de la Haye (at Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Haye in V Caudebec) and Mesnil-Varin (at Hermeville in V Montivilliers). This Guillaume was the nephew of Guillaume Auber canon of Rouen. Frondeville points out that the family was already well established in royal and

communal office since the late 14th century. There were other lineages with the same name all over Normandy, however.

Jean Auber

a) Archer of Brézé's PO at Rouen 1461.2, presumed identical with homonym Vd Trait-Maulevrier, which office he acquired by the resignation of Nicolas Basin in 1452: *DLN/75* p157. Auber can be found exercising the office in the Rouen tabellionage into the 1460s: *Rouen* 23 Nov 1458, 14 Mar 1461/62, 3 Aug and 15 Sep 1463, 21 Feb and 11 Mar 1463/64; *DLN/14* p167 (1462). In these latter transactions we find him selling property (including fiefs) and rents, raising thereby nearly £500. This is in the same period that other members of Brézé's affinity were raising money on the Rouen rent market, presumably in anticipation of the Scots venture of their master. He was among the witnesses of the 1459 appointment between the Masquerel, Longchamp, Criquetot and Desmarestz detailed elsewhere, and to subsequent related transactions with Jean du Bec canon of Rouen: *Rouen* 24 Feb 1458/59, 31 Jul 1461.

b) See forgoing notice. Jean was certainly a member of the Auber family of Saint-Herbland de Rouen, on whom see Frondeville 1960 p274ff. One Catherine Auber was left 200 *écus* in Jean Crespin's testament and appears to have been a significant creditor of the late baron: *Rouen* 2 Jun 1454. Given Auber's service in the Rouen PO company and the fact that Crespin had been MEngRefEF one can probably connect her to Jean Auber. One Pierre Auber, Osber also served under Carbonnel.

Jean Aupoix, Au-Paiz, du Paix

a) High ranking member of Lorraine's company at Granville. Identical with the Jean Aupoix *écuyer* who as capable under Compiègne mounted a *clameur de marchie de bourse et lignage* against Roger le Cloutier in respect of a fief in the parish of Montigny. While the case was pending Jean seized the property. In the spring of 1452 le Cloutier was bought out of his claims: *Caen* 7 Mar 1452/53, p134v°. He went on to serve Charles de France as *maître d'hôtel*, but does not appear to have been in exile in 1466: *Rouen* 21 Nov 1466; Stein 1919 p789.

b) His brother Enguerrand and sister Marie were associated with him in the suit againsy le Cloutier. Their grandparents were Pierre Aupoix and Guillemette Malherbe. Pierre had reduced himself to the obedience of Henry VI and been restored in his lands in 1423, but the family had lost these lands, presumably to forfeiture, by 1438: *DLN/3* p78; /4 p353.

c) Resident in the parish of Les Pins in the sgtry of Tournebu in 1464: *Monfaut* p275. In 1451 the family's fief at Haricourt near Vernon was still in the hands of the king for *devoirs non faiz*: *DLN/14* p81

Briant or Brient d'Auxais, Aussais

a) Former member of the Mont-Saint-Michel garrison who entered the service of Jean de Lorraine at Granville, initially as an archer, later (1454) as hda, 1454.4-1461.3. See Poli 1895 notice *sub* Auxais.

b) In the 1420s the sr d'Auxais and Perrin d'Auxais, the latter ransomed before Tombelaine for 20 *salus* in 1429, had both defended the Mont: Poli n°1162. In 1463 Monfaut found Brient and seven other nobles sharing his

patronym in two neighbouring parishes in the *élection* of Carentan. The head of the family was then Robert sr d'Auxais who resided at Le Mesnil-Véron south-west of Carentan in 1464: *Monfaut* p426. Others with this patronym served in the post-Reduction *ordonnance*: Charlot as an archer under Dunois, and Guérart as *hda* under Broons. Andrieu d'Auxy and variants served under Gié in the 1470s: Poli 1895 n°1389, 1391.

c) Resident at Méautils near Carentan in 1464: *Monfaut* p426.

Guillaume Ayeul

a) *Hda* Harfleur garrison 1452.1-1461.2. He was *pr* of Jean de Brézé to collect his wages as *B* Gisors, alongside Michel Tragin and Regnault de Gisors *écuyers*, and Pierre Thiboust: *DLN/15* p327. This implies that he was in the service of Jean de Brézé, a point which reinforces the picture of strong interconnections within the Norman military establishment.

b) There are strong indications of a marriage link with the Bataille family in the next generation: in 1503 the wife of Bertrand Ayeul was the heiress of Robin Bataille (*qv*).

c) The possessions of the couple may give us a guide as to where the holdings of the families were concentrated: Bertrand Ayeul held then the fief of Bosc-Jourdain in the parish of Angerville-Bailleul of the *sieur* de la Londe, and had acquired lands in the parish of Epreville: *Caux 1503* p283. These lands were north of Harfleur in the deep Caux.

Pierre Bachelier

a) *V* Pont-de-l'Arche 1449-64, 1466: *GR19338*, 19340.

b) His new wife Ambroise Chaillou was the niece of Pierre Bérard *chevalier trs* France who made the couple marriage gifts of *L400*: *Rouen* 11 Mar 1461/62. She was widowed and in receipt of *L40* pension 1493.

Richard Bachelier was *B* Louviers and Gaillon for the archbishop in 1450-51, and still so qualified when mentioned as a creditor in the sum of *L620* in the testament of Jean Crespin: Beaurepaire 1868 p152; *Rouen* 2 Jun 1454. His homonym was *LB* Rouen at Pont-de-l'Arche in the 1470s *GR19035*. Guillaume Bachelier was *cp* Fécamp in 1470: *Caux 1470* p301. Jean Bachelier was *rec V* Pont-de-l'Arche in 1474: BN PO 1423 *du Gue en Normandie* 32219, n°15.

Jean II Bailler, Baillet, d.1464 or 1477.

a) *Cr lai* au Parlement from 1436; *cr lai* at the *Echiquier* (qualified *cr au Parlement*) 1456-64; promoted *maître des requêtes* by Louis XI, and so qualified at the 1462 *Echiquier*: Dupont-Ferrier 1932 p44 n°18.

b) Member of a considerable Paris finance and *parlementaire* dynasty, m. Nicole des Fresnes. *Cr* Oudart Baillet had been evicted from the *Parlement* in 1418: Maugis 1913-16 III p50, 84. On his son Thibaut, *ay* at the *Cour du Trésor*, see Dupont-Ferrier, *Avocats* p16. A homonym was excused attendance at the musters of nobles of the *châtellenie* of Lyons-la-Forêt in 1470 as serving in the *ordonnance*: *Caux 1470* p319.

c) Sr de Sceaux.

Fouques de Bailleul

a) Cr lai at the *Echiquier*, 1456. Perhaps the most obscure of the *Echiquier* cr's in this period.

b) There are unreliable genealogies of some Bailleul lines in Frondeville 1953 p514, 1960 p629. Fouques was brother of Guillaume dean of Bayeux sr Messey and Renouard, and (according to La Roque but no documentary source) of Thomas de Bailleul *écuyer* sr Sommervieu. These men *fl.*1430s-1470s and were heirs of Henry de Bailleul *chevalier* and of their maternal uncle Jean du Merle *écuyer*: *Harcourt* II p1403, *DLN/27* p3. It is unclear which brother was the father of Guillaume's nephews and heirs Christophe, Joachim and Guillaume: *Harcourt* II p1404. Christophe was in the service of Charles VII's *prevôt* of Paris Robert d'Estouteville by 1462, married Marie de Maridor and *fl.*1493: *Echiquier* 1462 p19; *Harcourt* II p1404. Joachim was *chevalier* by 1477 and in 1459 held the fiefs of Saint-Victor and Pierreval (B Rouen), Eschalon and Ronsugery (B Caen) and Messey (B Alençon): *DLN/34* p159. Guillaume was LB Cotentin at Mont-Saint-Michel in 1459 and was qualified *écuyer* at the 1466 *Echiquier*: *GR7210bis*; *Echiquier* 1466 p101. The Tristan de Bailleul *chevalier* who received a small pension in 1466 may be one of these men under a soubriquet: *LMIQ* p464.

Richard de Bailleul *licencié ès lois* witnessed a sale of lands by Jean sr Montenay in 1453 alongside Guillaume le Picart: *Caen* 12 Jan 1452/53, p115.

c) Fouques and his brother Guillaume were dealing in lands in the V Orbec in 1433: *Caen* 16 Feb 1469/70, p75. They were granted delays of *aveu* in 1438, 1439, 1440, 1445 in respect of fiefs (Messy, Gorron etc.) in B's Caen, Cotentin, Alençon: *DLN/4* p329, /27 p3, 5, 467. Fouques was qualified *écuyer* sr du Renouard in the Bessin in a suit with Jean d'Orbec sr du Plessis before the 1453 *Echiquier*. Qualified *maître* in 1469 when he and his brother Guillaume were involved in a contest over the fief des Hayes in the V Orbec; they had adjourned Robert de Cintray sr Friardel and Jean Puillois sr du Bosc-Antrim to the Orbec assises to see the fief sequestrated: *Echiquier* 1453 p82v°, 1469 p265. Fouques does not appear among the many Bailleul interviewed by Monfaut.

Tristan de Bailleul *chevalier*, d.1475

a) Hda GO Dunois 1452.1-1461.3. The soubriquet is not helpful in identifying whether a member of the Bessin lineage is intended. In receipt of a royal pension of *L*150 in 1466: *LMIQ* p464. His testament was approved at Rouen in 1475-76: *Beaurepaire* 1868 p78.

b) See forgoing notice. Guillaume de Bailleul witnessed a sale of rent in 1452 by Cardin Malortie later a Dunois hda: *Rouen* 14 Feb 1451/52. See also notice under Haucourt.

c) Sr Saint-Leger: *Beaurepaire* 1868 p78.

Guillaume Barbey, Barbes dit Courteault

a) Hda of the Mont-Saint-Michel 1451.2 to 1461.3. A homonym had mustered at Saint-Malo in Sep 1415 at the head of 4 *écuyers* including Thomas de la Motte and Jean Painel: *Poli* 1895 n°801. Described as native of B

Rouen, Valois partisan from the English descent at Touques, and a prisoner more than once when he gained remission in 1447 for the murder of Raoulet Fontaine dit le Barbier (who defected from the English garrison of Tombelaine and entered garrison of Mont-Saint-Michel after the fall of Granville), during the course of a fight in which he was himself severely wounded: *CMSM* II p200-2. Presumed identical with the Guillaume Barbin mentioned very familiarly by Jacques d'Estouteville in a letter of the later 1480s: *Le Cacheux* 1935 p32.

b) Chesnaye-Desbois lists three different Norman families of this name, including one Cauchois, srs de Bosc Roger which achieved local prominence in the 16th century. There may have been a tenurial link between the family and the Painel: Jean and Guillot Barbés were named as noble vassals of the late Guillaume Paynel in his fief of Briqueville-la-Blouette in a 1485 inquest into the value of the lands: *Poli* 1895 n°1399.

The la Barde

Jacques de la Barde was hda of Brézé's GO 1452.4-1461.3. In the first post-accession muster he was joined by Guyot de la Barde. These men may well have been connected to Jean d'Estuer sr la Barde, who took over Brézé's company, and had been a member of it in the early 1450s. A household man of Louis XI, he was his snl Limousin from 1461. A number of men of this patronymic served Charles de France in the following decade, though their connection with the forgoing is uncertain. Pierre de la Barde was his *valet de garde robe*, and Olivier de la Barde his *huissier d'armes*, in 1463-64. They were in his household in exile in Brittany in 1466-68. Pierre had been *controlleur* of the *grenier* of Caudebec under Charles de France as duke of Normandy. In December 1465 he farmed the office to Jean Bellaelle for four years. He was subsequently *valet de chambre* of the duke in Guyenne, while Olivier was hda of the *garde du corps*. Guillaume de la Barde appeared as an *écuyer d'honneur* by 1472: *Stein* 1919 P.J. 1, p517; P.J. 41, p613; P.J. 44, p622; P.J. 61, pp677-85; P.J. 139, p789; P.J. 141, p806; *Rouen* 11 Dec 1465.

Noel le Barge, d.1486.

a) Vd la Londe 1452, 1453, 1454, 1456, 1460, 1462, 1464: *DLN*/15 p287, 297; /17 p269; *ADSM* 6E 13 *Notes de Beaupaire*, p101; *Echiquier* 1454 p13; *Rouen* 18 Nov 1456, 19 Sep 1460, 23 Sep 1464, 24 Nov 1464. Initially *commis*, then rec aides at Rouen by 1463, Norman rec général 1466-69, trs des guerres by 1472: *Rouen* 20 June 1463, 10 and 23 Sep 1464, 6 Oct, Nov 3 and 20 1472; *GR*16323; *Jacqueton*, appendix III. In 1463 he pledged Pierre Jobert (*qv*) and Jean le Porec *grenétier* of Gisors in large rents constituted as marriage gifts to Jacqueline wife of Robert le Gay rec aides Bayeux. Can be shown in association with other fiscal officers in the 1460s, including Durant Abraham *élu* of Gisors, Jean Puignol rec aides Evreux, Jean du Val rec Bayeux, and earlier with Guillaume Picart (*qv*) and members of the Ango and Carbonnel families: *Rouen* 14 Jan 1456/57, 19 Sep 1460, 20 June 1463, 10 Oct 1466. He was assigned L1,063 for 'pierres' on the *recette* of the year ending Sep 1465, but never paid: this sum was also assigned elsewhere in the *recette* of 1466: *LMIQ* p469.

b) He had sons Robert and Guillaume. Robert was involved in financial transactions with Jean le Jeunehomme *élu* Montivilliers in 1474, had succeeded his father in the Vd la Londe by 1481, still held it 1484, and went on to make an important career in royal fiscal administration. See the notice on him in *Secrétaires* p185; *Rouen* 24 Oct 1474; *DLN*/18 p184. Not mentioned by Lapeyre and Scheurer is a

presumed other son, Noel le jeune, qualified native of Graël, resident in Rouen in a transaction with Thomas Thibout *élu* Rouen: *Rouen* Sep 16 1474.

c) Bourgeois of Rouen, ennobled 1474.

Guillaume and Denis de Barville, Banville

a) Guillaume was LPB Caen at Vire 1455, 1457. Clearly still a royal officer locally in May 1461 when the *cpcy* of the Caen *franc-archiers* was committed to him, and at the accession of Louis XI when he was briefly *gouverneur* and *cp commis* of Vire: GR4311; Hunger 1925 p117. Given the role other Estouteville men played in the 1461 transition it is interesting to find Denis de Barville of Sainte-Croix de Rouen; *pr* of Louis d'Estouteville in a redemption of rents in 1451: 25 Oct 1451.

b) Guillaume was son of Thomas de Banville and Jeanne de Rouvenceste. Denis is presumed kin to Jean de Barville *avR* *V* Evreux in 1451 and 1459-73: *Rouen* 25 Oct 1451; GR 12579. He was included on the list of those officers nominated by the Flocques: BN Ms fr 20498 p10 n°5. *B* and *garde du temporel* of the bishopric of Evreux 1459: *Appointements* 1459 p45. Godefroi de Barville and his wife Robine Hermier were restored to their lands by the English in 1421. He was *GdS* *V* Pont-Authou and Pont-Audemer by Jan 1420: *DLN/3* p82, 254.

Colin or Nicolas Basin *écuyer*

a) *Vd* Trait-Maulévrier from soon after the Reduction, 1449-1452. His wages were 2*s.t.* per day with an allowance of *L5* per year for robes, these sums being drawn on the *recette* of the *V* Caudebec. He was mentioned in the testament of Jean Crespin and left a gift of 16 *écus*: *Rouen* 2 Jun 1454. He resigned the office in favour of Jean Auber (*qv*) in Nov 1452, his *pr* in this transaction being Berthelot Briçonnet (*qv*): *DLN/13* p259, 265, 277; /75 p157. He was *contrôleur* of the *grenier* at Caudebec in 1460: *Rouen* 3 July 1460. He was involved in his brother's support for Charles de France during the Public Weal and went into exile in Flanders thereafter. He was in Bruges in March 1467: *Rouen* 5 Apr 1467.

b) Eldest son of Jean Basin of Caudebec, and brother of Thomas Basin bishop of Lisieux. His wife was Marion, with whom he endowed the church of the Sépulcre in the Marché aux Veaux: *Rouen* no date, end of volume for pascal year 1468.

Another brother, also Thomas, was *Vd* Moutiers-Hubert and Orbec in 1453: *Echiquier* 1453 p13. He and his brother Louis acquired the fief of Mesnil-Gondemer from the bishop in 1465: *Rouen* 20 Dec 1465.

c) Sr Criquetot-la-Mauconduite. Originally bourgeois of Caudebec, resident in the parish Saint-Eloy at Rouen, later qualified bourgeois of Rouen: *Rouen* 3 Apr 1454/55, 29 May 1464, 25 Jul 1464.

Michel Basin

a) *Elu* Caudebec 1438, 1451, 1454, 1460, 1463. *Pr* of his brother bishop Thomas in 1467: *Rouen* 23 Feb 1466/67. In Jan 1466 he secured remission for his activities in the Public Weal: AN JJ194 n°194, printed by Quicherat, *Louis XI* IV p252. This has him withdrawing into Rouen during the war, staying in the hôtel of his *frere* Jean le Roux *échanson du roi*, where he was when the city was opened to Bourbon. He

brokered the composition of Caudebec with Bourbon through the intermediary of the Patriarch, Esternay and Herbert, and escorted with ten hda's given to him by Chaumont he took the composition and his credence to Caudebec, and secured the opening of the town. He fled Normandy and his family on 8 Jan 1465, so had presumably retreated into Artois; le Roux brokered his remission later that month.

b) Brother of bishop Thomas. See the forgoing notice.

c) He purchased the fief of Languetot in 1451, and was qualified sr Languetot and Colleville in 1454; bourgeois de Rouen, sr Colleville in 1466; pr of bishop Thomas, *écuyer*, bourgeois de Rouen, sr Languetot and Houdetot in 1467: *Rouen* 28 April 1461, 21 Sep 1451, 23 May 1454, 9 Nov 1454, 6 Nov 1460, 5 Jan 1462/63, 30 April 1466, 23 Feb 1466/67, 8 June 1467, 2 July 1467.

Jean Basset *écuyer*, d. 1456

a) Hda GO Brézé 1451.3-1456.3. He had *demeurant* predecessors, though he himself may not have been in the Lancastrian camp. He had connections to the Bourbon commensal René du Bustz (*qv*), for whom alongside Flocquet man Jean le Beuf he acted in a transaction with Georges de Clères in 1454: *Rouen* 29 Oct 1454.

b) Cauchois squire Jean Basset was married to Marguerite, daughter and co-heiress of Pierre de Ganzeville *chevalier* sr Escombardeville. Basset witnessed a rent sale by his father-in-law in 1452: *Rouen* 7 May 1452. After her husband's death about 1456, Marguerite sought the GS's intervention in dealing with debts of her husband. Two Rouen bourgeois acceded to requests from Brézé to be more accommodating in respect of many years arrears of rents owed on *baux à fief* dating back to the 1430s. They quit the arrears for L740 which they received from Marguerite. In addition, however, they surrendered the rents for L100 cash and 'pour la bonne amour qu'ilz avoient a ladite demoiselle'. More to the point was the 'honneur et reverence' they professed for Brézé: it was at his 'requeste, faveur et priere' and in the presence of the *greffier* of his council, Guillaume Maugier, that they had abandoned their rights, and in return for his promise to pay the principal of the rent: *Rouen* 7 Jul 1456. The family appears to have been quite substantial: the succession of Jean Basset (here styled, probably erroneously, *chevalier*), sr Normanville was divided amongst his daughters Anne, Françoise, Genevieve and Louise, respectively married to Pierre de Ferrieres baron de Thury and Dangu, Jacques de Moy sr Vereinte, Jean Picard sr Radeval, and Louis de Bigars sr la Londe: *Harcourt* I p285-85. Marguerite de Ganzeville's sisters Jeanne and Marie were married respectively to Denis le Long *écuyer* sr Noiers-sur-Andelle and Gilles du Rueil *écuyer*: *Rouen* 18 Oct 1474. Jean may also have been affinal kin to the Flambart: one Simone Basset is attested as the grandmother of Guillaume, Jacques and Nicolas Flambart: *Rouen* 7 Nov 1466. A homonym was canon of Rouen from the 1420s, *official* of Rouen by 1430/31, when he was imprisoned by the English in the château of Rouen: Beaurepaire 1868 I, p11; 1874 II, p228.

c) Sr Normanville, Oully-le-Basset, la Bucaille, Riperbré, Neubesé in B Gisors. The 'chastel, manoir et srie de La Bucaille en Veulguessin' came to the daughters by *partage* of the Ganzeville inheritance, along with the fiefs of la Prée, Roquemont and Martincamp near Neufchâtel. The *partage* of the Ganzeville lands is in *Rouen* 10 Dec 1465.

Robin Bataille

a) Member of the Harfleur garrison 1460.1-1461.2. Cauchois noble, son and heir of Jean Bataille *chevalier*. He witnessed a transaction related to the purchase of the fief of Languctot by Michel Basin (appendix 4) from Guillaume Martel *écuyer* sr Longueil and Rogierville in 1451: *Rouen* 21 Sep 1451. Martel too was entering Dunois's company in the early 1460s. He reached an accord in 1454 with his close kinsman Robin Cavellier over rents transacted between their fathers: *Rouen* 20, 23 May 1454. He witnessed in 1463 a sale of rent by Guillaume Payen sr la Pasnière to Richard Pelletier and other transactions of Payen, Simon d'Aubertot and Etienne de Sasseville (*qqv*): *Rouen* 21, 22 Feb 1454/55. A Robert Bataille appeared at the general musters of V Montivilliers in 1470: *VS46* p303.

b) In 1473 his sister Jeanne was widowed of the Rouen bourgeois Roger du Hamel: *Rouen* 18 Jan 1472/73. Another daughter of the house had married into the Aquilan family. One Pierre Bataille is also attested: *Rouen* 6 May 1462. Jean Bataille curé of Ausonville-sur-Saenne witnessed an accord between Georges baron de Clères and Jean de Saâne in 1462 alongside Brunet de Montigny (*qv*): *Rouen* 11 Jun 1462. There are strong indications of a marriage link with the Ayeul (*qv*) family in the next generation: in 1503 the heiress of Robin Bataille was the wife of Bertrand Ayeul.

c) Robin Bataille held the fief of Gonfreville in the parish of Bretteville of the barony of Bec-Crespin: *Caen* 1503 p283. He was described as resident in the parish of Bretteville in 1473. In 1419 the Englishman Ralph Trenewich was granted lands of the Bataille and the Bouquetot up to the value of *L*500: *DLN/3* p292.

Jean Baudouin *écuyer*

a) V Orbec 1461-67, 1468-76: *GR*12710, 12713. *HH*; *valet de chambre* 1462, 1467, excused attendance as of the royal household at the 1462 *Echiquier*: *Echiquier* 1462 p7; *DLN/9* p398. Granted a *sgtry* in the forest of Beaumont by Montauban as GMEF in Sep 1461: *DLN/75* p259.

b) His son was Jean Baudouin *le jeune*, granted *sgtry* Orbec for his own services and those of his father, 11 Dec 1465. They appeared together at the 1470 Orbec musters: *DLN/75* p279; *Evreux* 1470 p39.

No known link with Pierre Baudouin *écuyer* sr Varou in V Caen, who held part of the Percy inheritance through his wife Thomine de Percy. He was a *demeurant* adult from c.1440, kin by marriage to Guillaume le Beauvoisin baron de Courtômer and a significant Lower Norman lord with the king in Paris in Sep 1465 when he was permitted to assume the name and arms of his maternal uncle Jean de la Ferrière, recently dead without heir: *Rouen* 23, 25 Jan 1454/55; *Caen* 1 Dec 1450; *Echiquier* 1463 p130; *AN JJ* 194 n°35. Leon/Lyon Baudouin *commis* of the V Caudebec 1416, his homonym *gds* V Pont-Audemer 'en son vivant': *Echiquier* 1454 p4.

The Baudry: Jean, Christophe, Nicolas.

Jean Baudry, de Baudre was *hda* of Jean de Lorraine 1451.2 to 1461.3. Two identities may be posited for him. A homonym son of Richard Baudry sr Piencourt and Judith d'Anisy his wife was living in the 1460s and 1470s. Richard was adult by 1454 and residing at Piencourt east of Lisieux in 1464: *Monfaut* p148. This Jean's sisters Jeannette and Isabeau married respectively Robert de Bellemare and Raoulin Bertout: *BN PO* 222 *Baudry en*

Normandie 5010, n°10 (genealogy 17th c.). However, the 1466 *Echiquier* heard a suit against Marie d'Harcourt countess of Vaudémont and Harcourt in the names of the late Jean and Guillaume Baudry, seemingly distinct: *Echiquier* 1466 p30. This Jean was related to Olivier d'Estriac through his mother Louise Baudry. One Guillaume Baudry or de Baudré served in du Bueil's company and resided at Saint-Ouen near Carentan in 1464: *Monfaut* p426.

The Rouen bourgeois Nicolas, Michel, Guillaume and Christophe Baudry may have been kinsmen. Christophe was *changeur* at Rouen and had dealings with other members of the Lorraine company including Jean de Heudreville. Nicolas acted for Legier Saint-Laurens as *rec* Rouen in the year of the Public Weal, and became involved in the cause of Charles de France (he witnessed a rent deal of *ligueur* Richard de Thieuville in Dec 1465). He was dead by Easter 1466, so may have been one of the victims of the royalist repression in the city. His *recette* caused great difficulties for Saint-Laurens after the royalist recovery: *Rouen* 7 Oct 1462, 7 Dec 1465, 4/5 Mar 1466/67; *DLN/14* p97.

Méry Beaumont, de Beaumont

a) *Hda* of Couvran, 1451. Near homonym Macé de Beaumont was *hda* under Jean du Pont in Breton ducal service: *Morice II* p1747.

b) A common name, shared for example by du Bueil *hda* Jean de Beaumont. More likely connected with the Couvran man are Beaumonts who can be shown in Breton ducal service. Pierre de Beaumont was *pannetier* of Pierre II: *Morice II* 1648 and many references in this and the following volume. François de Beaumont was a Norman lord 'lequel durant les guerres et divisions a servi le duc de Bretagne'. He obtained *main-levée* on his sries of St-Cereny-Legere in the Alencon apanage in 1472 under the terms of the truces with Brittany (letters patent dated Nov 23 1472, and associated *mandement*). Even then, Beaumont was 'demeurant audit Duchie de Bretagne', and he continued to suffer harassment: the fruits of the sry had gone to the *recette ordinaire* of Alencon and he obtained restitution of these. This cession was disallowed by the *commissaires sur le fait des revenues du Duchie d'Alencon* and the *V* Alencon therefore seized the farmer of the lands. Beaumont got provision from the king by letters dated Jun 18 1475: *DLN/18* p344).

Jean le Beauvoisin, Beauvoisien, dean of La Saussaye, d.1483.

a) *Cr* *clerc* at the *Echiquier*, qualified dean of La Saussaye, 1456. Precentor of Bayeux by the 1470s; *cr* *clerc au Parlement* from 1454, confirmed by Louis XI 1461, *général adjoint* to the *Cour des Aides* 9 Mar 1464/65, *président des enquêtes* from c.1467, competitor for the benefice of precentor of Coutances in 1471 and vicar-general of Benoit de Montferrand bishop of Coutances 1476: *Maugis* 1913-16 III p94, 99, 101; *Dupont-Ferrier* 1932 p52 n°29: *GC XI* p910.

b) See following notice. The *demeurant* Guillaume le Beauvoisin *écuyer* baron de Courtômer, sr Barneville-la-Campagne, Coulomp, m Jeanne de Percy, daughter and heiress of Jean de Percy *écuyer*: *Caen* 13 Oct 1450, p149v°; 29 Apr 1465, p72. Louis le Beauvoisin competitor for the benefice of precentor of Coutances, 1471: *GC XI* p910.

Jean le Beauvoisien

a) Hda GO Brézé 1460.1-1461.3. He began in Brézé service but made for himself a career in the *ordonnance*, getting his own company by the mid-1470s: Contamine *GES* 598-99. Presumed identical with a homonym qualified *écuyer* sr la Gasprée who gave *aveu* 27 Sep 1450 for the fief Le Buisson at Cisay in V Orbec: Frondeville 1936 p92. Homonym mentioned in a suit at the *Echiquier* of 1453 in association with the Bellemare and Boisbenart families: *Echiquier* 1453 p28. He (or a son?) was resident at Alençon in 1470, and had Le Buisson and Chierville (V Conches/Bretueil) sequestrated for his default at the musters: *Evreux* 1470 p41, 61. There is other evidence of links to the Alençon family: see below.

b) La Roque identifies Jean le Beauvoisien baron de Courtômer 'qui servit Charles VII', and has his son François, marrying by 1467 Jeanne de Vierville, daughter of Philippe de Vierville: this would make him the brother-in-law of Marguerite de Vierville who in 1467 married Guillaume de Bigars sr la Londe-Commin: *Harcourt* II p1073. There is no other indication that Jean was baron but he is presumed close kin (brother?) to Guillaume de Beauvoisien baron of Courtômer in Perche and sr Coulomp and Barneville-la-Campagne around Caen. The latter was *demeurant*, Henry VI having granted him delay of homage in 1445 in respect of his lands in B Caen and Alençon. He married Jeanne de Percy, eldest co-heiress of Jean de Percy *écuyer* whose succession was divided between three daughters in Oct 1450. In the 1450s Guillaume can be found at Caen making transports of rents from this inheritance: *DLN/4* p185; *Caen* 29 Apr 1465, p72; 13 Oct 1450, p149v°; 1 Dec 1450, p167; 19 Jun 1452, p47v°; *Echiquier* 1462 p113v°. Both the baron and the Brézé hda are presumed kin to Jean le Beauvoisin dean of La Saussaye and cr *clerc* at the 1456 *Echiquier* (see forgoing notice). Pierre bastard de Beauvoisien served as hda of Jean de Lorraine 1457.3 to 1461.3.

In 1468 one Michault le Beauvoisien was involved in a fatal clash between brothers and others of the companies of Jacques de Brézé and Pierre de Bourbon sire de Beaujeu on the one hand, and a member of the company of René d'Alençon count of Perche on the other. We cannot take it that Michault was necessarily in Brézé service at that point, because Olivier le Beauvoisien *écuyer* was *maître d'hôtel* of René d'Alençon count of Perche by 1469-70, when he was commissioned to take the general musters of nobles in V Argentan, Exmes, Saint-Silvin, Thuit, Montreuil and Bernay. Olivier is presumed son or brother of Jean, since he also held the fief of la Gasprée (V Conches/Bretueil): *Evreux* 1470 p60; *DLN/23* p235; AN JJ 200 n°79.

c) Sr la Gasprée, du Buisson and other lands in V Orbec, and resident at Alençon 1470.

Jean du Bec

a) Canon of Rouen, archdeacon of Caen. An attempt by Jean Havart to impose him on the chapter immediately after the Reduction was initially rejected, but eventually succeeded. He became canon in respect of rights transported to him by Jean des Champs. Deputed by the chapter to the rehabilitation process of Jeanne d'Arc, 1455. Constituted pr of the Patriarch as bishop of Bayeux in the Norman Estates of 1461; chosen by the delegates to lead a deputation to him and included in the large deputation to GO before the Rouen *Grand Conseil*. Trs chapter by 1463 and during the Public Weal (should not be confused with Guillaume Auber, trs of cardinal d'Estouteville): explicitly so described *Rouen* 7 Nov 1463, 11 Aug

1465, Apr 8 1473 (end of volume); Allmand 1981 p150; Fallue 1850 p479-80, 502; Prentout 1925 III, p94, 97, 100-101.

The conjunction of importance within the chapter and links to the Caroline political establishment in Rouen, especially the Patriarch, are the background to his entry into Charles de France's service. He was the duke's *sécrétaire* and nominated *contrôleur général* of Normandy 4 Oct 1465. His pardon on the collapse of the apanage was conditional on rendering the oath 'sans nul excepté' and on pilgrimage to Rome. Despite his renunciation of all other oaths of loyalty before the royal *commis*, he re-entered Charles's service, and was still in his household 1468; *contrôleur général* of Guyenne 1469-1471. He resumed his Rouen career in the 1470s and was nominated vicar-general *in regalia* on the death of Cardinal d'Estouteville: see the notice in Beaurepaire 1868 p20ff; *Mancel* XII p124; Stein 1919 p148, 158, 279, 314, 318, 360, 334.

From the mid-1450s appears as major Rouen financier. Hector de Coquerel (*qv*) acted as his agent in rent purchases from Marguerite de la Heuze dame de Moy and la Meilleraye: *Rouen* 4 Mar 1456/57. Had financial dealings with fellow canon Jacques de Rouville, notably the fictive sale of Roye by which Rouville raised L1,000 on his brother's security: *Rouen* 7 Nov 1463, 17 Oct 1465. He purchased the rents Rouville had acquired from Masquerel, Longchamps and Roger de Criquetot in dealings involving many Cauchois nobles: *Rouen* 5 Mar 1458/59, 31 Jul 1461. Guillaume Prévôteau (*qv*) witnessed one of his rent acquisitions: *Rouen* 22 Jan 1460/61. Georges de Clères sold him the large rent of L120 in 1461 and further rents in 1465: *Rouen* 21 Mar 1460/61, 11 Aug 1465. Major rent contracts other than those cited here include: *Rouen* 26 Oct 1461, 5 Oct 1464, Apr 8 1473/74 (out of sequence, end of volume). His chaplain, Jean Levesque, witnessed many of his contracts.

b) Flocquet hda Crespin du Bec witnessed the settlement of the Billy-Tournebu dispute: *Rouen* 9 May 1461.

Arnaud-Guilhem de Bernède

a) member of the Harfleur garrison 1452.1-1453.1: consistently highly ranked. B Mantes 1434 after his (?) brother Jean de Bernède d.1434/35, but the place was in the hands of the English; he may have been named B because he held the place of Houdan, of which he was cp 1435 X 46: GR15001. On the Reduction Georges de Sully sr Vouillon was nominated 12 Nov 1449, but he resigned in favour of Bernède 2 Apr 1451. Bernède died in this office 1460-61 and was replaced by Aimar de Poisieu dit Capdorot after the accession of Louis XI: GR14871. Bernède's lt at Mantes in 1455 was Guy le Gentilhomme: GR14894. Macé des Marestz was his lt at Meulan in 1455: GR14900. Raoul le Petit was *prevôt* at Meulan 1454: GR14946. Pierre de Brézé was captain of Mantes 1452-61, and was also succeeded by Capdorot: GR15024. Brézé and Robert de Flocques held the cpcy of Meulan 1449-50 perhaps as having reduced Sir Richard Merbury to the French obedience: GR15054-55. Marie d'Harcourt wife of Dunois was nominated to the cpcy and *sry sa vie durant* on 30 Jun 1450: BN Ms fr 21405 p115, Dunois ceding Brézé Touques in return. Marie's nominee in the captaincy was Charlot d'Arronville (*qv*).

b) His widow was Marie de Givry dame d'Artis, who remarried Jacques de Giffart sr Hannencourt: GR14863, 14870, 14875. Louis de Bernède was a member of the Harfleur garrison 1453.2-1456.4.

Jean le Beuf *chevalier*

- a) Flocquet GO hda 1451.2-1460.4 (highest rank 3). Mentioned in *comptes* of Pierre Jubert for 1462-63 as continuing to receive sums arising in having had 900 *écus* assigned on the *grenier* of Paris by appointment with Charles VII: BN Ms fr 23262 n°21. On his role in the *Bien Public*, when he opened Evreux to the rebels, see chapter six.
- b) There were others of this name holding lands in the same V. Thibaut le Beuf sr d'Ommoy was excused because of his age and his son Jean (armed as a javeline) presented himself: *Evreux* 1470 p10 Pierre le Beuf was hda under Carbonnel 1452.1-1456.3.
- c) Probably identical with Jean le Beuf *chevalier* sr la Bonneville and du Mesnil Harderé in V Evreux who presented himself as an hda in the 1469 musters with 3 archers, a valet and a page: *Evreux* 1470 p11.

Jean Beuse, Bense

- a) Homonym had been V Gournay 1436, in the service of Queen Catherine de Valois: GR6108. V Gournay 1459-61: GR6111. LV Neuchâtel 1458, 1459, 1460, GR6212, *Echiquier* 1459 p7, GR6219.
- b) Robin Bense or Bente was PO hda Honfleur 1453.2-1461.3 (highest rank 2). Probably the sr du Buisson Guerembourt in V Evreux whose children were in wardship in 1469: *Evreux* 1470 p20. Jean Beuse priest witnessed the *partage* of the Ganzeville inheritance: *Rouen* 10 Dec 1465. Cardin (Richard) Beuse served as hda of Jean de Lorraine 1451.2 to 1461.3. His Rouennais homonym was mentioned as dead by 1464. This man was summoned to guarantee title of Colin la Planque of Saint-Lô, a *demeurant*, after his hôtel in the town was resumed at the Reduction by Guillaume Crochon. The case had not been resolved when Beuse died, and subsequently la Planque re-entered the case but lost in order to pursue Beuse's heirs for compensation: *Rouen* 19 May 1464.

Roger Biain *écuyer*

- a) Vd Gravenchon 1450, 1453, 1456: DLN/13 p265; *Echiquier* 1453 p13; BN PO 2419 *Rabacher* 54291, n°5. He was attached to the Thibouville family. He witnessed the *partage* of the succession of various members of the family between Jeanne de Thibouville and Jacques Paynel *jure uxoris* in 1451. Jeanne died before 1454 and he acted as her executor, and witnessed transactions of her heirs Jean de Ferrières and his wife Jeanne de Tilly: *Rouen* 20 Sep 1451, 30 Oct 1454; *Echiquier* 1454 p168.
- b) Guillaume Biain *écuyer* sr *en usufruit* du Tuit-Herbert: *Rouen* 20 Feb 1461/62.

Guion baron des Biars

- a) Hda of Louis d'Estouteville at Mont-Saint-Michel. The baron had been one of the first defenders of the abbey in 1418-19: CMSM I p99. Guion can be shown in numerous cases in the *Echiquier* in the 1450s. A suit against Guillaume de Campserveur *écuyer* began in 1454 and dragged on without conclusion for years. In 1452 Robert de Dreux-Esneval sued him over cash debts owed to his father by the late Jeanne du Plessis and her husband Jean de Dreux *chevalier*. Biars, part-heir of the dame, defaulted in 1452, but fought the case at the *Echiquier* of 1453, and bought Dreux off the following year: *Echiquier* 1453 p37, 179; 1454 p109v°; *Rouen* 17 May 1454. The du

Plessis inheritance gave rise to at least one other lawsuit, that in 1462 against Mathieu des Marestz *écuyer* sr de la Poterie: *Echiquier* 1462 p121.

He had been knighted by 1462. He was the vassal of the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel for the sry of Mesnil-Adelée and presented his *aveu* in the presence of Gauvain de la Haye and Jean Guiton to Cardinal d'Estouteville 21 Apr 1452. He gave *aveu* for Amfreville to the king 23 Mar 1456: Poli 1895 n°1299, 1332.

b) His wife Marguerite Varon was the widow of Robert Roussel sr de la Rousselière in the Avranchin, and they treated of her dowry with Jean de Troismonts *écuyer* sr Les Champs-Goubert, Roussel's heir: *Echiquier* 1454, p109v°; *Appointements* 1454 p40; *Caen*, p4v°, sub Dec 1451. Biars's *pr* -général in the early 1450s was Pierre Lez of Quesnay in the Cotentin. Gilles des Biars had been a recipient of the duke of Orléans's order along with other men around Estouteville in 1439: *DLN/29* p373. Yvon de Biars served as *hda* of du Bueil in 1470.2.

c) Baron Biars and sr Amfreville. Biars attempted to preserve his grip on the consolidations achieved in the latter sry by the Lancastrian *détenteur*: ADC E209. Resident at Les Biards south-east of Avranches in 1464: *Monfaut* p412.

Guillaume de Bigars

a) Longstanding *commissaire* of the marshals; HH, *écuyer de l'écurie* of Charles VII and his *cp* Pont-Audemer: *DLN/75* p229. He can be found making payments on behalf of Alice de Tournebu dame d'Auvilliers in 1451 and purchasing rents from Dunois's sometime *B* Longueville Jean du Quesnay and selling them to Jean Martel bourgeois of Rouen: *Rouen* 15 Sep 1451, 3 Jan 1451/52. He pledged Robert d'Esneval sr de Saint-Maard and Saint-Maclou in a rent-sale in 1452: *Rouen* 13 May 1452. He was involved in the arrangements by which Jean de Longchamp sr Marais-Varnier was to be paid when he sold his fief of Bigars to Robert le Gras *V* Pont-Audemer: *Rouen* 19 Jan 1454/55. In 1460 he redeemed rents dating from 1415 assigned on his fief to the countess of Harcourt, who gave him a discount of about twenty per cent on the price of the *racquet*: *Rouen* 15 Jun 1460. Du Quesnay was described as his *cr* in this transaction. In the autumn of 1461 he was again dealing on the Rouen rent markets raising funds and purchasing rents: *Rouen* 7 Oct 1461, 22 Oct 1474; a reference to rents purchased in Nov 1461. Still pensioned at L300 in 1463: BN Ms fr 23262 n°20. He was still alive in 1474.

b) His son of the same name was *hda* of the *GO* under Dunois 1461.3.

c) Well-established Auge and Roumois nobles. Gave homage in October 1449 for la Londe near Elbeuf in *V* Rouen, Tourville-la-Champagne in *V* Pont-de-l'Arche and the fief du Bois in the *châtellenie* of Val-du-Rueil: *DLN/34* p235; *Rouen* 25 May 1463.

Jacques Bigars

a) In discharge of promises of Flocquet, he was enfeoffed April 1441 in *sgtry du plat d'épée* at Beaumont-le-Roger for services at the reduction of the château of Le Neubourg, of which he was 'un des principaulx'. Was confirmed in this grant by Charles VII July 1450, and instituted 1455. He was pledge of Richard Postis *V* Beaumont (*qv*), and lost his *sgtry* in consequence of Postis's debts in 1465: *DLN/25* p103; *Rouen* 1 May 1465.

Guillaume Bigot, d.1462.

a) Lt GS in B's Evreux, Gisors 1452. AvR B Rouen 1451-62: *DLN/15* p317, 309; *GR19124*. Alongside Laurens Guedon, Jean du Quesnay and Roger Gouel he sat on the panel, seemingly appointed by the GS, which judged the issue of the Sacquenville succession: *Rouen* 8 Nov 1458. *Secrétaire du roi* 1459: Frondeville 1953 p242. He was confirmed as avR by Louis XI, to hold this post 'tant qu'il plaira au roy', but died soon after Easter 1462, being replaced May 31: *DLN/75* p237; /17 p262.

b) His origins were in the Vexin. Son of Emery Bigot and Jeanne Havelon. His siblings were landholders in the Vexin and V Verneuil, or married to such. He married first Jeanne du Jarrier, second Marie Lespringuet, by whom he had four sons: Noel sr la Turgère, curé de Baslines (d.1513); Antoine sr Fontaines and Courteilles etc. (d.1512), LGB Rouen after 1498; Guillaume sr Turgère LGB Rouen in 1497 (d.1498); Jean prior of the Célestins of Rouen (d. after 1503). Both Antoine and Guillaume left a numerous progeny. For a genealogy and short notices see Frondeville 1953 p242.

c) Sr la Turgère, Fontaines and places in V Verneuil by succession from his father.

Jean de Billy

a) Hda GO Brézé. Jean de Billy *écuyer* was one of Brézé's men who made use of the court of the GS. He had letters of obligation drawn on the late Jean de Tournebu *écuyer* in the name of his late father. In order to obtain several years of arrears he had made execution on the movables of Pierre de Tournebu *écuyer* sr la Vacquerie. The suit was heard at the assises of Conches and thence by *doléance* went to the *Echiquier*. Billy adjourned Tournebu before the GS to obtain provision and in May 1461 the parties were said to have 'longuement procede'. Provision was awarded to de Billy, but his attempt to resume execution was obstructed by Tournebu with letters of respite from 'le court du roi'. Billy then returned the case to the GS. In May 1461 Tournebu recognised Billy's claim to *L40* rent *L176* arrears, plus legal expenses. He offered pledges as to the arrears, or failing that, penalty payments, and promised to accept the ruling of an arbitral panel as to the expenses: *Rouen* 9 May 1461.

b) Son of Robert de Billy *écuyer*, d. before 1461. Anselme's identification of the same man hda of la Barde in 1462 as Jean IV de Billy *écuyer* sr Poitronville (at Bourget in the county of Valois), third son of the Soissonois lord Jean III de Billy sr Mauregard and his wife Marguerite d'Orgemont, is not therefore sustainable, though kinship is possible. The Burgundian Jean III had submitted after the treaty of Arras, and Jean IV's wife was Roberte de Sart-de-Germaincourt. He partaged his parents lands in 1488 and thereafter was sr Autreuil; his wife died a widow in 1501. His brother was Perceval de Billy who was married into the Vieupont: Anselme II p117; *Harcourt* II p1579.

c) Sr Billy. The line identified by Anselme drew their name from Billy-sur-Ourcq in the Soissonnois. It is likely that the Brézé man was humbler. A Jean de Villy or more probably Billy (a local toponym; Billy 10km south-east of Caen) of Champeaux near Bretteville-sur-Laize was *assis a la taille* by Monfaut in 1464: *Monfaut* p218.

Robert and Jean Binet

a) Robert was *élu* of Rouen in 1459: BN PO 2990 *de Vieuxchatel* 66413, n°4. Jean was *Vd* Longchamps to 1452, resigned in favour of Pierre Martel (*qv*): *DLN/75* p135. Robinet Binet was *archier extraordinaire* in Charles de France's household (1471.4): BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93.

b) Alice Binet was the wife of Guillaume Huillart l'ainé *écuyer* and the mother of Guillaume Huillart *le jeune* *cr en cour laie*, selling parcels of lands and rents in Rouen in 1455. The family held property at Oissel-sur-Seine: *Rouen* 7 Feb 1454/55, 11 Nov 1463, 8 Jan 1472/73 (misplaced under 31 Jan). Gillette Binet was the widow of Pierre Coquelot *écuyer* and the mother of Guillaume and Colin Coquelot, who redeemed certain rent obligations of their parents from the Boisyvon brothers in 1466: *Rouen* 1 Oct 1466.

c) Bourgeois de Tours.

Robert Biote, d.1472.

a) Lancastrian *V* Carentan 1434-39, *V* Coutances 1440-45: *GR*7363, 7388. On 4 Apr 1446 (vs) his father Guillaume resigned his office of *maître des comptes* for Henry VI in favour of his son, qualified *V* Coutances: *DLN/4* p195; BL Additional Charters 12372 shows Robert in this office. *B* Saint-Sauveur-Lendelin and 'gouverneur de toutes les terres du duc d'Orléans en Normandie', 1450: *DLN/13* p137, 139; *Rouen* 13 June 1452; *GR* II p201, 1455-56. He was still qualified *écuyer conseiller du roi* after the Reduction: *Rouen* 29 Aug 1451, 17 May 1452; *Caen* 22 Oct 1452, p94v°. He was on the list of exalted men counselling Laurens de Boissay to settle with the Longchamps in 1456, alongside Louis d'Harcourt, Jean Havart, Laurens Guedon, Jean du Quesnay, Roger Gouel and Robert de Villeneuve: *Rouen* 8 March 1455/56. *cr lai* at the 1462-64 *Echiquiers*, qualified *maître des requêtes de l'Hôtel*. Witnessed Louis XI's letters defining the resort of the *Echiquier* in 1463: BN PO 734 *La Chere* 16772, n°5. Principal royal agent 1464-65 in the matter of Alençon's attacks on those who had informed against him to Charles VII: BN Ms fr 20430 p14-16. On death of duke of Orléans (4 January 1465) was confirmed by Louis XI in this post, and pressure brought to bear on the duchess to acquiesce despite opposition from members of her train. He was then on the Breton frontier in Lower Normandy, assisting Montauban who wrote to the king in his favour: BN Ms fr 20428 p35. Replaced Lancelot d'Haucourt as *B* Gisors November 1466, for services 'en plusieurs offices et estas', and relieved of obligation to swear oath in Parlement: *DLN/24* p125; *GR*13008; *Echiquier* 1469 p41 (his tenure of captaincy of Gisors). Was heavily engaged on the Rouen rent markets, with officers of the mint and *comptables*, as well as purchasing rents on noble fiefs.

Despite his service with Montauban and against the 1465 rebels, he had links to those who rallied to Charles de France, buying rents from Sourdeval during the crisis of the ducal regime, and acting as his *procureur* in dealings related to the Montorgueil garrison in 1466: *Rouen* 21 Dec 1465; *LMIQ* p449. He was the royal intermediary in abortive negotiations over a possible appointment between Louis and Sourdeval in April 1466: *LMIQ* p449.

There is a notice on his father Guillaume in *DBF sub* Biote.

b) His father Guillaume Biote was 'naguaires' avR Avranches in 1412, V Carentan 1423-25, V Caen 1426-30, V Carentan again 1430-34, Lancastrian *maître des comptes* to 1446: *GR*7285, 7360, 4516, 7362. Robert's mother was Perrine du Bisson, through whose sisters he was related to the Escourches and le Bis families. His wife was Jeanne daughter of Guillaume de Calleville *chevalier* and Charlotte de Gamaches. Jeanne's sister was married to Jean de Longchamps and the brothers-in-law can be shown in numerous transactions relating to the Calleville inheritance. These transactions permit the genealogy to be constructed and the identification of servants and intimates. Guillaume Coudren or Couldray was his agent in rent deals in 1451: *Rouen* 9 June, 29 August 1451. Lawyer Guillaume d'Esquetot was his pr in 1454-55 and 1459, as was Colin or Nicolas d'Esquetot in 1466: *Echiquier* 1454 p146; 1455 p55; 1466 p19; *Rouen* 6 Jan 1458/59. His 'parent et serviteur', Etienne le Bis, acted for him in the struggle over Douville lands (see chapter 3) and many more banal transactions: *Rouen* 16 April, 19 Oct 1456, 8 May 1462, 18 May 1463, 4 June 1464. In 1459 Biote quit to his cousins the Le Bis the property he had acquired by *partage* and purchase from his late aunt Girelle du Bisson at Pontorson: *Rouen* 12 Jan 1458. After his death some of his co-heirs in the Biote succession recognised that le Bis 'avoit fait par longtems audit feu maître Robert Biote plusieurs grans et continuelz services entour sa personne que ailleurs', for which the late Robert had made large gifts of property to him and had wished to make more: *Rouen* 12 Nov 1472.

c) In 1454 he held of the king the fiefs du Plessis-Saint-Brice in the Avranchin (a 1455 *aveu* for which survives – AN P 289 n°475); Touffreville-la-Corbeline and Doudeville (V Caudebec); Donjon-de-Fécamp (V Montivilliers); two fiefs at Tôtes near Dieppe (V Arques): *DLN*/75 p181. He sold the Donjon to the abbey of Fécamp in 1459: *Rouen* 6 Jan 1458/59. At times he is qualified by other fiefs thus: la Roche in the Avranchin, la Haye (V Conches/Bretueil): *Rouen* 9 June 1451, 21 Dec 1465; *DLN*/24 p143. He held land of many intermediate lords, including Crespin/Brézé/Flocques srs Auvrechier: *DLN*/47 p35. In 1472 he was described as having held Le Plessis and la Roche in the Avranchin; Montreuil, La Haye-Saint-Sevestre, Fourmechon and many other fiefs. His succession was disputed between Jeanne Gerbout on the one hand and his maternal kin Jean de Saint-Paer and Etienne le Bis on the other: *Rouen* 12 Nov 1472.

Jean Blanchaston, de Blanchaston

a) B Dieppe for the archbishop during the truce in 1447-48: Beaurepaire 1868 p121. V Arques (and rec Dieppe) for the king before 1447 and after 1448. By April 1450 he had resigned the office of V Arques into the hands of the chancellor, to the benefit of Jacquemin de la Tour to whom it was provided: *GR*6060, 6061. V Longueville for Dunois: *Rouen* 6 Nov 1456, 24 May, 24 Aug 1463, 21 Jun 1465; *DLN*/15 p359, dated Apr 6 1459; Beaurepaire 1868 p23 dated 1462-63. In 1462 he witnessed the *partage* between Dunois hda Guy des Essars and his brother Richard: *Rouen* 3 Feb 1462.

b) Guillaume Blanchaston had been V Montivilliers in the 1420s and a man of the same name was acting as pr/rec of the county of Longueville in May 1452: *GR*6129-31; *DLN*/13 p267. One Raoulin Blanchaston was rec of the county in 1467: Beaurepaire 1888 p97. Michel Blanchaston was the archbishop's rec at Dieppe 1446-51, and again (or a homonym) after 1470: Beaurepaire 1868 p121-22, 124.

c) Members of the family held the following lands in 1503: the fief of Epervier in the parish of Cent-Acres, the fiefs of Pelletot and of Sévys; the *fieffeferme* of Ribeuf, the fiefs of Bosc-Richomme or Roche-Rousse and Saint-Quentin; lands at Pelletot in the parish of Cent-Acres, the fief of Cropus and Derchigny near Envermeu; the fief of Chastelet in the parish of Pierrefique near Etretat: *Caux 1503*. Pierrefiques is in the deep Caux north of Harfleur. Derchigny and Saint-Quentin are north-east of Dieppe. Cropus and Pelletot were in the southern part of the county of Longueville.

Jean Blanchart dit Calleville

a) Was qualified as of the retinue of 'Monsr le Cranc' (?) of the hôtel du Roi in 1462, in a rent transaction taking place against the background of generalised and large-scale cash raising by figures in Brézé circles prior to the Scots expedition: *Rouen* 18 Aug 1462. Was bought out of rights in the *grenier* of Fécamp on the orders of the apanage regime in 1465.4: Stein 1919 P.J. 24. A homonym witnessed rent deals of Marguerite de Calleville dame de Noiers with Pierre Auber *écuyer* (qv) in 1460, and through her may have been involved with Robert Biote, whose servant Etienne le Bis also witnessed the transaction: *Rouen* 24 Apr 1460.

b) He was kin to Jacques Blanchart *écuyer* of Rouen who made *baux à fieffe* of property to Jean Dime or du No dit Gallois *écuyer* of Gournay in 1454. Jean inherited the dues of this *bail* and passed them on to Jean du Fay in redemption of certain debts in 1462: *Rouen* 9 May 1454, 18 Aug 1462. Jacques Blanchart was married to Marion Challenge and involved in deals with the Briçonnet: *Rouen* 22 Jan 1462/63.

Jean Blosset *chevalier*

a) Brézé hda. Retreated into Breton service in 1461, served and followed Charles de France during the *Bien Public* in 1465 and acted as his B Rouen during the apanage (still so qualified in 1467-68). He was Charles de France's *conseiller et chambellan* (1468.1); cp Domfront (1468.3); remained in the duke's household in Guyenne where he was cp 10 lances and ducal *pensionnaire*: BN PO 373 Blosset 8138, n°6; Ms fr 21477 p2-6, 8-20, p44-49; Ms fr 32263 p485-93. He was retained as a minor cp after Louis XI's recuperation of the ducal following in 1472-73: BN Ms fr 20498 p106v°. From this point he became an increasingly important figure in the entourage of Louis XI, replacing Jacques de Brézé as GS on the latter's disgrace. For his later career see Gaussin 1985 p115.

b) He was the son of Guillaume Blosset *chevalier* sr Saint-Pierre and Jeanne de Carrouges. His brother Rogerin Blosset was charged with the expenses and purveyance of Charles VII's household, regarded as corrupt and close to Maignelaiz by his subordinates: BN Ms fr 18442 p56. Rogerin also rallied to Charles de France, becoming his *maître d'hôtel* (1466.1, 1468.1, 1468.3): *Mancel* XII p60; BN Ms fr 21477 8-20, p44-49. Louis Blosset was also ducal *maître des requêtes* (1471.4): BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93.

Jean Blosset was sr Plessis-Pâte and Beaumont, pensioned at L800 at the death of Louis XI: BN Clairambault 473 p200.

c) Originally from Moulins in Bourbonnais, his maternal inheritance made him a significant Lower Norman noble, sr Carrouges.

Hugues de Bodil

a) V Gisors 1461-76: GR13164. B, HH: excused attendance as of the royal household at the 1462-64 and 1469 *Echiquiers*: *Echiquier* 1462 p7, 1463 p8, 1464 p9, 1469 p9. Royal emissary to Alain de Plumaugat B Cotentin in 1470: BN Ms fr 20428 p100.

Brunet du Bois

a) Vd Conches 1461, before the death of Charles VII: DLN/15 p175.

b) Common name. Guillaume du Bois *epicier* of Rouen was involved in minor financial transaction with Guillaume Cappellet *contrôleur* of the *grenier* of Bernay in 1457: *Rouen* 10 Jan 1456/57. Nicole du Bois was a Rouen canon in the 1450s: *Rouen* 7 Dec 1458.

The Boisyvon

a) Pierre or Perrenet, *dit* Soubtil, was an archer of Brézé's PO garrison at Rouen 1452.4-1454.3, servant of Pierre le Bouteiller. His brother Guillaume was an archer in the GO 1454.3-1460.3, then by 1466 in the Rouen garrison. It was as his brother's heir that he allowed Guillaume and Colin sons of the late Pierre de Coquelot and his wife Guillemette Binet to recover certain rents: *Rouen* 1 Oct 1466. Colas and Vincent de Boisyvon both served under Jean de Lorraine 1451.2 to 1461.3 and 1454.4 to 1461.3 respectively. Colas is likely identical with the Colin who was resident at Champeaux in 1464: *Monfaut* p412.

b) Arnaud gives this as either a Bessin or Angevin name. Monfaut found three members of this family in the Avranchin, including Jean, residing in the parish of Saint-Laurent (-de-Terregatte?) in the sgtry of Saint-James-le-Beuvron; Colin and Gilbert both residing at Champeaux (on the coast north-west of Avranches): *Monfaut* p412. Likely descended from them was the Jacques son of Pierre de Boisyvon who in 1573-95 sat as gr lai of the *Ligue Parlement* at Rouen. These men were srs la Chapelle-Heuzebroc and held land in the county of Mortain, between Vire and Avranches: Frondeville 1960 p539.

Michel Bonte

a) PrR at Rouen 1451-55; pr général du Duc in B Rouen: GR19074; *Rouen* 7 Dec 1465.

b) See notice on Richard de Brumare.

c) Sr Brametot in the county of Longueville.

Regnault de Bordeaux

a) Granted sgtry Vernouvel in B Gisors by Dunois, this being confirmed in December 1449 by Charles VII for services, he having been Dunois's informant 'en grant danger de sa personne' of conditions within the town prior to its reduction. His grant was questioned unsuccessfully by Michel le Rouilly (*qv*): DLN/15 p331.

b) For discussion of three Norman lineages of this name, Frondeville 1960 p157: he names the Bordeaux du Buisson-de-Mai as from Vernon. Jean de Bordeaux, LPB Gisors in 1465, was a bourgeois of Rouen engaged in rent transactions with Dunois's subordinate Guillaume Chenu: DLN/24 p169; *Rouen* 6 July

1464. Three related men of this name were resident at Coulompre in the vicinity of Vire in 1464: *Monfaut* p410.

c) Bourgeois of Vernon.

Gueffin du Bosc écuyer

a) In December 1449 he and Guillaume Houel captured Thomas le Gentil, an Englishman who having reduced himself to the Valois obedience spied thereafter for the Lancastrians: *DLN/13* p265. He and his brother can be shown in association with members of the Longueval, Cintray, Ganzeville, and du Croq families: *Rouen* 7, 9 May 1452, 7 Nov 1461. The brothers settled before 1455 with Jean d'Estouteville sr Bricquebec over redemptions of huge rents dating from 1405: *Rouen* 7 June 1458.

b) Second son of Guérouldin du Bosc and cousin of the srs de Tendos: see next notice for references. He m. Marguerite du Mesnil sister of Jean du Mesnil (*qv*). His elder brother Jean sr Bretigny and Authou m. Jeanne (also called Marie) de Trousseauville. He was fined in 1454-55 and threatened with excommunication by the *official* if he did not discard his mistress and take back his wife: *Beaurepaire* 1868 p68.

c) Sr Bois-d'Ennebourg.

Guillaume du Bosc écuyer

a) Parish trs Saint Laurent de Rouen 1449, city cr 1452-67, and arbitrated disputes within the Rouennais elite: *Rouen* 1 Jun, 13 Sep 1451; Frondeville 1960 p26. Witnessed the marriage settlement of Marie daughter of Roger Gouel with Nicolas Marguerie: *Rouen* 7 Sep 1461. Had dealings with Guillaume d'Orbec: *Rouen* 6 May 1463.

b) Fourth son of Guillaume I du Bosc écuyer sr Tendos. Uncle of Jean and Robert below. He m. Isabeau du Tot.

c) Sr Coquereaumont, Fescamp, Hestray.

Guillemet du Bosc écuyer, d.1465

a) He and his cousin Guillebert du Bosc sr de Louraille can be found raising money in the summer of 1465 to respond to the king's summons to arms: *Rouen* 20, 22 Aug 1465. He died in the summer of 1465, possibly killed in the fighting round Paris: *Rouen* 6 Oct, 18 Nov 1465 (settlement of his debts and the dower of his wife between his sons and father).

b) Only son of Guillaume III du Bosc écuyer sr Tendos and his second wife Katherine daughter of Robert des Champs sr Reel. His elder brothers by Raouline daughter of Jean de Rouvray *chevalier* were Gilles and Louiset: Frondeville 1960 p10, who has Guillaume IV as father not brother of the latter two. Guillemet had a daughter Ysabellet who married Jean son of Jean Brihon of the parish Saint Maclou de la Briere: *Rouen* 3 Aug 1466. Guillaume III was brother of Jean, Robert, Guérouldin, Nicolas. This family was front-ranking, ramified and ancient Rouen *noblesse bourgeoise*, significant landholders in the Roumois and the Caux, *demeurant* during the occupation. They had provided a French chancellor in the

fourteenth century, and would use the *grande sénéchaussée* court and then the *Parlement* as a route into the provincial elite, military and civil, in the sixteenth century: see the genealogy in Frondeville 1960 pp7-13. Despite the circumstantial linkge of du Bosc's death with royal service members of the family were major partisans of Charles de France in Rouen, and Robert's brother Nicolas du Bosc dean of Rouen was exiled after the fall of the city: chapter six.

c) Sr Tendos, la Cappelle. His son Gilles was resident in the parish Saint Maclou de Rouen: *Rouen* 6 Dec 1465.

Jean du Bosc *écuyer*

a) *Audiencier* in the B and V Rouen: agent of B Jean Havart in various transactions: *Rouen* 5 Nov 1451. Qualified cr en cour laie in dealings with members of Bremiens family rec aides Compiègne and Jean Toustain rec aides Montivilliers: *Rouen* 9 Jan 1456.

b) Second son of Guillaume II du Bosc *écuyer* sr Tendos. He m. Guillemette de Houpeville.

c) Bourgeois de Rouen resident in the parish of Saint-Lô.

Robin, Robert du Bosc *écuyer*, d.1485

a) Rec aides in the *élection* of Lisieux: *Rouen* 19 Jun 1458, 19 Dec 1461, 'nagueres' 22 Apr 1463. *Changeur* at Rouen by 1460: *Rouen* 13 Nov 1460. Had dealings with Sir Thomas Chisenal, Richard de Brumare *grenétier* of Caen, Robert Biote (*qqv*), Georges baron de Clères: *Rouen* 18 Jan 1458/59, 13 Nov 1460, 24 Mar 1460/61. He was a Rouen city cr during the Public Weal, and figured in the city's fund-raising effort in December 1465: *Rouen* 26, 27 (x 2), 29 Dec 1465. With his father-in-law he armed himself in December 1465, and he witnessed Cormeilles's charitable dealings with the widow of Gauvain Mauviel in 1468: *Rouen* 20 Dec 1465, 11 Apr 1467/68.

b) Third son of Guillaume II du Bosc *écuyer* sr Tendos. He m. Jeanne, daughter and heiress of Louis de Cormeilles (*qv*). The couple's son Louis du Bosc would recover the office in 1484, and held it to 1497: *DLN/18* p188; *GR19431*. Frondeville does not mention a daughter Marion, whose marriage to Jean le Seprieur in 1463 was brokered by Brumare: *Rouen* 22 Apr 1463.

c) Sr Emendreville, Mesnil-Saint-Georges and *j.u.* Mesnil-Esnard, Blosseville, Belbeuf, Nôtre-Dame de Franqueville.

Jean Boucard, Bochard (d.1484)

a) Bishop of Avranches from 1453. Doctor in theology, then professor at the Sorbonne, canon of Avranches and archdeacon of Mortain. Elected bishop by the chapter on the death of Martin Pinard. Mentioned by Basin as having been influential in the negotiations between the Estates and the crown over the *ferme* of taxation in 1461-62: Basin, *Louis XI* p60. *Commissaire des francs-fiefs* 1470; *Ordonnances XVI* p337. Had become confessor of Louis XI 1468, and thereafter normally resided at court. Was influential in disputes in the University of Paris in the 1470s. Abbot *in commendam* of Saint-Paul de

Cormery (archbishopric of Tours) and of Bec-Hellouin from 1476: *Dictionnaire Ecclésiastique* sub Boucard.

b) He was a native of the Cotentin: his father was sr la Vaucelle, Mesnil-Amey near Saint-Lô. Homonyms were cr at the *Parlement* 1466-1507 and ay at the *Cour du Trésor* 1498-99: Maugis III 108, 120, 135; Dupont-Ferrier, *Avocats* p30. Guillaume de Boucart dit Blancaford and Jean Bouchart dit Hervin both served under du Bueil in the 1450s. Pierre Boucart was Montauban's LB at St-Lô in the early 1450s: *Appointements* 1453 p113.

The le Boucher

Mathieu le Boucher was Vd Bray ...1460-Dec 1461: *DLN/18* p286; *Mancel* VII p39. Simon Boucher was hda GO Dunois 1456.4-1461.3. Mathieu and Simon, either or both, may be connected with the le Boucher family of Harfleur who had provided a royal *prévôt* in the 1370s: *GR6035*. In this period 'noble homme Guillaume le Boucher natif de Harfleur mort au service du Roi' was mentioned in a 1461 appeal to the *Chambre des Comptes* by Pierre le Francois. Pierre, an aged and crippled soldier, was Guillaume's heir in respect of a wasted royal *fiemme-ferme*: *DLN/10* p259 Jan 31 1460/61. The name is common, however, and if an alternative connection is sought, it may be found among a *demeurant* family in the Auge, known from a 1474 inquest into the majority of Jacques and Guillaume le Boucher *écuyers*. Jacques was an *archier de la garde du roi* and Guillaume was *archier de l'ordonnance* under the admiral. Both were then over 35. Their father Robert was killed in 1439 at Pont-l'Eveque and the wardship had gone to their mother; they had therefore been in the English obedience: *DLN/11* p65. Arnoul Boucher was ay at the *Cour du Trésor* and in the *Parlement* in the 1450s: Dupont-Ferrier, *Avocats* p30.

Jacques de Boulay, Bouloy, Boulon

a) Hda GO Brézé 1451.3-1460.1. In 1444 Charles VII remitted a small rent due on a house in Louviers which he had bought, intending to make his residence there. Since his youth, and as soon as he was able to carry harness he had served the king in arms in the service of Brézé. The grant was in return for this service, during which 'il a grandement frayé du sien (et) perdu grand partie de ses biens': *DLN/75* p33, note of lettres patentes dated Dec 1444. Jacques continued in Brézé's company to the end of the decade, though he was already missing from the last musters of the reign of Charles VII.

b) Perrinet Boulay, Bouloy was hda GO Dunois 1456.4-1461.3. Jean Boullay was maintained as noble in the parish of la Tour-en-Bessin just west of Bayeux in 1464: *Monfaut* p369. He may be identical with the archer of this name serving Charles de France at Domfront in 1468: BN Ms fr 21477 p44-49.

Richard Boullenc *écuyer*

a) Obtained the office of Vd Beaumont-le-Roger by the resignation of Flocquet hda Perrot de Sallenove (*qv*) 1452. Can be shown incumbent 1453, 1455, 1458, 1461. Not mentioned on the *état de dépense* for the V Beaumont at Saint-Michel 1461, so presumably P: *Echiquier* 1453 p13; *Rouen* 12 Dec 1458; *DLN/75* p149; /18 p284; /75 p99. Homonym was rec *aides* Lisieux 1470 and prR Evreux 1473-86: *GR12525*; *Evreux* 1470 p40.

b) He was the son and heir of Jacques Boulenc bourgeois of Evreux and 'en son vivant' élu of Evreux. His mother was Jeanne daughter of Robert Alorge, whose debts were so huge that Boullenc made multiple renunciations of the inheritance in favour of his affinal kin: *Rouen* 12 Dec 1458. See also Frondeville 1960 p163.

Jean de Bouquetot écuyer, later chevalier

a) Hda GO Brézé 1455.3-1461.3. Had been a *demeurant*, in Dec 1447 lt in V Orbec of William Oldhall (*chambellan* of the duke of York) Lancastrian MEngRefEF: Frondeville 1936 p249 He was involved in a long lawsuit over the nearby sry of Coquainvilliers with Jean Meurdrac dit Bobbis écuyer sr Tribchou, and Jean Meurdrac écuyer sr Graigne. The case turned on whether an ancestor of the Meurdrac had paid off the debts of a collateral predecessor of de Bouquetot in the 1410s. The Meurdrac fought Bouquetot's resumption of the fief on the Reduction on the basis of their letters of transport, and in 1462 they were bought off for substantial sums, though these by no means met the extent of their claims: *Echiquier* 1454 p53; 1462 p60v°; *Rouen* 24 May 1464. He was a neighbour of other Auge nobles in Brézé's circle, Jean de Saucy/Saussay (*qv*) and most notably his nephew Richard de Thieuville (*qv*) for whom he acted as pledge in a rent of 1465: *Rouen* 7 Dec 1465. The kinship to Thieuville, a committed partisan of Charles de France, is suggestive given that Bouquetot was named in the general pardon issued to those of Lisieux who had opened the city to Aydie. Another named in this pardon was Jean de Montenay chevalier, whose lieutenant as MEngRefEF in V Auge he was by 1466: Benet 1902 p20; Stein 1919, p562; BN PO 1626 *Lambert en Normandie* 37843, n°9. At the 1470 musters of V Orbec a monk of Saint-Wandrille made claim upon Bouquetot, who owed the abbey's military service, for the abbey's expenses in securing the appearance of Pierre Salmon 'en habillement de homme d'armes' with two brigandiniers, *vougiers* and a valet: *Evreux* 1470 p36-37.

b) Son of Girard de Bouquetot sr Breul and Perrette de Samoy. His wife was Louise Lescot, daughter and heiress of Jean Lescot sr Rabu, who rendered *aveu* in 1434. His sister Marguerite married Durant de Thieuville écuyer sr Gonneville, and he was therefore the uncle of Richard de Thieuville (*qv*). Jean's son Guillaume sr Brueil and Rabu married Catherine d'Angierville, and they had three sons. The family claimed to be related to the Harcourt, and their arms were Harcourt differenced with a *canton d'hermines*: *Harcourt* I p961-62. Etienne de Bouquetot resided at Familly south of Lisieux in 1464: *Monfaut* p149.

c) Qualified écuyer sr Coquainvillier and Breul (Breuil-en-Auge) in April 1452, and chevalier sr Coquainvillier by May 1459. Resident at Brueil-en-Auge north of Lisieux in 1464: *Monfaut* p148.

Simon le Bourlier

a) Norman rec général 1453/54-61: Dupont-Ferrier 1930, appendix IV n°18. He was qualified *notaire et secrétaire du roi* when he received sums destined for payment of Dunois's GO from Henry de Goudry rec aides Rouen in Dec 1456: ADSM *Fonds d'Anquin* 100 J20, unnumbered piece. As rec général of Normandy he witnessed the purchase of the Hôtel du Lion d'Or at Rouen by Jean le Boursier sr d'Esternay *général sur le fait des aides* in Normandy. The vendor was the former rec général Macé de Lannoy, and the sale was witnessed by other major fiscal officers: *Rouen* 6 Jul 1454. In 1457 le Bourlier acted as *procureur* for Antoine Raguier *tresorier des guerres* in a suit over disputed rents: *Rouen* 25 Mar 1456.

b) Thomas le Bourlier was Pierre de Brézé's B in his sries Nogent-le-Roi, Anet, Breval and Montchauvet, GdS Montchauvet in 1459: BN Ms fr 26267 n°486.

Jean le Boursier *chevalier*

a) On Charles VII's 1448 embassy to consiliar pope Felix V. In charge of a small fleet bringing supplies to the French royal army in Gascony in 1451, he 'se gouverna moult grandement et vaillamment ... et si firent ceulx de sa compaignie' in a naval action and the seige of Blaye: *Héraut Berry* p286, 361. See Beaucourt 1886 IV-VI *passim* for details of numerous diplomatic and administrative tasks to which he was assigned. *Général des finances* 1450-61, never qualified *général de Normandie* but rather *général conseiller sur le fait des aides* without provincial designation: his jurisdiction was nonetheless Normandy, and he was resident in Rouen from 1452. It is likely that he was a senior figure on the Caroline *grand conseil* at Rouen. He was one of those who treated with Spanish sea captains in respect of French plans for a campaign in England in the summer of 1461. His replacement Jean Arnoulfin took over in August 1461, and was also resident in Rouen. See the notice by Dupont-Ferrier 1930, appendix III n°22; Jacqueton 1891 appendix 3. For consideration of his role in the apanage regime in the autumn and winter of 1465-66, and his unlucky fate, see chapter 6.

b) Girard le Boursier was cr *lai* at the 1456 *Echiquier*, qualified *maître des requêtes de l'Hôtel*. He sat on the royal council in this period: Gaussin 1982. Simon le Boursier was *greffier* of the *Echiquier des Comptes* 1454: *Echiquier* 1454 p2. François le Boursier was trs France for Normandy 1479-83: GR16298; Jacqueton 1891 appendix 3.

c) Sr Esternay.

Guy le Bouteiller

a) Hda GO Brézé 1455.3-1461.3. His family had strong *demeurant* credentials; after the Reduction they were in difficulties. They had lost la Roche-Guyon and their lands in the Auge and the Caux were probably in poor condition. They were also having to mount defences in the courts of their title to lands which had been arbitrarily resumed in 1449-50. Guy le Bouteiller, for example, was involved in a struggle over Cauchois lands with Georges du Four *écuyer*. After the Reduction, Du Four had seized properties in the parishes of St Martin, St Nicolas de Veulles, Manneville-es-Plains, Guetteville, Cailleville, Mesnil Duredent, Ermenonville, and Plaineferme, claiming them as his inheritance from his late mother Jeanne de Hellande. Her title to them had arisen from her marriage to the late Jean de Beauchamp *écuyer*. Guy contended that Beauchamp had sold them in 1410 to his grandfather; du Four was bought out in 1455, allowing him to keep the fruits he had taken during his enjoyment, plus 30 *écus*: *Rouen* 1 Feb 1454/55.

b) Son of the Lancastrian king's knight Guy I le Bouteiller sr la Roche-Guyon, and grandson of Jean le Bouteiller *chevalier* sr Granville-la-Regnart. Guy II's mother Catherine de Gavre remarried Simon de Morhier by 1445: *DLN/4* p177. Guy I's sister Marguerite had married into the Dampont (*qv*) in the 1420s.

Pierre le Bouteiller

a) Brézé hda in the Rouen garrison 1453.4-1461.3. Lt GS in Rouen in the 1450s and in 1466. There is little evidence as to his responsibilities, and indeed, they may have varied according to Brézé's delegations at particular times. He is named as lt in the château and town of Rouen in the summer of 1461; he had been holding this position since before 1459, when he was described in a case at the *Echiquier* as lt at the Grosse Tour du Chastel, deciding whether or not to release prisoners into the hands of the bishop of Lisieux. He was not alone in holding this position, and is consistently named after Brunet de Longchamp in the PO musters which survive. He was perhaps the second most important Brézé officer in Rouen after Brunet, but may have been more consistently resident: AC Rouen A8 *Registres des délibérations*, p; *Echiquier* 1459 p99: Rouen 1 Oct 1466. After Louis's recovery of Normandy (Jan 1466), he was named *grenétier* of Rouen. He held the office in maintenance, obtaining royal letters excusing him from exercise in person every year between 1466 and 1469, when Guillaume Picart registered another such permission for another year: BN PO 477 *Bouteillier* 10678, n°2. Pierre had been high in Brézé's service for many years. He is named first, ahead of Brézé's *maître d'hôtel*, in the witness list to the contract of May 1451 by which Brézé assumed large debts of the Merbury (*qv*). He witnesses many of Brézé's transactions notarised in Rouen, invariably alongside (and usually ahead of) intimate servants of the GS such as Pierre du Vieuchâtel *maître d'hôtel*, Guillaume Maugier *greffier* of Brézé's council, Jean Carbonnel or Jean le Prince. He witnessed most of the contracts relating to the transport of the Crespin inheritance. As early as 1452 he witnessed a financial contract relating to Brézé's accession in these lands. In 1454 he witnessed the final transport of these lands by Antoine Crespin Bishop of Laon, and persons with his patronym were remembered in Jean Crespin's testament with a small cash gift. Months later he witnessed Brézé's accommodation with Robert de Flocques: Rouen 29 May 1451, 25 Jun 1452, 2 and 20 Jun, 8 Dec 1454. Other contracts he witnessed included the settlement of marriage gifts on Marie Carbonnel, Brézé's purchase of Pommereul, the acquisition of the Hôtel de Cleres: Rouen 16 Jun and 31 Oct 1456, 13 Mar 1457/58. We can find traces of him being used in less banal capacities: he bought up letters of obligation in rents and debts *mobiliaire* to employ in Brézé's legal contest with Robert des Champs and his wife Jeanne de Rouvray over Vivier. *Decret* proceedings begun by him forced the couple to an accord with Brézé in 1458: Rouen 1 Dec 1458. He was still in Brézé's service when the GS fell at Montlhéry, and when his son succeeded to the cpcy of Rouen he was listed in the audience alongside the same men who had anchored the regime in the 1450s: Jean Havart, Jean Carbonnel, Brunet de Longchamp, Nicolas le Normant, Robert de Dreux and the rest: AC Rouen A8 *Registre des délibérations*, p237-237v°. Unlike some of these men, he remained in the service of Jacques de Brézé, and there is no evidence that he dallied with the ducal regime over the winter of 1465-66. In the 1450s he was one of the lesser poles of attraction around which the affinity was articulated. Guillaume de Boisvyon (*qv*) appears in a contract of Oct 1466, described as brother and heir of Pierre de Boisvyon dit 'Soubtil', servant of Pierre le Bouteiller. The connection was an affinal one dating back before the Lancastrian conquest. In 1449-50 Marguerite daughter of Jean le Bouteiller and Marie de Boisvyon resumed lands of her parents in V Caudebec but granted elsewhere by the Lancastrians: DLN/13 p269-73.

b) Pierre is presumed a cadet. The head of the name and arms in the 1450s appears to have been Jean le Bouteiller sr la Boutellerie-en-Auge, who married Jeanne Menart in 1456. Thomas de Saâne sr de Baudribosc was one of the witnesses: Rouen 7 Apr 1456. His relationship with Guy le Bouteiller is unclear. The le

Bouteiller were also linked by blood and marriage to the Dampont and Maugier families. Both of these had their own links to Brézé.

Other le Bouteiller in royal service in Normandy: Quentin, Torcy *hda* 1451.3-1456.2; Henri, Lau *hda* 1461.3; Jamet, *hda* of Jean de Lorraine 1451.2 to 1461.3. Robert le Bouteiller was *grenétier* Honfleur in 1470: *Caux* 1470 p300.

Guillaume de Braquemont

a) Brézé's *Lt* in the château and Palais de Rouen 1464-65: GR19714. That Braquemont was to end up in the rebel camp is certain but it is just possible that reports of his removal by Jeanne Crespin on grounds of disloyalty in the last week of September signal ruptures in the Brézé entourage, rather than being intended to confuse the king. If Braquemont had scrupled at the opening of the town to Bourbon, he was quick to reconcile himself to the new regime. When Lancelot de Haucourt was opening links to Charles de France he dispatched Braquet de Braquemont the younger (who was presumably in his company) to see his father. It was through the Braquemont, father and son, that Haucourt's reduction to duke Charles's obedience was arranged, and it was the son who administered the requisite oath. Braquemont was paid for his expenses on a six-day journey with escort from Rouen to Falaise for these negotiations: *LMIQ* n°107; Stein 1919, p575-81. Both father and son became household functionaries of Charles de France in the wake of the collapse of the duchy. The Braquet de Braquemont *écuyer* who was at household wages of the duke in the winter of 1467-68, and making secret journeys on his behalf, was probably the son. It is likely that it was his father, listed under the name Guillaume de Braquemont who was the duke's Maître d'Hotel from at least the same period. Both were on the same list of gifts and payments from the duke in April-Sept 1468, and both can be found in later *comptes* and *états* of the duke's households. It was probably the son who was *écuyer de l'écurie* of Charles de France after the collapse of the duchy, and *élu* of Saintonge and la Rochelle in 1470: Stein 1919 pp656-75, 677-85, 789; BN Ms fr 26267 n°430.

After the Reduction he made widespread resumptions in the Caux, thereby generating numerous lawsuits. The monks of Fécamp pursued the heirs of *détenteurs* of Braquemont lands with whom they had entered into contracts during the occupation. Braquemont's resumption of the lands of Jean or Sauvage Louvel, including the fief of Quesnay-de-Brilly in the Bray, triggered challenges from other local srs. By 1453 the case was before the *Echiquier* by appeal from Caudebec, and was still in full swing in 1469, involving André de Rambures, Robert de Grosmesnil and Pierre de l'Estendart: *Echiquier* 1453 p107, 114; 1454 p80; 1463 p87; 1464 p133; 1466 p71; 1469 p99.

b) His eldest son and namesake appears to have been in the service of Lau in 1465. The Braquemont were Cauchois nobles with lands in the Caux (Braquemont itself is just outside Dieppe) and the Bray who had been of some standing in the late 14th and early 15th century. Guillaume de Braquemont was on the 1415 embassy to England. Lionnet de Braquemont, sometime chancellor of the duke of Orléans, was one of the defenders of Harfleur during the 1415 siege, and his brother Robert was admiral under the disintegrating Armagnac regime of 1417-18. As Orléanists, they were partisans of Charles VII from early on. Louis sr de Braquemont was a pensioner of Charles VII in 1421 with Guillaume de Braquemont *échançon* of Alençon. This pair figure in

Monstrelet, and Louis was killed at Verneuil. They suffered confiscation at the hands of the English. Robert de Braquemont's lands, for example, were held in succession by three Englishmen up to 1432: *Harcourt* II p1568ff, BN Ms fr 26267 n°29; Anselme VII p818; Monstrelet III p72, IV p196, V p117; Le Cacheux II p372, p335. Following his death in exile, Robert's daughter Aldouce and her husband Pierre de Rouville were in 1425 restored in lands of the Bethencourt succession which he had acquired. After the Reduction, among the many disputes which swamped the Rouville in litigation was one with the Braquemont. Unlike some Cauchois families with Brézé links, the Braquemont of the period after the Reduction were the creatures of resistance to the Lancastrians. Associations of long standing were continued. Guillaume de Braquemont had been in the company which took Rue in 1435 alongside men such as Pierre's uncle Jean de Brézé and the sr de Longueval. Also in this company was Charles Desmarestz, whose post-Reduction garrison at Dieppe included Charles de Braquemont, Guillaume's cousin: *DLN*/11 p267.

c) Before the occupation Guillaume sr de Braquemont had been seised of Sotteville, la Sulle, Vibeuf, Rosey, Traversain, Companville, Venestanville, Netainville (V Neufchatel), and Bellintot.

Jean de Breauté

a) Torcy hda. In 1450 he secured letters in his favour from Charles VII recounting how he had rallied to the king

des qu'il s'est pu armer et depuis a tousiours continuellement servi le Roy en ses guerres et fait encores chacun jour au moien desquelles il a este cinq fois prisonnier es mains desdis ennemis ou il a souffert plusieurs maux et duretes et pour soy racheter desdis prisons lui a convenu finer de grandes sommes de deniers dont il est de tout destruit et si sont ses terres qu'il a en Caux et ailleurs en Normendie toutes tournees en ruine.

He was asking the king for provision in respect of the fief of Mesneval (V Orbec). In 1413 his father Cauchois knight Roger sr de Breauté had sold this fief to the count of Harcourt for L8,000, triggering a royal *clameur de marchie de srie*. The suit between Harcourt and the crown forestalled Breauté's own retraction of the sale, and then the whole process was obviated by the Lancastrian conquest. The Breauté lands were held by various Englishmen (including Walter Lord Hungerford) during the occupation, and Roger suffered 'tres grandes pertes'. He died leaving his sons minors within the raquittal period of the sale. Jean now secured acknowledgement that the raquittal period specified in the original transport should apply to the crown, and that the period of the occupation should be set aside for these purposes. He further secured a grant of the fief to be held at *ferme* pending raquittal. He was unable to make the raquittal within the extension awarded him by Charles VII and during his visit to Normandy in Sep 1464 Louis XI extended the raquittal term indefinitely, and liberalised the terms of the *ferme* to include exercise of high justice, homages and patronage of churches: *DLN*/25 p116, /3 p184.

There are confirmatory signs that Breauté was in financial difficulties after the Reduction. After the Reduction Jean sold the fief of Troubleville to Gauvain Mauviel *élu* of Rouen (*qv*), the transaction subsequently being retracted by *marchie de bourse* by his brother, with cash sums supplied by Brézé. Subsequently the fief was transported to Brézé at a discount for 'bons et agreables services, courtoisies et plaisirs': *Rouen* 19 Jul 1456. After the Reduction ancient debts of his father dating from the first decade of the century caused him severe problems. In particular marriage gifts of L50,000 had been advanced by admiral Robert de Braquemont to Jean's elder brother Jean dit Roger de Breauté on the basis of a marriage settlement of 1404. Jean *l'ainé*'s marriage to

Aldouce de Braquemont was never consummated because of the wars, and the debts descended to her sons the Rouville (*qv*). This crushing obligation was not settled until 1486, but by a 1459 accord with Jacques de Rouville Jean *le jeune* committed himself to an onerous schedule of payments. To the end of redeeming a complex of lands handed over as surety, he entered into rent transactions with financier Jean de la Perreuse and Cauchois knights Jean Masquerel sr Hermanville and Brunet de Longchamp sr Noville (*qv*), the latter drawn in at the behest of Charles Desmarestz *cp* Dieppe: *Harcourt* II 1568ff, *Rouen* 22, 24 Feb 1458/59; 20 Dec 1460, 23 Oct 1461, 31 May 1462, 27 Oct 1463. There are allusions in these sources of related accords, deals and *decrets* in Paris and other Norman assises, the earliest in 1454: the process had clearly been ongoing since the Reduction. Jean was dead by 1467 when the wardship of his son was granted *gratis* to Antoine Crespin archbishop of Narbonne: *DLN/75* p297. See the notice on the Rouville for further consideration of the issues between the two families.

b) Second son of Roger de Breauté *chevalier*, who died in exile after the Lancastrian conquest. His elder son Jean *l'ainé* dit Roger was killed at Verneuil. The survivor Jean *le jeune*, the subject of this notice, was related to Jean Crespin through the latter's maternal grandmother Marie de Breauté, and was left 200 *écus* in his testament. He had a younger brother Roger or Regnault who also served in Torcy's company and in the Dieppe garrison.

c) Sr Breauté, Neville and many lesser fiefs in the Caux.

Jean de Brecey

a) *Hda* of the Mont-Saint-Michel 1451.2 to 1461.3. He gained remission in 1442 for having taken part in a plot with Guillaume Mauvoisin, the baron of Coulonces, Laurens le Conte, Jean le Brun, Perrin du Puis, Jean Charpentier and a Mont-Saint-Michel herald to deliver the *cpcy* of Mont-Saint-Michel to a French captain other than Estouteville. The remission was given in presence of Tancarville, the admiral, Brézé *et al*: *CMSM* II p139.

b) One Robert de Brecey was on the list of those defending the Mont in 1427, as inscribed in the chapel of St Sauveur de l'église du Mont Saint Michel: Abbé Desroches, *op cit.* p72-73. Poli conjectures that Jean is son of this Robert, son of Colin sr de Brecey. In 1485 a Robert de Brecy was in the garrison of Tombelaine: Poli 1895 n°1400. This is a more plausible connection than to Philibert de Brecy *chevalier*, sr St Celerin and la Vallee, *chambellan du roi* and his governor of Langres. Colin de Bressay was resident of Mesnil-Rainfroy east of Avranches in 1464: *Monfaut* p412.

Julien de Brehan, Brehaut, etc.

a) *Hda* of Broons's company, defected to the service of Charles de France from the company of the *GS* in 1465. He is the only instance of the company from which a man was defecting being named in the list of defectors in the *comptes* of the Breton *trs des guerres* in 1465. He was stated to be one of the three absentees from du Pont's company when it mustered in Breton service, so had remained in the service of Louis's new *B* 1461-64/65. In October 1465 he was paid L120 for having rallied to the duke, deserting the company of the *grand sénéchal*. He may have refused to desert in the winter of 1464-65, and found place with Brézé,

finally defecting after the opening of Rouen: Morice III p125. Julien served under Avaugour in 1481: Morice III p388.

b) There is a notice on his family in Chesnaye-Desbois. He was the third son of Geoffroi de Brehan *chevalier* sr Belle-Issue and Mont-Bréhan, d.1435, who was married in turn to Thomine de Dinan and Thomine-Annot de Penthièvre. His elder brothers were Gabriel (d.1452), from whom the main line descended, and Guillaume. Antoine de Brehan was receiver of Lamballe in the 1440s, and is frequently mentioned by Kerhervé under the name Brehant: Kerhervé 1987 *passim*.

c) In 1469 he was resident at St-Melaine-de-Lamballe:

Richard, Cardinet de Brevedent

a) Flocquet GO hda 1451.2-1460.4. He had been a prisoner of the English garrison of Domfront awaiting ransom in 1429: Poli 1895 n°1165. He resumed Brevedent after the Reduction and was holding it in 1453: Frondeville 1936 p83. His children holding land in V Orbec and were in wardship in 1469: *Evreux* 1470 p45.

b) He and Jean de Brevedent were both resident at Le Faulq near Brevedent north-east of Lisieux in 1464: *Monfaut* p147. descendants became *parlementaires*, their advance being linked to Diane de Poitiers (widow of Louis de Brezé): Dewald 1980 p88.

c) Sr Brevedent in V Orbec.

Bertrand Briçonnet, d.1484.

a) *Greffier criminel de l'Echiquier*. Royal secretary 1454, retained by Louis XI; missions to England 1462, Perpignan 1463, etc., *maître des requêtes de l'Hôtel* 1481.

b) See the notices on members of this important family and a genealogy in *Sécrétaires* n°97-105. Tourangeux origins.

Guy Affourd, Affourth, dit Guy de Briouze, d. by 1468

a) Norman born of English family, paid for service at the *Echiquier* of 1448 and at the Estates of 1449 (where he was deputy for the nobles of the Auge): BL Add Ms 11509 p48v°, 62v°-66. He was reduced to the obedience of Charles VII by Brézé in obscure circumstances in the mid-1450s. Raoul de Brully cp Cotentin *franc-archiers* gave quittance on 10 Dec 1456 for payments of expenses in bringing 'Guy Affourd Anglois' to Rouen: ADSM *Fonds d'Anquin* c IV, n°44. His lands had been forfeited in 1450 and granted first to Charles VII's *échanson* Jean d'Escourches, then to Jean Bureau trs France: BN Ms Lat 9869 f°14; AN K168 n°96 (the original grant: see also *DLN/1* p446, inquests made on the orders of the *gens des comptes*). Brézé funded the purchase of Bureau's rights and then in January 1459 abandoned all rights thus acquired to Guy, who exchanged the name Affourd for Briouze: *Rouen* 29 Jan 1458. He had entered Brézé's service, served in his household and the Rouen garrison and can be found witnessing many contracts for his master. The most important of these were Jeanne Crespin's 1462 procuration to administer the Brézé lands, her gifts made to Pierre Crespin Marquis de Mauny: *Rouen* 9 Sep 1462, 24 May 1463, 29 Oct 1463. He had a strong role in the administration of Brézé's lands, conveying payments,

intervening in lawsuits in the county of Maulévrier, managing works at Mauny, and above all in governing Jersey: *Echiquier* 1466 p62: Guy baron de Briouze, charged with paying workers at Mauny, still owes Jean le Gros 'du mestier de Plomberie' L160; Nicolle 1920 and Lempriere 1924 p102ff.

The story of Guy's recovery of Briouze did not end with the removal of the Bureau claim: Jean de Drosay, husband of Guy's sister Margaret, had acquired a proprietorial interest in the lands during his fierce rearguard action against the grant to Bureau. He was not disposed to surrender these rights after Bureau's withdrawal, and a further agreement had to be negotiated before Guy could enjoy an unimpeded if heavily qualified possession. By an appointment of 1462 brokered by Robert Biote acting as *maître des requêtes*, the lands were charged with substantial rents to Margaret, and Guy became *usufruitier* for life only. In the event, Guy did pass the lands to his children, so the terms of 1462 may reflect the political conjuncture of Brézé's brief disgrace. Briouze is presumed identical with the 'maître Guy' arrested at Mauny by la Barde: BN PO 521 *Briouze* 11703, n°2 etc.; *Rouen* 3 Apr 1461/62; BN Ms fr 20486 p112. Briouze had other English renegades in his own service, some of them named in documents relating to violence between tenants of the barony and Jean de Lorraine's men inhabiting his vicomté of la Carnaille. Guillaume Millecent was sergeant of the barony; more intriguingly the Jehan Edouart named in April 1462 as one of those committing *attentats* in the Briouze interest is the homonym of the John Edwards who surrendered la Roche-Guyon to the French for payment in 1449: *Echiquier* 1455 p85; 1463 p154v°. See also under Lachere, Cérisey.

b) Son of John Affourd, an Englishman whose whole career had been bound up with the Lancastrian effort in France. In the 1420s he was variously *lt* of the earl of Salisbury at Falaise, and *gouverneur* of 30 lances and 80 *archiers à cheval* of the company of Sir Thomas Rampston: BN PO 11 *Affourde* 279, n°2-4. John married Isabel de Merle and in 1432 the couple sought delivery of the barony of Briouze in her hereditary right. They appear to have succeeded: the barony and the sry of Bellou were theirs at her death in 1445. John took the wardship of his children and their lands in 1446 at L40 per annum. John, Guy his son, and other members of the family can be found obtaining delays in rendering homage for these and other lands in the 1440s: BN PO n°5-9; *DLN*/8 p377, /4 p205. They fled to England on the Reduction. Guy's sister Margaret Affourd remained in Normandy and her husband former Lancastrian officer Jean de Drosay sought to obstruct the effect of Bureau's grant on the grounds that her hereditary right as the daughter of Isabel should take precedence: see above and the full account of this suit in *Rouen* 3 Apr 1461; see also *Echiquier* 1454 p109.

c) Baron of Briouze and sr Bellou. The gross annual value of these sries was assessed at L260 in 1451; there was evidence of serious war damage: *DLN*/1 p246.

Jean Broucet, Brochart *écuyer*

a) *Hda* *GO* Dunois 1452.1-1461.3. *V* Alençon 1456-58, 1459, 1472: *GR*433; *Appointements* 1459 p2, 15; *Rouen* 19 Sep 1459; *DLN*/17 p107. *Lt* *MEF* in the duchy of Alençon 1473: *DLN*/17 p113. Homonym had been *LPB* Alençon 1439. Near-homonym *LPB* in *châtellenie* of Alençon 1476: *GR*431. In 1474 Jean Brochet or Broucet l'ainé *écuyer* appointed with Olivier de la Chapelle *écuyer* sr Forges, over the fief of Cuissel: *Rouen* 3, 6 Nov 1474.

b) In the Cuissel accord mentioned above Brochet was claiming to be heir of priest Pierre Medavy/Medany who died seised of the fief. Also mentioned were his sons Guillaume or Gilles and Jean Brochet le jeune. Guillaume Broucet was LGV Alençon 1470: *DLN/17* p107. A homonym was resident at Sourdeval in the Avranchin in 1464: *Monfaut* p412. A. or Antoine Broucet, Brosset was ay at the *Cour du Trésor* 1483-92 and later at the *Parlement*: Dupont-Ferrier, *Avocats* p33.

c) Presumed identical with the Jean Brohart *écuyer* sr Neufville in V Orbec who appeared at the 1470 musters as a *brigandiner* with 2 horses: *Evreux 1470* p27.

Colinet de Broye

a) Hda GO Dunois 1452.1-1461.3. Presumed identical with Nicolas de Broies, *fl.* 1470, cp Pierresous.

b) Nicolas was the son of Guy de Broies and Marie de Chastillon. His wife was Marie de Boulainvillier and his eldest son Hugues married Antoinette daughter of Georges Havart sr la Rosière, but *osp*. His younger son Jean married (1542) Jeanne de Villers: *Harcourt* II p1520.

c) Nicolas was sr Pacy, Nanteuil.

Colinet du Brueil *chevalier*

a) Hda GO Dunois 1461.2-1461.3.

b) See following notice. Pierre du Breil or Brueil *écuyer* sr Bantot or Bautot transacted before the Rouen *tabellions*: *Rouen* 28 Sep 1460. Jean du Brueil archdeacon of BourgesMartin du Brucil or Breul *écuyer* appointed with Jean Aupoix *écuyer* over a suit pending at the 1466 *Echiquier*: *Rouen* 21 Nov 1466.

Jean du Brueil, Breil, d.Dec 1463.

a) Av at the *Parlement* from 1418, received cr 1436 after the integration of the *parlementaires* of Poitiers; canon of Tours, deputy of the clergy of Bourges at the Estates General of 1434; sought to register his grant of the office of avR in the *Cour des Aides* 1439 but was refused in 1441 as not having resigned his office in the *Parlement*; *commissaire adjoint* at the *Cour du Trésor* in 1449-50, ay there 1446-59, confirmed cr *au Parlement* by Louis XI; cr *lai* (but qualified archdeacon of Bourges) at the 1463-64 *Echiquiers*: Dupont-Ferrier 1932 p207 n°18, p60 n°60; Dupont-Ferrier, *Personnel* p60 and appendix II n°91, appendix III n°84, 89, 90; *Avocats* p33. The chapter and archiepiscopal officers presented him with a small gift on the occasion of his being entertained to supper with Biote, Prévôteau and others during the 1464 *Echiquier*: Beaurepaire 1868 p20. He witnessed Chancellor de Morvilliers's purchase from Guillaume le Tellier *chevalier* of a fief in the county of Aumale: *Rouen* 17 Apr 1464, misplaced under 29 Apr.

b) Son of royal secretary Guillaume du Brueil and Jeanne de Longueil. Homonyms and men with this patronym or orthographical variants thereof served as ay's in the *Cour du Trésor*. Members of his family in the next generation were prominent at the *Cour des Aides* and in the service of the duke of Orléans: see notices in Maugis 1913-16 III p83, 100. For a Manceux family, probably related, see *Saint-Pierre-de-la-*

Cour pCCII. Seemingly unrelated to Martin sr du Brueil *écuyer* sr Beaumont near Thury who married Perrette de Cingal: *Caen* 12 Apr 1464/65, p63v°.

Raoul de Brully

a) Cp Cotentin *franc-archiers* 1456-65...: *GES* p360. He was *demeurant* as a minor, freed of wardship in 1446, and remained in the Lancastrian obedience seised of his lands in V Coutances: *DLN/4* p163, 173. He may have been in an Estouteville orbit in the 1450s or later, as he appeared in the first post-accession muster of the company of Geoffroi de Couvran, precisely at the time when other Estouteville men were appearing with Lower Norman companies. He also took the muster of the Brézé garrison in Montorgueil in June 1461.

b) Presumed kin to Guillaume de Brully *chevalier*, resident of Chevry in the Avranchin 1464: *Monfaut* p422.

c) Qualified sr Gonneville and Charay (?Chevry) in an inquest of May 1496, aged then 78 yrs old. He gave *aveu* for Chanay (?Chevry) in Sep 1461: *Poli* 1895 n°1407, 1366. In 1464 he resided in the sgtry of Hommet in the *election* of Carentan: *Monfaut* p426.

Richard de Brumare, d.1466

a) *Grenétier* of Caen in the 1450s and early 1460s: *Rouen* 15 Jul, 15 Oct 1454; 12 May 1456; 18 Jan 1458/59; 17 Oct 1460; 22 Apr 1463; 22 Jan 1464/65; *Caen* 8 Aug 1456. His accounts were questioned in the wake of the accession of Louis XI after he sought to conceal shortfalls by falsifying (c.1460) schedules of payments to Richemont and Somerset. He secured royal intervention and was discharged in Dec 1463: *BN Ms fr* 23262 n°12. Brézé's man Richard de Thieuville raised money prior to the Northumbrian expedition by selling him rents: *Rouen* 25 Aug 1462. As *rec aides* Lisieux, he was one of those who negotiated the capitulation of the city to Breton captains in ducal service 1465: *Stein* 1919 p548. Payments were made in May 1465 for the proclamations *à son de trompe* of the forfeiture of the Patriarch, the late Brumare, and others in the *vicomté* of Caen: *DLN/23* p82. In the context of his kinship to the du Bosc one may hypothesise that he was an active Rouennais supporter of Charles de France and was executed in Jan-Feb 1466.

b) His wife was Laurence Bonte, sister or daughter of Michel Bonte (*qv*). He had a brother Vincent de Brumare. He was kin to the du Bosc family, involved in a number of financial transactions with them, and was brokering the marriage of his niece Marion daughter of Robert du Bosc *rec* Lisieux to Jean le Seprieur in the spring of 1463: *Rouen* 18 Jan 1458/59, 22 Apr 1463. He can be shown to have had financial associations with Antoine Lamy LV Rouen: *Rouen* 18 May 1456. Roger de Brumare was a *fermier* of the V Eau in the 1440s: *Echiquier* 1466 p49. A Guillaume de Brumare and Isabel his wife were involved in financial transactions with Guillaume Frétel: *Rouen* 12 Nov 1460.

c) Bourgeois of Rouen: *Rouen* 25 Aug 1462.

Guy Burdelot, d.1474.

a) Known as *Echiquier* cr *clerc* only from his quittance in BN PO 557 *Burdelot* 12575, n°9, from which it is apparent that he received payment for his expenses and 54 days' absence at the 1459 *Echiquier*. Archdeacon of Pinchiers in the church of Chartres, chaplain of the château at Arques: BN PO 557 *Burdelot* 12575, n°10 and 557 12756 n°4. Cr *clerc* at the *Parlement* from 1454, confirmed by Louis XI: Maugis 1913-16 III p93, 101.

b) *Parlementaire* family of Tourangeux origins: see the genealogy and notices on three members of this family in *Secrétaires* n°s 122-24. Guy, son of a bourgeois of Tours, was the first representative of a *parlementaire* dynasty. His brother married into the Picart family. Pierre Burdelot was *contrôleur général* of Outre-Seine 1441-43, and *commis au fait de l'argenterie* c.1460-61 under Charles VII: Dupont-Ferrier 1930, appendix V n°9; BN Ms fr 20498 p77, 78.

Jacques Burdelot *écuyer*

a) V Avranches 1459-79: GR7343. Had purchased the office of V from Richard du Prael; had been rec 1455 and rec aides 1459, 1460, and was authorised to retain this office as V. Confirmed in post by Louis XI, as were his kin as royal secretaries. He received a royal gift of L45 in Dec 1461 for 'aucuns services'. Briefly replaced by the ducal regime 1465, restored by 1468 at the latest, again replaced 1479, but regained the office 1484-87: GR7539, 7342-3; BN Ms fr 23262 n°12; BN PO 1083 *d'Estouteville* 24901 n°164.

b) Jacques was third son of Jean I Burdelot sr du Plessis-Rideau and Plessis-Macé, brother of Jean II (cr *au Parlement*) and Pierre (royal secretary and mayor of Tours 1485), and nephew of Guy (forgoing notice).

Jean du Bueil was *usufruitier* of V Carentan 1449-61, and again by April 1465 and after 1466. Charles VII, having resumed Issoudun, granted him the V in 1449 up to an annual value of L1,400, with power to name officers, for services and in redemption of debts of L24,000: DLN/75 p83; BN Ms fr 21405 p113. BN Ms fr 20495 p42 is a request from du Bueil to Louis XI for the continuation of his pension and for confirmation of a written promise of the V Falaise with revenues, lordship and captaincy. The plausible dates are 1461 and 1465. If the former is correct, this is evidence of the duplicity of the king in wooing Caroline *chefs de guerre* around the time of the accession. If the latter, then it may be an index of the search for support. Louis XI actually restored du Bueil in the usufruct of Carentan on 4 April 1465, in the wake of Berry's *partement*: BN Clairambault 782 f°192. Having restored him in the captaincy at L1,200 wages and in the lordship up to L500 of revenue, he augmented the grant ten days later, by ceding him the rest all remaining revenues: DLN/16 p155. The grant survived the ensuing turmoil in the province, for du Bueil's officers were taking possession of the offices to which he had provided them in 1466: DLN/16 p155.

Girard Bureau *écuyer*, d.1494

a) V Caen 1450-65; LGB Caen 1466-83, 1487-94: GR4521, 4285, 4288.

b) See the genealogy in Anselme VIII p136. He was the son of Simon *le jeune* Bureau (d.1434), hence nephew of the Bureau brothers Jean (*trésorier de France*, d.1463) and Gaspard (*maître de l'artillerie*, d.1469). Succeeded as lieutenant by his own son Hugues Bureau: GR16920, 4289. Girard's sister Thierrie married Jean de Saint-Romain, *avocat* at the Châtelet and dramatically promoted to the office of PrR at the *Parlement* on Louis XI's accession.

c) His father sr de Saint-Suplex, his son sr de Giberville.

René, Regne du Bustz, Bus

a) Served under Brézé as stand-in for Pierre Chapelle 1455.3. Whether or not he and Chappelle were close is unknown, but he can be shown acting with other Brézé men. A contract of 1454 names him as a servant of the duke of Bourbon: acting for him are Jean Basset and Jean le Beuf (*qqv*). Raised cash through rent sales to Henri Hurel: Rouen 23 Jan 1461/62. Suggestively, René was raising money on the Rouen rent markets in the spring of 1463, broadly in the period of a spate of such transactions by other Brézé men, and from Henry Hurel, who seems to have been the financier of choice for them: Rouen 28 Apr 1463. He was in the GO of the duke of Bourbon when excused attendance at the 1470 musters of V Gisors: VS46 p321.

b) Richard du Bustz *écuyer*, perhaps a kinsman, was *Maître des œuvres de maçonnerie* in B Rouen by May 1450 and on through the 1450s: BL Additional Charters 4065; Rouen Feb 26 1454/55, 2 Dec 1456.

c) Sr du Bustz and Cantiers-en-Veulguessin.

Jean Butault dit Poitevin

a) Member of the Harfleur garrison 1452.1-1453.4. Presumed identical with Jean Butaud 'de Pictavie oriundus', ennobled in 1443 for his services at the siege of Pontoise in the company of Louis d'Amboise vicomte de Thouars: Guérin VIII p152.

b) Guérin identifies this man as husband of Françoise de la Bauduère, second son of Pierre Boutaud *bachelier ès lois* sr l'Aubouinière (d.1438) and Catherine de la Roche sister of André bishop of Luçon. In 1463 one Guy de Buteaulx *écuyer de l'écurie du roi* purchased rents given by his late aunt Sibille Mutine of Dijon to his niece Jeanne now married to Jean de la Dehors resident at Rouen: Rouen 5 Nov 1463.

c) Sr la Papaudière near Luçon.

Jean de Camprond

a) Hda Estouteville 1458.2-1461.3. He was dead by the time of a suit in the 1466 *Echiquier* between his widow and Jean de Villiers *chevalier* baron of Hommet and his wife: *Echiquier* 1466 p159.

b) Husband of Marie de Villiers.

Enguerrand de Camprond canon of Coutances was one of Bedford's *commis* for the 1428 Estates: CMSM I p266. Roger de Camprond *écuyer* was Lancastrian PrR in B Cotentin 1433-1448 and at Saint-Sauveur-Lendelin 1446: GR7232, 7268. This man is presumed identical with the Cotentin lord of this name who gave *aveu* to Henry VI in 1423 for Camprond (north-east of Coutances) and Saussoy (in St Gere de la Riviere): Poli 1895 n°1058.

Roger was also sr Gorges half way between Carentan and Lessay, who sold rents to Robert Biote in 1451 and 1452, and was resident at Gorges in 1464: *Rouen* 30 Aug 1451, 13 Jun 1452; *Monfaut* p423.

c) Sr le Lorey between Coutances and St Lô, and resident there in 1464: *Monfaut* p423.

Antoine Cannart dit de Lattre

a) Floquet GO hda 1458.2-1460.4. V Auge in the 1470s:. As hda in the king's *garde du corps* he was Vd and *châtelain* of Breteuil when he was awarded his wages for 1471 even though he did not exercise it in person 'obstant son service a la guerre': *DLN/24* p171. In Nov 1472, under the soubriquet Cannart he was provided to the V Auge, for services *au fait de la guerre*: *DLN/25* p145; *GR*19183. In 1472 he captured the Burgundian Antoine Sallart and settled with him over a ransom of 1,200 *écus*. In 1473 Louis XI intervened to acquire the prisoner for L1,100, met by the quittance of dues owed by Cannart on his *ferme* of the Touques salt pans, on his V and by the cession of the *ferme* for a further 7 years: *BN Clairambault* 221 p159. Malet de Graville's *visamiral* de France by 1491 in succession to Coulomp, and cp Honfleur: Bréard/Barrey 1906 p232. Close to Aydie and V Conches. Went on to have a significant career in Norman affairs later in the century: see, for instance his role as royal agent in the Tancarville succession (1490s), Deville 1834 p230-31.

b) Geoffroi de Lattre was hda of Torcy and appears to have defected in 1465. Fleurquin de Lattre was hda of Dunois. Jean de Lattre was abbot of Sainte Catherine.

c) Sr *j.u.* Gassart (nr. Pont-L'Eveque) and Genneville (V Beaumont): Bréard/Barrey 1906 p212.

Coquart Canne, Canu *écuyer*

a) V Caen 1466, 'naguaires' April 1469, 1467: *GR*4522; *Caen* 29 Jan 1466/67. Canne became V Jan-Feb 1466, triggering the promotion of Girard Bureau to the office of LGB Caen: *GR*4285, 4521. On Jan 27 1466 Louis XI licensed him to exercise the office by lt given his continual employment 'au service du duc de Bretagne comme son ecuier de cuisine'. He should be regarded as a beneficiary of François II's dominance at Caen at this juncture: *DLN/23* p62.

b) Germain Canu purchased a rent from Colinet de Semainville, obtaining the arrears *gratis* for 'bonne amour et services': *Rouen* 5 Dec 1465. Jean and Guillaume le Canu were resident in the vicinity of Saint-Lô in 1464: *Monfaut* p426.

Hutin de Cantiers

a) Hda of the garrison of Dieppe under Charles Desmarestz in the 1450s and in 1465. Mustered in the *châtellenie* of Gisors in 1470: *Caux* 1470 p319.

b) Hutin is a soubriquet, probably for Jean, but the Cantiers were quite ramified and identification cannot be certain. Julien de Cantiers was in the English obedience in 1429. He and his wife Isabeau de Blarru were named as parents of Thomas, Thibaut and Jeanne (she the wife of Guillaume le Cerf) in 1458. Isabeau de Blarru's sister was the mother of the des Essars men in the Dieppe garrison. Thibaut de Cantiers was sr Rueil in March 1461. He had a son Hutin presumed the Desmarestz hda. Another son Robert was with his wife Anne de Pilavoine

parent of Jean or Robert, Isabeau (m. Jean de Valliquierville) and Catherine (m. Jacques de Fontesse sr Vaulmain): BN PO 589 *Cantiers* 13987 n°10, 11, 12, 14.

c) Held lands in the *châtellenie* of Gisors: BN PO 589 *Cantiers* 13987, n°7.

Guillaume Cardin

a) V Caudebec 1461-66: GR6093. B, HH; excused attendance as of the royal household at the 1462-64 *Echiquiers* (respectively p7, p8, p8).

Jean du Carrey dit Petitjean

a) Hda Estouteville 1451.2-1461.3, and probably since before 1449. In March 1452 Charles VII gifted him 100 *écus* cash towards his ransom after he was made prisoner 'en faisant le pourchas de la ville de Harfleur'. The gift was drawn on English confiscations but the *Chambre des Comptes* discharged it by ceding him a house in Avranches at 30 *sous* of rent: DLN/10 p51.

b) Simon Carrey was a notable of the Mont agreeing an *aide* for its defence in 1441: Poli 1895 pCX. Jean de Carrel *écuyer* was *chef* of the nobles of V Argentan and Domfront for the Lancastrians in 1429: CMSM I 276. Guillaume and his nephew Jean Carrel was maintained as noble by Monfaut in 1464, resident at Saint-Pierre de Touques: *Monfaut* p149. They were likely related to Guillaume Carrey who was gr *clerc* of the *Echiquier* and Parlement of Rouen 1499-1522, and was stated to be of Lisieux: his descendants were subsequently srs St-Gervais d'Asnières near Lisieux: Frondeville 1960 p93. Jean du Caron was V Coutances 1447: GR 7391.

The Caruel

An important Vexin family with strong Roumois interests. Representatives thus appear among both Dunois's Beaucerons and Brézé's Normans. Macé Caviel or Caruel was hda of the GO under Dunois 1452.1-1461.3. Jean Cariel or Caruel was hda of the GO under Dunois 1460.4, who may be the son of Oudin Caruel sr de Merey and Martin (in the *châtellenie* of Pacy), himself a Brezé man in the garrison of Rouen and cp Chantilly at L960 1436-40: GR21011; *Evreux* 1470 p13. Oudin had married the daughter of the late Pierre d'Amfreville and had been a diehard Valois partisan in the Evreçin. He 'trouva maniere de reparer' the château of Amfreville-sur-Iton 'et la tousiours tenue alencontre les Anglois': DLN/9 p258. Isambart Caruel was pr *général* of the archbishop and Vd la Fontaine le Bourg in March 1462/63 : *Rouen* 20 Feb 1451/52, 15 May 1462, 12 Aug 1466, 17 Nov 1463. Guy Cavel or Caruel was a cathedral canon: *Rouen* 3 Dec 1463. Louis Caruel was lt of the *élus* of Coutances and Carentan in 1463: *Rouen* 16 Jan 1462/63. Thomas Caruel pledged Jean Baussain or Vaussain sr Vieux and Montigny in B Caen in rents sold to the Rouen cathedral chapter in 1458: *Rouen* 16 Dec 1458. In 1463 Raoullin Caruel witnessed the accord of a suit over rents drawn on a fief in the *vicomté* of Verneuil between Guillaume Prevosteau and his wife Jeanne de Meautils, and Robert le Cornu and his wife: *Rouen* 16 Aug 1462; *Echiquier* 1454 p28.

Guillaume de Casenove dit Coulomp, Coulon

a) Gascon petty noble who began his Norman career as hda Aydie and rose through the admiralty. Senior hda under Aydie, created *visamiral de France* and MEnqRefEF in Normandy by Montauban as GMEF, in

which post he can be shown incumbent 1464 and was confirmed by Louis XI in July 1466, notwithstanding the terms of his recent provision of Louis de Laval sr Châtillon to the office of GMEF on Montauban's death: ADSM 6E 13 *Notes de Beaurepaire* p20v^o; BN Clairambault 146 n°24. See Bourel de la Roncière 1899 II, p333ff on his later career.

b) His wife was Guillemette le sec daughter of Jean le Sec sr Gaillarbos (): Anselme VIII p856. She was widowed by 1483, qualified dame de Vareline and Mesnil-Paviot. They had a son Jean: Clairambault 146 n°25.

Antoine de Castelnau sr Lau: V Falaise 1463: GR4560. U; in fact he was *usufruitier* of the V in succession to marshal de Xaintrailles from soon after Louis's accession, temporarily evicted during the Public Weal, then definitively on his disgrace in 1466. He was also captain by 1464 and probably before GR4812. B

Branda, Brande de Castillon, di Castiglione, d.1487.

a) Cr *clerc* at the 1456 *Echiquier*, qualified archdeacon of Vez. His family connections brought him to Normandy where he represented the Bayeux chapter at the 1439 assembly of the Norman clergy. He made a reputation as a jurist and became archdeacon of Coutances and canon in the prebend of Vireville; he also acquired benefices outside the province. One of the judges of Alençon. Returning to Italy in the 1460s (bishop of Como from 1466), he was a major figure in Milanese politics under Galeazzo-Maria and the Regency. He was entrusted with diplomatic missions in France and the Burgundian lands in 1476, 1477. He died a cardinal: *Dictionnaire ecclésiastique*, sub Castiglione n°2; GC XI p897.

b) The family was of Milanese origin. Nephew of the Lancastrian bishop of Bayeux Xenon di Castiglione (1424-59), kinsman of the Lancastrian bishop of Coutances Giovanni di Castiglione (1444-53). His kinsman Cristoforo di Castiglione/Christophe de Castillon was heavily involved in the pursuit of his ecclesiastical relatives' debt and property claims in post-Reduction Normandy.

The le Cauchois

a) Guillaume le Cauchois was *grenétier* Caudebec: Rouen 3 Aug 1451. This is a common name with many occurrences in the *tabellionage*. The sons of Jean le Cauchois bourgeois of Rouen (dead by the early 1450s), Robinet and Jean, can be shown in loose association with men in Brézé circles. Jean le Cauchois, not certainly distinct, was a Brézé *hda*. Robinet held noble property in the Vexin, and can be shown in association with LPB Evreux Jean des Planches sr Fleury-sur-Andelle. His homonym acted as *pr* for Pierre des Barres *chevalier* collecting sums due to him for services rendered to Charles de France in Berry in late 1465: Rouen 7 Oct 1451, 11 Jun 1454; *Echiquier* 1453 p224v^o, 1454 20v^o, 1462 p6; Stein 1919 P.J. 24. Jean purchased the hôtel de Bellengues from Jean Poullain (*qv*) and his wife Jeanne daughter of Pierre Crespin dit le Marquis de Mauny in 1456. This appears to have been a disguised credit transaction and le Cauchois was still involved with the Marquis de Mauny in 1458: Rouen 7 Oct 1451, 14 Sep 1456, 26 Jul 1458.

b) In 1463 Richard le Cauchois was living in the Rouen hôtel of the Beauvaisis soldier Jean Valens *écuyer*, affianced to his daughter Marie la Cauchoise. The couple were pursuing the inheritance of Richard's cousin at law on his behalf. They had already spent over L200 on this enterprise and both Richard and the couple were constituting rents to finance further action. Marie was dame d'Esmainville and Frontebosc north of Rouen, in areas for which much evidence of devastation exists. 'Pour aucuns affaires et necessites qu'elle avoit eubz pour le gouvernement d'aucuns de ses heritages et terres' she had over several years constituted rents of L10 and cash debts worth L200 to Mery de Rouvray. Without 'aucune deniers de quoy elle les peult racquicter ne mesmes paier' rents or debts, she 'fust tourne devers ledit Mery et lui eust prie que il vouldist prendre et acheter d'elle aucune portion de ses heritages'. He accepted a manor and 36 acres around Sainte-Austreberthe near Pavilly. Marie's cousin was Brézé hda Jean bâtard de Gravelle, and the following year Valens recovered all the rights the bastard had acquired in (the now late) Richard le Cauchois's succession, at a discount for 'bonne amour'. Her brother Antoine was ratifying sales made from the inheritance: *Rouen* 6, 10 Jun, 28 Oct 1463, 9 Jul 1464, 27 Aug 1466.

Simon le Cauchois was a chaplain of Nôtre Dame de Rouen: eg. *Rouen* 8 Jun 1458. Robinet le Cauchois served Charles de France in Berry (1465.3): BN Ms fr 23262

Guillaume de Cérisey *écuyer*, d.1492 (interred in Nôtre-Dame de Carentan to which he was donor).

a) V Carentan 1453-64 and still in February 1466: GR7366; BN PO 635 *de Cerisay* 14985 n°6. He purchased this office from Mathelin Hervé *argentier* of the duke of Brittany: *DLN/75* p167. Secretary of Pierre II duke of Brittany 1454; of Charles VII by 1456; *pr-général* in B Rouen and *pr-général* in Normandy 1463; LG of Louis de Laval sr Châtillon GMEF by 1466 and into the 1470s: ADSM 6E 13, *Notes de Beaurepaire* p119. *Protonotaire/greffier* of the *Parlement* in 1467, confirmed by the Beaujeu Regency 1483; Norman *général des aides* 1467; *secrétaire des finances* under Louis XI but did not exercise the office; *commissaire* to the Norman Estates 1470; ambassador to England 1470-71; admiral Louis de Bourbon's B in his V Valognes in the 1470s; granted a royal pension of L400 in 1474; mayor of Angers 1475-84 in compensation for a grant of the office of trs France in Guyenne which did not take effect. See the notice in *Secrétaires* n°136.

He and his father-in-law can be shown in lawsuits and transactions with various members of the Carbonnel in the early 1460s: *Echiquier* 1462 p122, 1463 p202; *Rouen* 4 May 1464; BN PO 594 *Carbonnel* 13863 n°29, 35. In 1469 and 1473 he was in receipt of L30 pension from du Bueil, *usufruitier* of Carentan, drawn on the V: *DLN/16* p145. An earlier link to du Bueil is posited since he had been *usufruitier* under Charles VII. With Bertrand de Beauvau sr Preçigny and Guillaume le Coq he held the wardship of the children of Jean de Coulombières baron of la Haye de Puis: *Echiquier* 1462 p130; 1463 p110v°, 154; 1464 p244v°, 250v°. He was stated in BN PO 879 *Coulombieres* 19793, n°6 (12 Oct 1468) to have had the conduct of the causes of François de Coulombieres baron de la Haye du Puis and the other heirs of the late Jean de Coulombieres, for which purpose he has received from various named *prévôts* and receivers of the barony sums in his own name and by the commandment of the late *grand sénéchal* 'soubz lequel ledit de Cerisay estoit meneur', and also of *feu* Maître Guy de Briouze lors son *Maistre d'Hôtel*. One may hypothesise that the Brézé associations arose in 1464-65 after his entry into Rouen office under the auspices of Louis

d'Estouteville, with whom he had indirect connexions. His father-in-law had purchased the fief of Banville from Estouteville hda Roger de Camprond: BN PO 594 *Carbonnel* 13863 n°35. Guion baron des Biars *chevalier*, lt of Estouteville's company, acted for him at the *Echiquiers* of 1462 and 1463: *Echiquier* 1462 p183; 1463 p26v°. Guillaume Auber canon of Coutances and the cardinal's treasurer witnessed one of Cérissay's transactions as *meneur* of the Coulombières children in 1462: *Rouen* 3 January 1462/63; *Echiquier* 1463 p202. Guillaume le Coq *qv* witnessed his buying up of Jean baron de Montenay's residual rights in Fierville in 1464: *Rouen* 8 May 1464.

b) Cotentin noble family. He m. Jacqueline daughter of Jean de Rantot sr Vesly and Guillemette Tison. He had two sons, the *parlementaire* Christophe vicomte de Fauguernon, and royal secretary Pierre. See the printed genealogy and notice, *Secrétaires* n°136. See also Maugis III p122; Floquet, *Essai Historique sur l'Echiquier de Normandie* (Rouen 1842), p246.

c) He was sr Cérissay, later of Carentan, Vesly and Beuvrigny (*jure uxoris*), was granted the fief of Monestiés. He acquired the barony of Hommet, the vicomté of Fauguernon, and the fiefs of Fierville and Chastelet. By 1483 he was sergeant *fieffé* of Saint-Lô.

Jean de Cérissay

a) V Carentan for du Bueil 1458? He settled litigation over the office of V Carentan in 1458. Raoul Gourdel, who had held the office to 1453 at least, was to receive nine annual payments of *L*150: BN PO 315 *Bertout* 6296 n°3. He was named Vd Lithaire by Montauban in September 1462 and drew his wages in this office from the *recette* of Guillaume de Cérissay V Carentan: *DLN*/18 p159; /24 p159; BN PO 635 *de Cerisay* 14985 n°6. Du Bueil had rights of appointment to office in the V but Jean's rights in the office may be by transport from his kinsman (brother?) Guillaume.

b) See forgoing notice.

Antoine Champenois

a) Hda PO and GO Brézé: appears first in the musters 1455 but had certainly been in Brézé's service before, as eg., ADSM Fonds d'Anquin 100J Carton 15 p9 (1454, 1456). *Garde* of the Pont de Rouen under Brézé, 1460-61: BN Ms fr 26089 n°369. Probable a household man, he was arrested after the accession during la Barde's hunt for Brézé: BN Ms fr 20486 p112. Rallied to Charles de France and served in his household in Breton exile, was *écuyer de l'ecurie* in Guyenne: BN Ms fr 21477 p44-49; Ms fr 32263 p485-93.

Jean de Chanteloup, Cantelou, Champlélou etc.

a) Hda Estouteville at Mont-Saint-Michel 1451.2-1461.3. Presumed identical with Jean sr de Cantelou *écuyer*, listed among the counsellors, friends and kin of the children of Jean de Coulombières *écuyer* sr la Haye du Puis in a suit brought by Christophe de Castillon/Cristoforo di Castiglione: *Echiquier* 1462 p130.

b) Several different lineages with this patronym were differenced by armings of their armorial wolf. Poli believed that Estouteville's man belonged to a cadet line. Regnault de Canteleu was *gp francs archiers* of B Rouen for duke Charles in 1465.4: BN Ms fr 23262 p. Robinet was a Carbonnel hda, one of three brothers who proved

their nobility before Monfaut. The others were Guillaume and Hervieu. Guillaume is presumed identical with Guillaume sr Verguereul, of the main Lower Norman Chanteloup line, for whom La Roque preserved an early 16th century genealogy, which has Guillaume the son of Mathieu de Chanteloup, husband of Jeanne Pigache and father of Louis de Chanteloup: *Harcourt* II p1980. Hervieu de Chanteloup served under Bricquebec in the 1470s: Poli 1895 n°1391; *Monfaut* p370, 426, 427.

A homonym was in the garrison of Cherbourg, 1404; granted delay of *aveu* in 1419 by Henry V; suffered forfeiture and had his lands granted to Roger Suhart the same year, and was executed as traitor and brigand at Bayeux in 1433: Poli 1895 n°684, 934, 945, 1195. This last was qualified of the parish of Cahaigues.

The Coulombières connection may be rooted in the Mont. They were on the list of those defending the Mont in 1427, as inscribed in the chapel of Saint Sauveur de l'église du Mont Saint Michel, and Olivier de Coulombières *chevalier* was among those resident in V Coutances and of the Mont-Saint-Michel garrison in 1463: Desroches 1847 p72-73; *Monfaut* p423.

c) Sr Chanteloup northeast of Granville.

Pierre Chapelle

a) Brézé hda and hda in the service of duke Charles (1465.4); ducal *huissier d'armes* (1468.1) and still in the household (1468.3); *archier du corps* of the duke in Guyenne (1471.4, 1472.1, 1472.3): BN Ms fr 21477 p2-6, 8-20, 44-49; Ms fr 32663 p485-93; AN K71 n°15; BN PO 574 *Chappelle* 15774, n°4.

Jean Charetier, Charretier dit Limoges

a) Flocquet GO hda 1451.2-1460.4 (highest rank 6). Almost certainly identical with the Jean Charretier 'que Poton avait instituer 'butinier de butin' de la ville d'Evreux': Plaisse 1984 p118, citing AN JJ 176 n°390 f°272, cf *CMSM* I 42. He was granted remission dated 23 Dec 1441 for having killed a soldier who had refused to give him 50 *salus* for a horse bought from the booty of the town after its fall. He cannot have been acting here as a *butinier* of the marshal, for Poton's appointment was 1454. He was nominated V Evreux 11 Dec 1465 as the king was marching on Normandy, qualified *fourrier du roi*. He held the office to 1483: *DLN/25* p123; *GR*12683. As V he was excused at the 1469 musters as being of the *ordonnance*: *Evreux 1470* p19. He served under Jacques de Brézé in Gascony in 1467-68 and was still in his company in 1470: *DLN/24* p153. HH.

b) A genealogy of the le Caretier family may be constructed from *Rouen* 9 Aug 1463, but there is no evidence that they were related. Henri Limoges defaulted on the musters of nobles of the *châtellenie* of Gisors in 1470: *Caux 1470* p324.

Pierre de Châteaupers

b) Cr lai at the *Echiquier*. Nephew of chancellor Pierre de Morvilliers, which probably accounts for his presence on the bench. The Châteaupers were a Poitevin noble lineage. One Jean de Châteaupers graduate of Poitiers University was pardoned for murder in 1456, and his uncle Guillaume de Châteaupers *écuyer* was mentioned. Jean de Châteaupers *écuyer* sr Massigné married Marguerite daughter of Jacques

Goulart *écuyer* sr la Ferté and Jeanne de Montalembert: Guérin X p5-8. Jean's homonym was LG of the snl Saintonge 1467: GR20147.

Jean and Jacques de la Cauchée, Chaussée

a) Hda's of Brézé. Jacques de la Chaussee *écuyer* was *echançon du roi* by 1470, which indicates that he had not rallied to the Ligue during the civil war: BN PO 720 *de la Chaussee de Boisville* 16470, n°67.

b) They were distant kin through marriage to the Longchamps, the du Quesnay, and the Valvendrin. The family can be shown to have had interests around Rouen and in the Eure valley, but the primary focus of their concerns was Beauceron. Jacques was kin, possibly brother, of Pierre de la Chaussée sr Theuvy near Châteauneuf-en-Thimerais, who died shortly before 1465. Pierre was married to Perrette la Gaultiere, who may have been kin to Drouet Gaultier, another of Brézé's homme d'armes in the 1450s. Jacques de la Chaussée married Felice daughter of Thomas de Thieuville sr Champromain in 1480.: *Rouen* 5 Jan 1451/52; *DLN/3* p380, /4 p173; BN PO n°162-67

c) Chartrain nobility.

Guillot de Hennelles, Chenevelles

a) Member of the Harfleur garrison 1452.1-1461.2.

b) The Chenevelles became a significant Rouen legal family. Guillaume de Chenevelles was AvR B Caux 1460-84, B Aumale 1473-74: GR6009; Beaurepaire 1868 p51. He was the husband of Maline Alorge and accorded in her right over an attempt by Gilles du Rueil to recover the rights of his wife Gillette de Fontenil in the fief of Neufbosc: *Rouen* 19 Oct 1466. He was qualified *l'ainé* in a suit against Pierre de Ganzeville in 1463, so may have had a younger brother of the same name: *Echiquier* 1463 p22v°.

Guillaume Chenu *l'ainé*, d.1465

a) Hda GO Dunois 1456.4-1461.2. Cp Saint-Denis 1438-40: GR17124. Cp and *gouverneur* of Pontoise under Maine from its recapture by the French in 1441; still cp of town and château 1458 and 1459, though had been succeeded by Roualt, cp in the Public Weal: GR21117-8. Captured Dangu in the Bray during the Reduction. Took part in Brézé's raid on Sandwich 1457 with 'his company'; this could have been either his garrison at Pontoise or a sub-grouping of the Dunois company: *Héraut Berry* p406. There is a genealogy and biographical notice, not completely reliable, in Beaucousin 1884 pp93-105.

b) Son of Macé Chenu sr Pontereau in Anjou. He married Clemence, eldest daughter of Regnault de Dresnay *chevalier* sr Martineau and B Sens, who in May 1454 acknowledged a remaining debt of 1,218 *écus* in marriage gifts: *Rouen* 31 May 1454. In the retrenchments in royal finances after the Public Weal an unpaid sum of L400 she had been assigned as his widow on the *recette* of 1465 remained unassigned in 1466: *LMIQ* p469. His daughters Hardouine and Catherine married soldier Robert le Beuf sr la Bonneville and Macé d'Isigny sr Rouvray respectively. Early in 1465 Chenu married his daughter Jeanne to the Poitevin Jean Fournier *écuyer* sr Lavilleter in Angoumois. The treaty was brokered by the dame de Chabanais and Clement de Reilhac, and the witnesses included Jean de Saâne *chevalier*, Pierre Chenu and Robert de Feugerolles *écuyers*: *Rouen* 9 Feb

1465/66. The last named, described as his *serviteur*, acted as his *pr* in a redemption of rent in 1464: *Rouen* 6 Jul 1464. Thereafter he administered the Norman lands of the widow in her absence in Anjou. Yvetot was ruled in Clemence de Dresnay's own name after the death of her husband. She remarried Jean Baucher sr la Forêt in Maine and despite a breach between them in the 1480s it is he who can be found as a second-ranking *ordonnance* *cp* under the soubriquet *Roi d'Yvetot* thereafter. By the 1480s he was exercising the *cpcy* of the Pont de Rouen, and he led 40 lances at Saint-Aubin-de-Cormier: *Beaucousin* 1884 pp103-110.

c) Chenu was an Angevin lord who began investing heavily in Cauchois lands in the 1450s: he purchased Yvetot from Pierre de Granville, and faced down a barrage of *marchie de bourse* claims from the vendor's kin thereafter: *Rouen* 4 Nov 1460. The sale was the result of Granville's acute financial problems, which had also led him to make sales, *baux* and enfeoffments of worthless rights. Chenu obtained letters relieving him of any obligations resulting from these in 1460. In 1462 he obtained from Louis XI confirmation of the special quasi-allodial status of Yvetot, unique in Normandy, which had been ignored by the English. The consequent viscomital inquest into these rights reveals the names of some of his local officers. His *bailli* was Adam Desmares *AvR* in the Caux; Jean le Lievre was his *lt*: *Beaucousin* 1884 p95-6. By 1464 he also held the fiefs of Ecalles-Alix (east of Yvetot) and Saint-Aignan-sur-Ry (north east of Rouen).

Other members of his family were also in the company. Another Guillaume Chenu was *hda* of the *GO* under Dunois 1452.1-1461.3, and Guillaume Chenu *le jeune* was *hda* of the *GO* under Dunois 1456.4-1461.3.

Jean Chenu

a) *Hda GO* Dunois 1456.4-1461.3. A man of this name purchased the fief of Mesnil-Aumont from Enguerrand II d'Enfernet in 1464: 1957-58 p85ff. Presumed identical with Jean Chenu *écuyer* sr la Tour du Pin, *élu* of *V* Caen and *cp* 100 lances in 1474: *DLN/23* p133-39.

Thomas Chisenal *chevalier*

a) A longstanding adversary of Louis d'Estouteville in the Cotentin wars. He had been *lt* at Tombelaine for the earl of Suffolk in May 1432, when he had 22 *lances à cheval* under his command: *CMSM* I p307. Had been joint-captain of Gavray for the English 1447, and *lt* of the *cp* Coutances 1437: *GR*7648, 7788. In 1449 he was *pr* of the nobles of *V* Carentan at the Estates: *BL Additional Mss* 11509 p62v°. He held Gacé when the Reduction campaigns opened but the course of events swept him into the Cotentin again and he was *lt* Valognes during the *seige* of Caen. He opened the place to Dunois and Jean de Bourbon comte de Clermont and reduced himself to the obedience of Charles VII: *Blondel* II p232. In another instance of the chivalrous bond between adversaries laying the foundations of friendship and service, he took place under Estouteville. Charles VII granted him the possessions of Jean Carbonnel who had fled across the Channel during the seige of Cherbourg. When Carbonnel reduced himself to the Valois obedience this grant generated a lawsuit at the Echiquiers of 1453 and 1454: *Echiquier* 1453 p38, 179v°; 1454 p146; *Appointments* 1453 p122. He had been *cp* of Gacé under the English and appears to have continued in this capacity for Michel d'Estouteville, 1463: *Echiquier* 1463 p253.

b) His finding a place in the Estouteville entourage was facilitated by his marriage to Katherine Painel, sister of Jacques Painel sr Orglandes. These siblings were cousins of Estouteville's wife through their father Bertrand Painel.

c) He enjoyed the Montenay lands by grant and many other properties by acquisition during the occupation: Le Cacheux II p367. After the Reduction, sr Croisset (V Rouen) and Chevhaul in right of his wife. He does not appear to have long enjoyed his Carbonnel grant.

Jean Cholet, ?c.1415-1479

a) Beauceron hda of the GO under Dunois. He came of age between 1436 and 1444, between his *partage* and his first known homage. He was one of the commanders of a detached unit of Dunois's *ordonnance* at Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier in May 1456. He was employed on various military commissions in the 1460s. He conducted the royal artillery from Savonne to Beaucaire in Languedoc in 1462. Given his later career he may be identical with the Jean Cholet *canonnier* serving in Charles de France's household in Guyenne. Nonetheless, he can be found in Louis XI's service in the later 1460s, for example as *gp* or *garde* of Vire. He wrote to Louis XI lamenting the weakness of his commission and of the place. He was *chevalier* when he purchased the manor of l'Histruerie (?) at Fontenay-sur-Eure from Macé de Hural and his wife Catherine de la Chaussée in Dec 1469. He bought the fief of Forêt from the creditors of Pierre Mauvoisin in 1470. He was qualified Louis XI's *conseiller*, *maître d'hôtel* here and when he discharged a commission to muster the nobles of the *bailliage* of Evreux in 1470. He was pensioned at L1,200 by 1473 and was nominated *maître de l'artillerie* in 1477. He died in 1479: Anselme VIII p157-59; BN Clairambault 220 n°83; Hunger 1925; BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93; BN PO 720 *de la Chaussee de Boisville* 16470, n°167; *Evreux* 1470 p1.

b) See the genealogy in Anselme VIII p157ff. He was the son of Gilles Cholet and Jeanne de Varenne. he married Perrine d'Argenson.

c) Sr la Choletière, Pommeraye, Dangeau in the Chartrain.

Jean de Cingal

a) B Condé-sur-Noireau when in 1465 Thomas de Louraille quit rents in kind to him for services and *bonne amour*: *Caen* 12 Apr 1464/65, p64v°. This relationship reached back into the occupation period: *Caen* 15 Jun 1447, p4. He was a Caen lawyer who had been *demeurant* and had to buy off at least one claimant to acquired property under Compiègne: *Caen* 19 May 1452, p31v°. In the 1450s was witnessing the contracts of local lords like Olivier de Vassy, May de Houlefort, Jean de Rabestan, Jean le Brun sr Sallenelles and Jean de Trousseauville *écuyer* sr Espreville: *Caen* 17 Nov 1453, p180v°; 13 Mar 1459, p58.

b) In 1465 he was in the process of marrying his daughter Perrette to Martin du Brueil *écuyer* sr Beaumont near Thury. Girard de Cingal was one of the men established by Louraille as his *pr*'s in 1471: *Caen* 28 Jan 1470/71, p245

c) Bourgois of Caen.

Robert and Regnault de Cintray *écuyers*

a) Robert was hda under Dunois. Regnault was Vd Bretueil, contesting the right in the same office of Guillaume de Vatetot: *Echiquier* 1459 p80.

b) He gave *aveu* 4 Apr 1456 for Friardel (V Orbec), which he held by succession from Th du Buisson *écuyer* and his wife (*aveu* of 1437), she the heiress of Jean sr de Friardel *écuyer* (*aveu* 1406): Frondeville 1936 p91. Agnes de Cintray was the wife of Jean le Roux and cousin of Guillaume Prevôteau (*qqv*). Robert was conjoined with Louis de Pillais in suits against the Bailleul: *Echiquier* 1469 p265.

c) Robert was sr Friardel south of Orbec.

Guillaume, Guillot de Clercy

a) GO hda Floquet 1451.2-1460.4 (highest rank 6). He gave quittance for wages at Dieppe in October 1465, and was thus in ducal service under Charles Desmarestz at that point: BN Ms fr 26090 n°437. A homonym, variously qualified sr Clercy, Gonseville pres Carville-en-Caux and la Goupille-en-Caux can be found on the Rouen rent market in 1464-65. He sold rents to Rouen bourgeois Thierry Moises in 1464, bought rents from Guillaume de Ricarville in 1464, made charitable donations to Nôtre Dame de Beaulieu in 1465, and sold rents over and above those in which he was already charged to Robert du Crotay in 1466: *Rouen* 22 and 29 Apr 1464, 21 Mar 1464/65, 15 Dec 1465.

b) Robert sr de Clercy and Flainville *écuyer* was in Rouen the same day as Guillaume sr de Clercy, selling rents to Richard des Essars, and raising thereby *L*310. A member of the Essars family also witnessed Guillaume's contract so the two men must be presumed kin: *Rouen* 29 Apr 1464.

Jacques de Clermont

a) Hda of the GO under Dunois 1452.1-1457.1. HH: *écuyer de l'écurie*, an old *routier* captain, named B Caen 2 Jul 1450. The assises of Vire had been held in his name in 1445, and his *lts* were functioning before the 1450 nomination: BN Ms fr 26079 n°6210; quittance dated 30 May. In Sep 1457 he was translated from Caen to assume more martial responsibilities in the Caux: *GR*5885. The exchange was with Jean Havart. He took part in Brezé's great raid on Sandwich in 1457, with the conduct of Dunois's company: *Héraut Berry* p407. He was a Dauphinois, an active campaigner on the Norman march in 1446 and 1449. Contamine has him as *lt* of Brezé's *ordonnance* company while he was B Caen but this is an error; he had been Brezé's *lt* in Poitou in the 1440s:. Later as B Caux he was *lt* of the GO of Dunois and cp Montivilliers: BN Clairambault 152 n°77-82; *GR*4246, 5885; Clairambault 782 p161; Ms fr 21405 p114; AN PP 110 p275.

b) Several men of this name entered the service of Charles de France. François de Clermont dit Dampierre was serving in the duke's household in Guyenne. Guillaume de Clermont served in the duke's garrison at Domfront in 1468: BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93; Ms fr 21477 p44-49.

c) Sr Cressieux.

Jean le Comte, Conte etc. *écuyer*

a) V Montreuil/Bernay 1449: GR12627. Obtained the office of Vd Touques by resignation of Thomas Piquet, 1456: DLN/75 p211. V Falaise 27 Mar 1465: DLN/25 p115. LG MEF in B Rouen and Evreux 1467-75: ADSM 6E 13 *Notes de Beaurepaire* p19. The name is common: the supposition that this is a single officer derives from the central Norman concentration.

b) Clement le Comte/Cointe *substitut* at Coutances of prR in the Cotentin 1434: GR7257. A homonym was resident at Saussay near Coutances in 1464: *Monfaut* p423.

c) Homonym resident at Surville le Vielcourt in the Ouche: *Monfaut* p149.

Guillaume le Coq

a) V Hambye for Louis d'Estouteville: *Rouen* 7 Jun 1458. LGB Cotentin 1450-55: GR7118. *Elu* of Coutances 1464: *Monfaut* p423. Cr lai at the 1462-64 *Echiquiers*. He witnessed an accord between Robert Biote *qv* and Robert Depardieu *écuyer* sr du Bosc-Regnault in 1458: *Rouen* 24 Jun 1458. Witnessed Brézé's purchase of the debts of Jean de Mauny *chevalier*: *Rouen* 19 Apr 1461. With Bertrand de Beauvau *chevalier* sr Preçigny and Guillaume de Cérisey was one of the *meneurs* of the children of Jean de Coulombières baron de la Haye-du-Puis in 1463: *Echiquier* 1463 p110v°. Witnessed Guillaume de Cérisey's purchase of the fief of Fierville in the V of Carentan: *Rouen* 8 May 1464. Compiled the *chartrier* of Gaillon for Cardinal d'Estouteville in 1461-62: *Beaurepaire* 1868 p19. Alongside the trs of cardinal d'Estouteville and a bourgeois of Avranches he witnessed large payments to Rouennais creditors of Jean d'Estouteville sr Bricquebec in 1458: *Rouen* 7 Jun 1458. There are slight grounds for hypothesizing that he was an officer of Estouteville as GS in 1462, qualified cr de l'Echiquier he arbitrated in a suit between the abbey of Lessay and Guillaume de Briqueville *chevalier*. Involvement of the *sénéchaussée* may be posited on the basis that the accord was witnessed by Nicolas le Normant, former officer of Brézé as GS. Given the clear Estouteville links it would be natural to find le Coq in the *auditoire*: *Rouen* 20 May 1462.

b) Common name. Not qualified *parlementaire* in the early 1460s *Echiquiers*, but possible connection with the major Paris legal dynasty of this name (several 14th century *conseillers* and two 14th century *avocats du roi*). No known connection with Hugues le Coq (Burgundian *parlementaire* and *prévôt des marchands* 1421-30) and Gerard le Coq (cr from 1449 at the Châtelet, one of the three (later four) *conseillers sur le fait de la justice du Trésor* (1451-1474), married into the *parlementaire* Nanterre family and himself the son of an ay). The latter was Dunois's pensioned ay at the *Parlement* of Paris in 1467-68: Maugis 1913-16 III, p58, 66, 136; Dupont-Ferrier 1932 p90 n°99; *Personnel* p51; *Avocats* p46; ADSM C2808.

An alternative genealogical connection, Norman (Rouen/Cotentin), is with a family whose members were sustaining suits in the Cotentin in this period. Robert le Coq *écuyer* sr Durescu was *demeurant* in 1447, and sued the executors of Jeanne de Thibouville in 1454. Guiot and Gilbert le Coq and the latter's wife Jeanne sued the countess of Harcourt: *Echiquier* 1454 p168; DLN/4 p165; *Echiquier* 1466 p35v°. In 1464 Jean brother of Guillaume Prévôteau *qv* married Katherine le Coq, daughter of Jacques le Coq *écuyer* and

Jeanne de Cintray, the settlement being witnessed by cardinal d'Estouteville's secretary Guillaume Mesard and Jacques Auber: *Rouen* 23 Sep 1464.

c) Resident of Heuqueville near Coutances in 1464: *Monfaut* p423. Qualified *écuyer* sr Villiers in *Rouen* 19 Apr 1461, 20 May 1462. Also sr Tonneville in the V Valognes: *Rouen* 30 May 1464.

Hector de Coquerel

a) Canon of Rouen, dean of Lisieux, attached to the *Requêtes du Palais* 1450; cr *clerc* (qualified doctor *en decret*) at the 1453-56 *Echiquiers*; cr *clerc au Parlement* from 1454 when he was vicar-general of the bishop of Evreux. Also Guillaume d'Estouteville's vicar-general and *official* 1454-67. He was confirmed by Louis XI but appears not to have functioned in the *Parlement*: Maugis 1913-16 III p95, 101; Beaurepaire 1868 I p20ff.

c) Sr Coquerel and Brevedent in the Cotentin and Hodeng (¼ fief) in the *châtellenie* of la-Ferté-en-Bray: *Rouen* 18 Jul 1458; *Caux* 1503 p66.

Perrenot, Pierre le Cordier *écuyer*

a) Hda Brézé PO at Honfleur 1461.2. Vd Rouvray 1462, LG in Normandy of Montauban as GMEF 1462, 1463, 1464, and kept the post under Montauban's successors. He resigned the Vd to his brother Guillaume, who was confirmed in post, 1483: BN PO 2007 *Montauban* 46056, n°13; *DLN*/17 p269; /15 p171 (giving the date of Montauban's installation as GMEF as 3 Aug 1461); /14 p171; /24 p247.

b) Guillaume le Cordier Vd Roumare, Robert le Cordier Vd Rouvray, both 1484: *DLN*/18 p184. Frondeville gives a genealogy of an Auge family which broke through to *parlementaire* rank in then 16th century, but no link can be proved: Frondeville 1953 p492. In the early 1460s the Auge noble Jean le Cordier was at law with various other lords including Jean de Husson count of Tonnerre and members of the Carbonnel family. He was seeking to sustain his title to the fief des Essars by enforcing the guarantee of the Carbonneaux against post-Reduction challenge: *Echiquier* 1462 p231; 1463 p26, 228. See also Le Court 1909 p65.

c) Sr Beausserre, Ramfreauville. Resident at Rully in 1464: *Monfaut* p413.

Pierre de Corguilleray

a) Former *valet tranchant* of Charles VII, serving in the duke's household (1468.3); *maître d'hôtel* in Guyenne (1470.2, 1471.4): BN Ms fr 21477 p44-49; PO 856 *de Corguilleray* 19198, n°39, 40; Ms fr 32263 p485-93. Jean de Corguilleray was abbot of Saint-Ouen de Rouen in receipt of a royal pension 1461-62: BN Ms fr 23262 n°18. Jean de Corguilleray was *maître d'hôtel* of Louis XI in 1472 and royal *pannetier* Thomas de Corguilleray was in Torcy's service and enjoying a grant in maintenance of the office of *garde des halles* of Caen in 1474: BN PO 856 *de Corguilleray* 19198, n°18, 19. Guillaume de Corguilleray was a minor cp in 1472-73: BN Ms fr 20498 p106v°.

Louis de Cormeilles *écuyer*

a) V l'Eau de Rouen 1450-64 ...: GR19428. It is likely that he lost place only when Louis XI reserved the free disposal of all royal office at the composition of Rouen in Jan 1466. This implies support for Charles de France: he sold an hôtel at Rouen worth L100 and various rents in order to arm himself and his son-in-law with two brigandines 'bonnes et loyalles': Rouen 20 Dec 1465. He was still alive in 1476 when he constituted rents worth L40 to various churches in Rouen to the memory of his parents: AN JJ201 n°99, p80v°.

b) Son of Richard de Cormeilles and Isabeau Naguet. His brothers or cousins Richard and Jean de Cormeilles, sons of Richard, held lands at Vieubourg in the Auge in 1453 when dues to the duke of Orléans were relaxed because of war-damage: DLN/3 p212. The family had a royal commensal background in the 1360s. A descendant of Richard would inherit the possessions of the main line of the du Bosc family in the early 16th century: Frondeville 1960 p154-55. Louis's daughter and sole heiress Jeanne married Robert du Bosc (*qv*), whose family were strongly implicated in support for Charles de France. Robert was enjoying Cormeilles's inheritance in the 1480s, when his son Louis du Bosc *écuyer* sr Mesnil-Lienard was V de l'Eau: DLN/18 p184. Bureau de Cormeilles avR *en cour d'église* at Rouen 1430/31 and Jean de Cormeilles sr Montfermail B in 1444 of the duke of Orléans 'en ses terres de Champagne et Brie' are presumed Louis's brothers: GR19161; *Bastard d'Estant* 1885 p88 n°1364.

c) Sr Mesnil-Esnard, Blosseville, Belbeuf, Nôtre-Dame de Franqueville, Becquet.

Guillaume Cotin, d. c.1462.

a) Canon of Coutances, suffragan 1444, archdeacon of Vallis-virae. Cr *clerc* of the 1452-54 *Echiquiers* qualified dean of Paris; cr *clerc au Parlement* since 1417, entered the *Grande Chambre* 1419 and served in the Burgundian *Parlement*; confirmed by Charles VII 1436. Elected *président des enquêtes* by the court 1439; confirmed by Louis XI but died before 26 May 1462: GC XI p892; Maugis 1913-16 III p59, 65, 81, 99; Dupont-Ferrier, *Personnel* appendix III n°155-57 and *Avocats* p47.

b) Three men sharing his patronym were av's at the *Cour du Trésor* in the 1410s.

Mery de Coué

a) Two indistinguishable homonyms, one serving in the 1450s under admiral du Bueil and one under Odet d'Aydie. One of these men – probably but not certainly the former – went on to serve admiral de Montauban as lt of du Bueil's former *ordonnance* company. He was mentioned in Jubert's *comptes* of 1462-63 as in receipt of 1,200 *écus* to maintain his estate alongside Jean du Pont B Cotentin and Colinet de la Croix: BN Ms fr 23262 n°21. The other defected to the Bretons and mustered under Aydie in 1465.

Jean de Courcelles, d. after 1495.

a) Archdeacon of Jozas in the church of Paris from 1441, cr *clerc au Parlement* from 1439, confirmed by Louis XI 1461, still alive and incumbent in 1495 when he resigned his office to his nephew Claude de Hangest. He gave Charles VII's funeral oration. In the 1460s he was *proviseur* of the Sorbonne and dean

of Paris: Maugis 1913-16 III p87, 100, 118; *Dictionnaire ecclésiastique sub Courcelles*. See also Floquet 1840 p246.

b) His nephew was Claude de Hangest. He was presumably kin to the Amiens consiliarist theologian Thomas de Courcelles (d.1469) who had served on the bench which judged Jeanne d'Arc.

There was a Bessin noble family of this name. Philippin de Courcelles was resident at Cussy near Bayeux in 1464, and Charles de France's *écuyer d'honneur* in Guyenne: BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93; *Monfaut* p407. Floquet *hda* Roger de Courcelles was LG MEF in the Caux, 1464. He witnessed Guillaume de Cérisey's purchase of the fief of Fierville in 1464, alongside Guillaume le Coq *qv*: *Echiquier* 1464 p138; *Rouen* 8 May 1464.

Pierre Coureault, Corault etc., d. by 1458.

a) V Beaumont-le-Roger 1456-57: GR12606. He was serving in Charles de France's household in 1468, as *fruitier* by 1471: BN Ms fr 21477 p44-49; Ms fr 32263 p485-93.

b) Lawyer Jean Coureault was pr at Rouen of several prominent men including Jacques d'Armagnac duke of Nemours, Michel de Parthenay and Guillaume de Rosnivinen in the early 1460s: *Echiquier* 1462 p73, 1464 p140, 1464 p192. He witnessed the financial arrangements by which Louis de Corneilles (*qv*) armed himself in December 1465. Jacques Courault, Coureault was Charles de France's *fruitier* in Guyenne: BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93.

Jean de la Court *écuyer*

a) Rec général of Alain vicomte de Rohan, trs/rec of his Norman lands 1453, including Noyon, Pont-Saint-Pierre, Radepont, Bellefosse: DLN/15 p289. Still rec of 'msgr de Rohan': *Rouen* 13 Apr 1456.

Guillaume Courtin

a) V Mortain for the count of Maine: *Echiquier* 1453 p5, *Appointements* 1453 p113.

b) There is a genealogy of a Tourangeux noble family of this name in VSA6. It had representatives in Bourbon service and moving in the milieu of the *gens des comptes*. An ay at the *Cour du Trésor* 1454, 1473 identified himself only by his patronym: Dupont-Ferrier, *Avocats* p48. Pierre Courtin had been *auditeur* at the Châtelet 1430 GR16642. Several members of a family with this patronym were royal secretaries in the later 15th century and became established in the Paris *robe*. Two, Gilles and Guillaume, had office in the 1490s in the county of Guise, which had been held by Maine father and son to 1481: see genealogy and notices in *Secrétaires* n°s 178-80 and Frondeville 1970 p160-61.

Julien Courtin

a) Qualified *tabellion de Bayeux* when he sealed quittances of Rosnivinen's company in 1457: Beaurepaire 1966 n°93. He was the principal notary used in the payment of *gens d'armes* in Normandy in the 1450s and 1460s: BN Clairambault 220, 221 *passim*.

b) See forgoing notice.

Jacques Courtois écuyer

a) V Auge 1449-57, V Bayeux 1457-61. GR19179, 4486. P, last attested May 1461, but LV Evreux 1462: GR12760.

b) Two ay's in the *Parlement*, Mathieu (1428-38...) and Guillaume (1465-76) shared this patronym: Dupont-Ferrier *Avocats* p49-50.

Pierre Crespin dit le Marquis de Mauny

a) Hda of the garrison of Mont-Saint-Michel. A bastard of the Crespin family who initially remained in the English obedience, but had defected by 1436 when his lands were granted away by Henry VI: *DLN/3* p350, /5 p75. He was a recipient of the duke of Orléans's order along with other men around Estouteville in 1439: *DLN/29* p373. In 1464 Guillaume d'Estouteville resigned the curacy of Angey in the diocese of Avranches to his son Michel, Pierre acting as the cardinal's pr in the transaction: Dubosc 1878 p185.

Originally in the entourage of Jean Crespin and thus in the orbit of Maine, Pierre retained his links to Jeanne Crespin after the death of Jean. He found no identifiable place in the entourage of Pierre de Brézé, though men who were in the Brézé household can be found witnessing the marriage contract of his daughter to Brézé hda Jean Poulain. He was given the fief of Marcheville (or Le Mareschale) in Perche for 'bonne amour' and services by the dying Jean Crespin: *Rouen* 26 Jul 1452. Antoine Crespin specifically excluded Bellengues and Decemare from his transport to Brézé, since he had given these to the Marquis, who was soon engaged in lawsuits over the rights so acquired: *Echiquier* 1455 p64. Jeanne too made gifts to him: in 1463 she passed on a manor and related property in V Caudebec which had come to her by gift and purchase from Jean de Mailloc: *Rouen* 24 May 1463.

b) Described as bastard in *DLN/5* p75. Presumed bastard of Guillaume Crespin *chevalier*, hence half-brother to Jean, Antoine and Jeanne Crespin. A contract of 1472 shows the Marquis still living and with at least two sons: Louis, qualified sr Acherville-la-Guignart; and Michel, curé Saint Victor-en-Caux. His daughter Jeanne married Jean Poulain (*qv*).

c) La Roque qualifies him sr Cantelou in 1463: *Harcourt* II p1248. He was sr Bellengues in the Caux and le Mareschale in Perche by gift of the Crespin, and resident in NN in 1463: *Monfaut* pNN.

Nicolas, Colin de la Croix écuyer

a) Two homonyms were active in the 1450s and 1460s. One was Floquet GQ hda 1451.2-1460.4 (4); another was member of the Harfleur garrison 1452.1-1461.2.

On the assumption that the Floquet man was the greater of the two, as being in the *grande ordonnance* (highest rank fourth), it was probably he who was Vd Eawy 1463; HH, *écuyer de l'écurie*: BN Ms fr 26089 n°218. He had resumed unnamed heritages in the Caux after the Reduction, which had belonged to him personally. This implies that he was already aged in 1449, or more likely that he had deserted the Lancastrian allegiance rather late: *DLN/13* p269-73. La Croix was a beneficiary by the testament of Jean Crespin and thus in the orbit

of the Brezé: *Rouen* 2 Jun 1452. He witnessed Brezé's indemnification of Jean Gouel over his pledge of Jean Crespín's rents owed to Louis de Cormeilles, and the latter's quittance of Mauny and Nyvellet: *Rouen* 25 Jun 1452. He was in receipt of 1,200 *écus* to maintain his estate alongside Jean du Pont B Cotentin and Mery de Coué in 1462-63: BN Ms fr 23262 n°22. Rallied to Charles de France and described as 'gentilhomme du pays de Caux'. Was serving as cp of 20 lances in the duke's service in late 1465. He entered the duke's household and was cp 25 archers in the duke's service during the continuation war of 1467-68. In Guyenne he became snl Landes, a ducal *pensionnaire*, and cp 20 lances (1471.4, 1472.1): BN Ms fr 21477 p2-6, 8-20, 21-23, 40-42, Ms fr 23262 p4; Ms fr 32263 p485-93; GR13871. He returned to royal service on the death of Charles de France and was knighted and pensioned at L260 by 1483: BN Clairambault 473 p199.

b) Jean de Croix was Torcy hda 1460.1-1461.3. His homonym was resident in the parish of Vaux-sur-Seulles west of Bayeux in 1464: *Monfaut* p367. Jean de la Croix *écuyer* moved in high financial circles: he witnessed sales of rent to Jean Puignol *receveur des aides* at Evreux by Guillemette d'Esterlant (estranged wife of Jean bâtard de Gravelle *chevalier*) and transactions of Jean de Gouvis archdeacon of Bayeux and canon of Rouen: *Rouen* 10 Sep 1464, 26 Apr 1468. Marie de la Croix was wife of Louis de Monfreville *écuyer* and mother of their son of the same name. She witnessed the contract by which the aged Alice d'Estouteville (widow of Jean Patrix dit Lionnel *écuyer* sr de Brucourt and Mesnil Mauger) committed herself to the care of her nephew Guillaume Martel sr Biville: *Rouen* 25 Oct 1451.

c) In 1503 Antoine de la Croix *chevalier* held the fiefs of Verretot in the sergentry of Bolbec, Castillon, Drumare, the chef-lieu of which was in the parish of St Vigor d'Ymonville, several portions of fiefs in the nearby parishes of St Jean d'Abbetot (check whether this is really a parish) and Cerlangue. These lands were on the Seine estuary east of Harfleur, or somewhat further north. Further east in the outer Caux he held the sry of Tourpes and other lands near Bures-en-Bray and at Maucomblé south west of Neufchâtel, la Caulle and Campneuseville in the county of Eu: *Caux* 1503.

Jean Croixart, Croipart, Croinas *écuyer*.

a) V Coutances 1452-59: GR7394. PrR Cotentin ?late 1460s: GR7235.

Pierre de Cugnac *écuyer*, d.1477

a) MEnqRefEF in Normandy and Picardy, waged at L100, to the death of Charles VII: *DLN/15* p171.

b) He belonged to a cadet line of a Gascon noble family with large landed interests in the Ile-de-France and Beauce. There is a genealogy in *VSA17* p226ff. Pierre was the son of Antoine de Cugnac and Jeanne le Brun dame de Paloiseau and Dampierre. After the death of her first husband Guillaume de Harville at Agincourt she took refuge in the château of Rochefort-en-Yveline where Cugnac was cp. She transported Dampierre near Gien to her husband in 1430, and Pierre obtained it by *partage* with his uterine brother Guillaume de Harville. He married before 1462 Jeanne daughter of Guillaume de Prunelay sr Herbaut and Bertrande d'Illiers. She brought him Imonville and Herouville. They had a numerous progeny. One of

his sons served under du Bueil in 1470 and another would enjoy Norman office. His daughters married into the Courcillon and the Blosset.

c) Sr Bellincourt, Mesle/Nesle, Herouville, Dampierre, Imonville.

Guillaume Daguenet, d.1462

a) Lancastrian AvR B Gisors since 1421: *GR*13119. Dunois as royal lt confirmed him in office after he brokered the composition of Vernon in the name of the inhabitants: *DLN*/15 p329. Louis XI granted the office on his death to Michel Daniel in July 1462: *DLN*/75 p259.

b) Daniel's wife Isabeau Daguenet is presumed Guillaume's daughter: Frondeville 1953 p187-88, who also gives details of Daniel's career culminating in *Echiquier* cr lai. Thomassin Lens obtained letters before 1465 installing him as *gouverneur* of the lands of Daguenet's son and namesake, claiming the latter to be a minor. Daguenet junior resisted his pretensions, which weakened their capacity to fend off *decrets* on his lands: this may imply financial problems. Daguenet and his wife Marie de Saint-Jean settled with his creditors, Jean le Tessier and Jean le Merchant (*qqv*) in 1465. Among the witnesses was Jean le Sec sr Gaillardbos (*qv*): *Rouen* 8 Dec 1465.

The late Pierre Daguenet was stated to have held a prebend in Rouen cathedral in 1472. His homonym was qualified bourgeois and cr of Rouen the same year: *Rouen* 24 Oct, 29 Dec 1472, the latter misplaced under 7 Jan 1472/73.

Jean le Damoiseil, Demoisel *chevalier*, d. 1470

a) Cr lai at the 1452-54 *Echiquiers*. Cr lai at Poitiers from 1433, translated to Paris 1436, had been knighted by Feb 1448, confirmed as cr by Louis XI: *Maugis* 1913-16 III p78, 83, 102.

b) m. Marie de Poupaincourt.

Guillaume de Dampierre

a) Snl Saint-Lô in 1450, when he was lending sums for the constable's artillery before the siege of Vire, and also in 1457 when he attended the joyous entry of Artur III of Brittany into Rennes: *CMSM* II 229; *Morice* II 1723. May have been in Brézé's service, perhaps as officer or *commissaire* of the *grande sénéchaussée* alongside Robert Biote. He witnessed the Saâne-Dresnay marriage settlement and was one of the arbitrators in the dispute between the Rouville and their mother: *Rouen* 3 May 1452. In the early 1460s he was acting for the Moy, as when he brokered Colart de Moy *chevalier*'s rent redemptions from his mother Marguerite de la Heuze dame de Moy and châtelaine de Bellencombte: *Rouen* 22 Apr 1462; also 24, 25 Feb 1463/64. Guillaume can be shown in association with important secular lawyers, Rouen canons and financiers. He was sr Biville by 1454 when he was recovering property by *marchie de bourse* against Oudart le Riche. He was qualified cr du roi and the accord was witnessed by Robert Biote: *Rouen* 25 Nov 1454. He was a creditor of Jean Martel sr Basqueville who settled with him in 1456, again with Biote in attendance: *Rouen* 26 May 1456. Other contracts showing Biote and Dampierre in association are *Rouen* 24 June 1458; . Robert le Danois (*qv*) and Guillaume d'Esquetot (Norman pr of the Rieux) witnessed his

acquisition of the fief of Putot by exchange: *Rouen* 22 Jan 1461/62. He was in receipt of payments from Estouteville's rec's Valmont in 1462 and of Berneval in 1465: ADSM 33 J 790 & 847, *Comptes d'Estouteville*. He witnessed complex and high-value dispositions of the estate of the late Pierre Cochon bishop of Lisieux in which many canons and financial officers were concerned: *Rouen* 14 Apr 1472/73 (placed at the end of the volume).

b) Heir (?son) of Estout de Dampierre sr Biville-la-Baignart, Tostes and Saint-Leonard. Estout had been selling rents in the spring of 1429 which he could not thereafter acquit. Lacking 'argent comptant' to pay the arrears he ceded the fief of Franqueville and other lands to his creditor Guillaume le Sauvage, who also engaged himself to redeem other of the squire's debts: *Rouen* 4 May 1452. Estout witnessed the marriage treaty of Pierre de Honneteville and Jeanne de Fourneaux alongside Floquet man Jacques de Poissy and Brézé man Jacques Houvet: *Rouen* 6 May 1452. Olivier de Dampierre witnessed the Floques-Brézé *partage* of the Crespin inheritance: *Rouen* 8 Dec 1454.). Jean de Dampierre was LV Montivilliers 1431: GR 6202.

c) Sr Biville-la-Baignart and Putot.

Hector de Dampierre

a) Hda Bueil 1456.3-1461.3. Was therefore in the retinue of Montauban after 1461 but in Apr 1466 (qualified 'des parties de Normandie') he was giving horses to François II: Morice III 66. He was with Marshal Rouault at Péronne in May 1465, from where he was sent to the king with news: *LMIQ* p279. Was in Rouen in Dec 1465, but cannot be shown linked to other *ligueurs* so was not necessarily in the service of Charles de France. In March 1466 Louis XI granted him two islands in the Seine, including the Ile de Bresellac dit de Villequier, for services before and since the accession: AN JJ 202 p27v°; see also a 1471 *mandement* of the trs France to the V Pont-Audemer to put him in possession of this grant, *DLN/17* p173. Was sued by various parties including Jean Masquerel *chevalier* and Robert de Filleul in the 1466 *Echiquier*: *Echiquier* 1466 p48, 71, 79v°. The Masquerel case continued to 1469 at least: *Echiquier* 1469 p94v°. Described as 'nagaires' cp Caudebec in 1469: *Echiquier* 1469 p90. He was pensioned on the V Vire in 1469: *DLN/17* p203.

b) Father of Joachim de Dampierre *verdier* of la Haye d'Arques and as the latter's tutor and pr was making contracts in his name in Dec 1465 in Rouen: *Rouen* 11 Dec 1465. In the late 1460s he had the wardship of the heiress Jacqueline du Plessis: *Echiquier* 1469 p103. Jean de Dampierre was lt cp Chalons-sur-Marne 1454-1460 (d.) under Torcy men Quentin le Bouteiller and Jean de Versailles: GR23312, 23315, 24416. See appendix 4 for Guillaume de Dampierre.

c) Sr Dampierre and Hermes.

The Dampont

a) Pierre de Dampont hda GO Brézé 1452.4-1461.3. Pierre de Dampont hda Bueil 1456.3-1461.3. Tassin de Dampont hda GO Brézé 1451.3-1456.3, replaced by Martin de Dampont hda GO Brézé 1460.1-1460.3. Olivier de Dampont, archer GO Brézé.

Olivier had been *demeurant*, born 1427 in the Rouen hôtel of his maternal kinsman Jean Maugier canon of Rouen. He was freed of wardship in 1446. After the Reduction he had money problems. His lands were wasted: of seven buildings at his manor at Saint-Etienne du Rouvray four had been burnt by brigands in 1439. He was forced to raise cash by rent sales to his family and by selling his lands from the late 1450s: *DLN/4* p165 (Lancastrian delay of homage 1447); /10 p25; *Rouen* Nov 15 1458.

b) Olivier was son of Jean de Dampont and Marie, sister of Guy le Bouteiller sr la Roche-Guyon. Both his parents died within a day of each other in 1439. His wardship was initially held by his paternal grandmother Peronelle des Roches, later by Guillaume des Fosses *écuyer* of Mantes, her son-in-law. Olivier's grandfather and namesake was killed at Verneuil, and his heirs are mentioned in the will of Jean Crespín, listed as creditors in the sum of L620. In the 1450s Jean de Poissy witnessed some of Olivier de Dampont's rent sales. Louis de Pillais (*qv*) married Olivier's youngest sister Alienor de Dampont and the brothers-in-law were involved in various credit and property deals. His former guardian Guillaume des Fosses *écuyer* was 'son cousin germain' and involved in similar transactions: *DLN/4* p165; /9 p178, 296 (viscomital wardship inquests, 1439 and 1447); *Rouen* Nov 15, 11 Dec 1458, 13 Mar 1464.

c) Olivier was sr of Saint-Etienne du Rouvray outside Rouen, and of Remenville in the Cauchois parishes of Rouville, Beusemouchel and Yebleron.

Gonsalle Dars, d'Ars

a) V Bayeux 1450: GR4484. Resigned the office in favour of Guillaume Rat bourgeois de Paris. HH; *huissier d'armes du roi*: *DLN/25* p91.

Jean Dauvet *chevalier*

a) Pr général au Parlement from 1446: *Revue d'Anjou* t.LVIII n°5. Cr lai at the 1452 *Echiquier*. Promoted *premier président* of the *Chambre des Comptes* (and was also *premier président* at Toulouse) on Louis's accession, thence *premier président* at Paris in place of Mathieu de Nanterre Dec 1465, d.1471 (Maugis 1913-16 III p97-8, 327). Unfinished; Guérin and monographs.

Perrot Davy, Dany

a) Hda of the GO under Dunois 1456.4-1461.3. He rapidly obtained advancement under Louis XI, securing the cpcy Laon by letters of 4 Aug 1461 at Avesnes: BN Ms fr), and subsequently that of Fismes in Feb 1462. He held Laon to at least 1470: BN Ms fr 20490 p23; 21405 p144; GR23373.

b) One Jean Dany was lt at Gisors and later at Andély of Henry VI's V Gisors in the mid 1430s: GR13193-94. He was Vd Harcourt in 1442: Baudot 1993 p119. His namesake was qualified *écuyer* and greffier of the *élus* of Rouen, when as pr of Guilles de Vaulx *écuyer* and his wife Jeannette de la Fosse he acted in rent sales and other transactions in 1454-55: *Rouen* 28 Nov 1454, 7 Jan 1454/55, 24 Apr 1464. Olivier Dany was stated to hale from Saint-Lô in the Cotentin but to be residing in the Caux when he purchased property in the heart of the Caux. Olivier de Dampont sold him the fief of Remenville in the parishes of Rouville, Yebleron and Beusemouchel: *Rouen* 15, 17 Nov 1458. Two members of the Le Verdier family witnessed the contracts. Nicolas Dany witnessed a contract of the Beuseville family in 1463: *Rouen* 4 May 1463. Jean and Robert Dany witnessed

contracts of the Briqueville family in 1463: *Rouen* 21, 25 May 1463. Raoul Dany was pr of the duchess of Orleans in her V Saint-Sauveur-Lendelin in 1474: *Rouen* 21 Oct 1474.

Huguet de Die, Dye

a) V Montivilliers 1449-61: *GR*6136. P

c) Jean de Die of Grainville-Ymauville, priest, held the fiefs of Grainville and les Floquetz or Mellemont in the V Montivilliers in 1503: *Caux* 1503 p282.

Jean de Dreux *chevalier*, d.1498

a) Hda GO 1456.3-1461.3. Rallied to the service of Charles de France and appears in the household accounts printed by Stein: Stein 1919 pp677-85.

b) Eldest son of Robert de Dreux vidame d'Esneval head of the name and arms of the Capetian house of Dreux. He married Gillette Picart daughter of Louis Picart sr Estellan and granddaughter of Guillaume Picart. Their only daughter Catherine de Dreux took her inheritance to Louis de Brézé but died without heir, 1502. There is a full genealogy with notices on individuals in Du Chesne 1631 p168ff. Esneval was pensioned by the king at L1,200 granted 'jusques a ce qu'il m'ait pourveu d'office ou autre provision convenable, Consideré les services par moy faiz ou temps passé, et aussi la grant diminucion de la Revenue de mes terres qui ont esté occupées par les Anglois oudit pays de Normandie durant l'occupacion d'icellui pays ...': BN Ms fr 20401 n°6, 7 (quittances). His financial dealings with his kinsman Gauvain Mauviel and V l'Eau Louis de Corneilles are described in chapter 2. His problems over exactions in Pavilly are described in chapter 4. Esneval's other sons also rallied to Charles de France. Jacques is listed under gifts and cash payments to officers, servants and others in the duke's service and under 'Voyages': Stein 1919 pp677-85. Gauvain served with Jean and Jacques under Louis Sorbier in the duke's *garde du corps* in 1470-72: Stein 1919 p789 and P.J. 141. Louis (sr Pierre-court) joined the small company raised in Normandy for the duke by Jean Blosset in 1471: BN Clairambault 235 p165; Ms fr 21497 p195. Dreux himself was in the household by 1470, and a ducal *chambellan* with L600 pension by 1472: Stein 1919 p789. Esneval was received back into the king's grace on the 1469 settlement, but during the crisis of 1471-72, their Norman lands were confiscated once again, he and five of his children being 'hors du royaume et de l'obeissance du roy'. On Feb 11 1472 the banishment and forfeiture of Dreux and four of his sons was cried 'a son de trompe' at Rouen. They were restored at the peace, however, and Dreux retained an honoured place in Norman society up to his death, sitting in the provincial Estates of January 1478, for example: Beaurepaire 1888 p237-38; BN Ms fr 20401 p29.

c) Jean was sr Beaussart in the lifetime of his father. Before St Michel 1450 Robert de Dreux resumed the fiefs of Esneval, Pavilly, Hugleville, Manteville l'Esneval and others in V Caudebec. In 1452 he obtained license to delay his homage for these lands and for the barony of Barville, lands in V Bretueil, and the fiefs of Hollebec and Menilles in the châtellenie of Pacy: *DLN*/13 p269-73, /75 p141, /43 p207; BN Ms fr 20401 n°5 (various *aveux* and inquests).

Jean Drouin, Droyn, Drouyn *écuyer*

a) V Falaise 1461, 1464/65: GR4559; *Caen* 4 Jan 1464/65, p29v°. B, Cp Montlhéry 1461-79, enjoying its revenues: GR17090. B Aunis 1467-68: GR20218. HH; Drouin was *valet de chambre* by 1468 and a royal *pensionnaire* in the 1470s: GR20218; BN Ms fr 23262 p120. The unnamed V, either Lau or Drouin as his nominee, was excused attendance as of the royal household at the 1462-63 *Echiquiers: Echiquier* 1462 p8, 1463 p8. Near homonym Jean Drieu dit Forault *écuyer* was Vd du Bord by Jan 1466 and probably to 1469, qualified *queue du roi* when licensed to exercise the office through a lt: DLN/18 p155; BN PO 1030 *de Drieu* 23564, n°2.

b) Charles and Thomas Drouin served under Brézé in the early 1450s. Michel Drouin served for most of the decade and qualified *écuyer sr Joys* was Vd Brotonne 1471: DLN/17 p171.

Eustace d'Espinay

a) V Valognes 1450: GR7441. A Breton captain provided to Valognes by duke François I. It was probably during the 1450s that he was cp Gavray. He was 'pieca' cp in 1466: *Echiquier* 1466 p168. He was pursued for arrest along with Guillaume de Rosnivinen in 1461: see chapter 5. Hda of François II's *garde* in 1461-62: Morice II p1777.

b) Guillaume d'Espinay served under Torcy. Jacquesson d'Espinay served under Brézé.

Cardin, Richard des Essars

a) An important Cachois lord and cp of Aumale in 1452: GR6286. He, his younger brother Guillaume and his sister Marie were godparents to the eldest son of Charles de Braquemont *écuyer de l'écurie* of Charles VII in 1450/51: DLN/11 p267. Cardin rallied to Charles de France serving in the duke's household (1465.4); employed on embassy to Philippe le Bon and Charolais: BN Ms fr 23262; Stein 1919 p561.

b) Head of an important Cachois and Roumois lineage. Son of Robert des Essars and Perrine du Mesnil. His younger brother was hda of Dunois and his eldest son served Torcy. His sister Marie was married to Charles Desmarestz cp Dieppe. It is possible that his son and heir Jean was the Estouteville hda of this name, since his father can be found in deals with Hestray and Fretel (*qqv*): *Rouen* 29 Apr 1464, 27 Oct 1456, 16 Apr 1460. Jean predeceased his father and wardship of Cardin's children was granted to Colart de Moy *chevalier* in 1473: BN PO 1423 *du Gue en Normandie* 32219, n°13. Cardin's relationship is unclear with the Philippe des Essars who served as Charles de France's *maître d'hôtel* in 1465: BN Ms fr 23262; Clairambault 221 p143

c) In 1503 the family still held lands of the king in V Montivilliers (parishes of Graimbouville and Saint-Gilles-de-la-Neufville), and of the count of Longueville lands in the parish of Thil and the sry of Canteleu in the sergentry of Brachy: *Caux* 1503.

Guiot des Essars

a) Hda of Dunois's GO 1452.1-61.3; cp *franc-archiers* of the Caux in 1475: Contamine *GES* p361. Defaulted on the musters of V Beaumont-le-Roger in 1470 as being *hors le bailliage*, and his lands were sequestrated: *Evreux 1470* p74.

b) Guiot was younger brother of Cardin des Essars. In 1462 Guiot ceded the succession of his parents to Richard for a cash payment of *L250*. This value represents his share in the succession in *bourgage*, as Cauchois custom denied him any claim on the noble lands. The contract was witnessed by Dunois's V Longueville Jean Blancbaston: *Rouen* 3 Feb 1461/62.). Robinet des Essars; hda of the GO under Dunois 1452.1-1461.3.

c) Qualified sr Croismare in 1450/51, sr de la Quieze in V Beaumont-le-Roger: *DLN/11* p267; *Evreux 1470* p74.

Brunet, Perrenet, Louvet or Louviel de l'Estandart

a) Louvet hda of Jean de Lorraine 1451.2 to 1455.2, 1460.1; also Brunet de l'Estandart 1455.4 to 1461.3, and Perrenet de l'Estandart, serving 1452.1. If these three were not actually the same man they were replacing each other in the muster.

b) Pierre de l'Estandart *chevalier* sr Hanches/Hauces married Jeanne Filleul dame de Bully before 1452 and died c.1460. Her father Robert Filleul was *maître d'hôtel* of Queen Marie: *Rouen* 19 Jun 1452. Pierre's son Jean de l'Estandart baron of Ouilly and Bully near Neufchâtel was still alive in the 1490s: Delamare 1865 pp33-35. Jacques de l'Estandart of Milly was cp Romorantin in 1452: *Bastard d'Estang* p215 Sceaux n°211.

Roger d'Etampes

a) Cr *clerc* at the 1453 *Echiquier*. *Official* of Bayeux, dean du Sépulchre, can be shown dealing in lands and rents in the Bessin: *Caen* Mar 17 1450/51, p181v° shows the canon settling with Valois *chef de guerre* Philibert de Brecy. Brecy was using his possession of 'certaine grant congie de bestes a laine' belonging to the canon, seized during the Reduction campaign, to force him to obey a *clameur de marchie de bourse* over the fief of Anisy which he had purchased from Brecy's wife's brother. For other deals see *Caen* 9 Jan 1456/57, p42v°; 14 Aug 1460, p125v°.

b) There is a short notice in Béziers 1895 II p196. Roger had a brother Jean, who could be the Jean d'Etampes who served as Louis's *maître des requêtes* at *L1,000* pension in 1466, or a homonym (d.1456), sometime Caroline *maître des requêtes* and *général*, treasurer of Sainte-Hilaire de Poitiers, and royal counsellor in the 1440s. There may also be a *parlementaire* connection; one Guillaume d'Estampes had been cr *clerc au Parlement* from 1441; he was the son of Robert d'Estampes sr Sallebris and snl of Bourbonnais, bishop of Montauban 1452, Condom 1455, Issoudun 1460:BN Ms fr 20498 p32; *LMIQ* p460; Maugis 1913-16 III p89; Gaussin 1982.

Jean d'Evreux

a) Granted the office of Vd Longchamp in September 1461 to hold 'tant qu'il plaira' Montauban as GMEF: *DLN/75* p261.

Jean Fare

b) Cr in the *Echiquier* and *général sur le fait de la justice des aides*.

b) Antoine Fare was one of the cr's imposed on Rouen by Narbonne, Brézé and Picart in Jan 1466: BN Ms fr 6972 n°241v°.

c) Resident in Rouen in 1452: *DLN/15* p309.

Guillaume Faroul

a) V Pont-de-l'Arche 1464-65: *GR19339*. In 1471 he was granted a delay in rendering his accounts for this office and for those of *grenétier* of Louviers and rec Harcourt and Pont-de-l'Arche, because of the loss of papers during the 'divisions': *DLN/24* p143.

b) Presumed brother of the subject of the following notice.

Jean Faroul écuyer, d.1470

a) His father resigned the office of Vd du Bord in V Pont-de-l'Arche to him, which cession was ratified by Charles VII July 1447: *DLN/24* p103. He was in the French obedience and the *verderie* was administered from Louviers during the truce. He can be shown holding the office 1453-54: *Echiquier* 1453 p13, 1454 p13. Was also *grenétier* of Louviers in 1450, perhaps at the nomination of Brézé who enjoyed the revenues of the *grenier*: BN PO 509 *Brézé* 11509, n°19. B Louviers for Cardinal d'Estouteville from 1454/55 and held the office to his death in 1470: *Beaurepaire* 1868 p153, 156.

b) His father was Jean Faroul. One Michel Faroul was qualified servant of Cardinal d'Estouteville 1474/75: *Beaurepaire* 1868 p23.

Guillaume du Fay chevalier

a) LGB Gisors 1449-56, initially *commis*: *GR13032*, *DLN/15* p329. He is presumed the man of this name who was coursing out of Dieppe in 1440, cp Féré: Bourel de la Roncière 1899 II, p260-61. He was a Brézé hda by 1456. A homonym, also son of Guillaume du Fay, was *demeurant*, freed of wardship in 1444, and was holding the sgtry of Quillebeuf in B Rouen by 1445: *DLN/4* p167, 207, 209.

Homonyms were in the Torcy company, and LV Pont-Audemer 1473: *GR19280*.

b) He was the head of the elder line, srs du Fay: his wife was Jeanne de Recusson dame de la Lande at Saint-Ouen-les-Champs. One daughter Jeanne married Richard du Fay sr Fief-Normand, lt V Rouen 1438-41, lt GMEF B Gisors 1442, whose genealogy is given by Frondeville: 1953 p396. Another daughter married Guillaume le Roux (*qv*). Pierre du Fay was LB Gisors 1451: *GR13051*. Gilles du Fay *chevalier* was Eu's nominee in the cpcy Neuchâtel in 1452, 1453: BL Additional Charters 4070; *GR6393*. These

men are presumed his brothers. A son may be Guillaume du Fay *écuyer* sr Villeneuve, who purchased a manor in the parish of Gotz in 1466, and testified as to the age of majority of Gauvain d'Esneval in 1482, giving his age as 40: *Rouen* 6 Sep 1466; *DLN/11* p89. An uncle was Jean de Briquemare *chevalier*: *Rouen* 4 Mar 1456/57. Another Guillaume du Fay served under Torcy.

c) In 1445 Guillaume son of Guillaume du Fay *écuyer*, held of Henry VI the sergeantry *fieffé* of Quillebeuf in B Rouen, and lands in the V Pont-Audemer. He had been put *hors de garde* in 1444: *DLN/4* p167, 207, 209.

Jean du Fay

a) V la Carnaille for the countess of Harcourt 1461, 1463, 1490: *Caen* NN, *Echiquier* 1463 p119. Homonym Vd Brotonne 1476: *ADSM* 6E 13 *Notes de Beaurepaire* p98.

b) See preceding notice for men sharing his patronym. One Robert du Fay was resident in the same parish in 1464.

c) Resident at la Fresnaye-au-Sauvage south of Falaise in 1464: *Monfaut* p218.

Cardin, Richard le Febvre

a) Dunois hda in the Harfleur garrison. He was granted the Vd Roumare for services on the Reduction: BN Ms fr 20495 n°59, and can be shown incumbent 1452, 1453, 1462. In 1453 he gave quittance for part of his pension of L120 drawn on the *ferme* of the Rouen *tabellionage*, which pension he held 'jusqu'il lui ait mieulx pourveu d'autre estat ou office que ladite verderie': *DLN/15* p285, 295, 303; /17 p269. A homonym attended the Norman Estates of 1470 and was consulted by the *élus* in respect of the grant of taxation, 'afin d'y garder egalite': *DLN/23* p394. A homonym served under Carbonnel in the service of Charles de France in Guyenne, 1470.4.

b) Common name. Caen notable Roger le Febvre was LGB for Thomas de Louraille holding the office of B Caen for Charles de France, and went on to serve as his *maître des requêtes* in Guyenne: *DLN/18* p99; BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93.

Guillaume le Febvre

a) Estouteville's V la Rémuée, snl Valmont and Foville 1464-65: *ADSM* 33 J 794, *Comptes d'Estouteville*. Of a Rouen notable family, he can be found witnessing contracts and acting on the Rouen legal scene from c.1454, and is qualified Cr *en court laie* from 1464: *Rouen* 6 Apr 1464. V *des aumônes* of the bishopric of Evreux in 1467: *Rouen* 1 Sep 1467.

b) Presumed connected to Thomassin le Febvre, one of the pr's of Michel d'Estouteville baron de Gacé and his wife Marie de la Rocheguyon in the exchange of rents and debts of her grandmother Perrette de la Rivière in December 1463: BN PO 1083 *d'Estouteville* 24901, n°193. This man's homonym had been *fermier* of the baronies of Bretteville and Dampjehan on behalf of William Oldhall and Jean Salvain

chevaliers governors of the *fruits d'église* in 1447 and *greffier* of B Caen: CMSM II p213; Caen 12 Jan 1457, p40.

Jean le Febvre *écuyer*

a) Hda 'tenant garnison à Mont-St-Michel', c.1441 when he was granted remission for the mutilation of a Breton prisoner. He was described as having followed Poton de Xaintrailles, La Hire, Pregent de Coëtivy, Louis d'Estouteville and other captains: AN JJ 187 n°127. Homonyms were lt of the admiral in Normandy in 1453 and pr B Mantes 1463-1470: *Echiquier* 1453 p140v°; GR14910. A homonym dit Tabourin brought the excuses of Philibert de Brecy to the 1462 *Echiquier*: *Echiquier* 1462 p19v°.

A homonym qualified *maître d'Hôtel* was granted the Vd du Bord by Louis de Laval as GMEF in Aug 1466. He can be shown as incumbent in 1468: *DLN/75* p285; /14 p395. He was buying up small rents in Rouen in Oct 1466: *Rouen* 28 Oct 1466.

c) A homonym had obtained relaxation from Eu of *L7* out of *L9* owed on his lands at Roussel/Rouviel before 1456: *Neufchâtel* p219.

Pierre Feularde, Foularde

a) V Auge 1452 (*Rouen* 5 Jan 1452), 1457-60 ...: GR19180. P. Qualified 'serviteur de monsieur de Torcy' in transaction with Jean Gouel (*qv*) in 1451. Engaged in large scale rent transactions with members of the ex-Lancastrian Mustel family later in the decade: *Rouen* 5 Jan 1451/52, 16 Jul, 31 Oct, 4 Jan 1458/59.

Simon Filleul

a) Hda of Torcy's GO. In 1456 he bought up the l'Engronnois inheritance from a daughter of the family gone to reside in Ghent, then re-sold it: *Rouen* 19 Sep 1456. In July 1461 he made a request to Louis XI for the *grenier* of Falaise: BN Ms fr 20495 p54.

b) Robert Filleul sr d'Imonville was *maître d'hôtel* of Queen Marie, and married his daughter Jeanne to Pierre de l'Estendart sr Hanches dame de Bully/Bailly. She was widowed by 1464 when she reached an accord over a gift of the succession of Sauvage Louvel sr Vatierville from her aunt Jeanne d'Estremont widow of Robert sr de Grosmesnil. Jean Filleul *écuyer* was present: *Rouen* 19 Jun 1452.

The Filleul were Rouen *noblesse bourgeoise* of great note, headed in the decades either side of the Reduction by Jacques Filleul sr Fresneuse. He was married to Jeanne sister of Regnault de Longueil, and can be shown dealing with members of the du Bosc and le Roux families. His four sons were Jacques, Guillaume (adult in 1458 and acting as his father's pr by 1461), Amaury and Regnault: they drew up a *partage* of their parents' inheritance in 1464: *Rouen* 24 Dec 1461; 28 Oct 1463; 14 Dec 1464; 7 Jun 1465; 22 Apr, 28 Jul, 2, 30 Sep 1466.

Rigault de Fontaines *chevalier*

a) Hda of Dunois's GO 1452.1-1457.1. A Dauphinist partisan in the war in Picardy in the 1420s, he was captured at Mons-en-Vimeu. Thereafter he emerged as a *routier* captain in Valois service, taking part in the relief of Compiègne in Oct 1430 and capturing the château of Monchaux-Soreng near Neufchâtel in 1432. He surrendered the place by profitable composition with Lord Willoughby in 1434. He was in the host led by Xaintrailles and la Hire which defeated the earl of Arundel before Gerberoy in 1435. He was captured during the abortive attempt on Rouen which followed: *Monstrelet* III-VI, *passim*, and *Blondel* II p209ff. He was gp Compiègne at L200, 1457: GR21036. By 1459 he had been succeeded by Louis de Soyecourt who had been *garde* of Harfleur after its fall to the French.

b) Pierre bastard de Fontaines was hda of the GO under Dunois 1452.1-1457.1; Rigault's son?

Jean de Fontenay

a) Lorraine hda at Granville, a Bessin nobleman. Minor rent transactions in the 1450s show him moving amidst petty nobles around Caen and Cotentin. In the early 1460s he was engaged in lawsuits against Jean Carbonnel and Jean Leseu: *Caen* 22 Jan 1455/56, p40; *Echiquier* 1462 p19, 1466 p102v^o.

b) He married Louise daughter of Jean dit le Gallois d'Aché: *CD*. Antoine de Fontenay also served under Lorraine.

c) Sr Bretteville, Montereul (e.p.).

Jean le Foulon

a) V Vire 1459: *DLN/23* p133-39. He was perhaps *commis* in the interval between the death of the constable and the appointment of la Fresnaye: he was LB Caen at Vire 1454 and 1465: GR4310.

b) Nicolas de Fouloigne *écuyer* GdS V Bayeux 1450, 1451, 1472; Jean his son inherits his father's fief of Vallun at Castillon: *Beaurepaire* 1966 n°89, 100.

Jean Fournier

a) V Orbec 1449, by grant on the resignation of Pierre Seellier, Scellier: GR12707.

c) *HH*; *maître des requêtes de l'hôtel*.

Abraham Fremin

a) V Maulévrier for Brézé: *Rouen* 26 Jul 1462, 29 Oct 1463. He had been a *demeurant*, GdS V Harcourt and V Elbeuf 1438, 1440. He was gifted properties to the value of L25 p.a. of rebels in the Caux and Roumois by the Lancastrian regime in 1437: *DLN/14* p77; /15 p195; /5 p1. He was dead by 1469: *Caux* 1470 p297.

b) Jean Fremin of St-Clemens-sur-le-Vey was ennobled in 1474: *DLN/1* p364.

Guillaume Frétel

a) Estouteville's cp Valmont 1465: ADSM 33 J 794, *Comptes d'Estouteville*. A Cachois noble with severe debt problems in the 1450s and 1460s.

b) He was baptised in April 1405 in the church of Angerville-l'Auvrechier, the son of Colart Frétel who died in 1411: his grandfather Guillaume died in 1414 and he entered the *garde du roi*. He was raised within the English obedience by successively his grandmother and then by his mother, Isabelle de Mellemont. He resided at the château of Tancarville and when the inquest into his wardship was undertaken in 1426 he was described as playing tennis well and being very good with the bow: *DLN/5* p327. His wife was Marguerite de Villequier daughter of Colart sr Villequier: *Echiquier* 1469 p95. He went over to Charles VII about 1435 and was granted the lands of Marguerite de Tournay after she fled to England in 1449-50: *Rouen* 19 Jun 1456. His daughter and son-in-law Mathurin Brachet (Charles VII's *sénéchal* of Limousin, and Poton de Xaintrailles's lieutenant at Falaise).

The Flocquet PO hda listed as sr Esponville, 1451.3, may not be Frétel, though this sry, held by Isabelle de Mellemont, had passed by 1456 to him.

c) Sr Gerponville, Esponville, See chapter 2 for his lands and an analysis of his financial problems in the 1450s and 1460s.

Jean de la Fresnaye *écuyer*

a) V Vire 1459-61 (4584). P

b) Michel de la Fresnaye *écuyer*, LGV Avranches 1482 (7464).

Jehannequin de Gaillarbos, Gaillardbois etc. *écuyer*

a) V Beaumont-le-Roger 1465-770: GR12610. HH; *écuyer d'écurie*. He appeared at the 1469 musters as V Beaumont armed as a *brigandinier* with 2 archers and a page, and died in post over the winter of 1470-71: *Evreux* 1470 p72; *DLN/24* p177. Two homonyms served in the Caroline *ordonnance*. One, Jean or Jehannet, served under Dunois in the Harfleur garrison 1453.2-1461.2. The other had been Flocquet GQ hda 1451.2-1460.4 (highest rank 6). No firm basis on which to distinguish these men exists. It is likely that the V was the Flocquet man. Appears to have continued for some time in the office despite the grant (revenues in June 1466, *propriété* in Nov 1469) of the V to Guy de Maumont sr Saint-Quentin.

b) Henri de Gaillarbois was a Flocquet GO hda 1452.4-1460.4 (highest rank 5). Robert de Gaillarbois, then holding lands near the forest of Lyons, was executed at Rouen in the early 1440s: *DLN/4* p239. Some members of the family had been *demeurants*. Jacquet de Gaillardbois was imprisoned by the English at Château-Gaillard for intelligence with Valois partisans. He gained remission in 1432 at the behest of his elder brother 'lequel nous a loyaument servy ou fait de nos guerres' in combatting brigands in the Vexin: *Le Cacheux* 1908 II, p206-7.

Jean de Gaillon, Gallon

a) Hda of Brézé GO. Significant Ouche/Vexin noble. Still serving under Guillaume de Vallée in 1471. Was conjoined with Antoine Crespin archbishop of Narbonne in suits against Jean d'Estouteville sr Torcy in the 1460s: *Echiquier* 1466 p65; 1469 p84.

b) Son of Guillaume de Gaillon *chevalier* (d. by 1466). He was also the heir of Marie de Garencieres widow of Charles VII's prominent *chef de guerre* Thugdual le Bourgeois dit de Carmoisien, for whose inheritance he gave homage in Jul 1468: *Harcourt* IV, p1534. Guillaume had been *demeurant* holding the fief of Mesnil-Ferry in B Rouen from Henry VI in the 1440s. He was taken and ransomed by the French while serving under Lord Scales, and was 'grandement endebte' as a result. He represented the nobility of V Pont-Audemer at the last Lancastrian Estates in 1449, gave homage to the constable in 1450, and had still not rendered *aveu* in 1456 because of difficulties in drawing up the *partage* between himself and his brothers in respect of his inheritance from his father and uncles: BL Additional Ms 11509 p62v^o-66; *DLN*/4 p167, p197, /24 p117. He inherited these lands from his father or uncle Jean de Gaillon, also *demeurant*, granted *souffrance* of *aveu* in 1434 for the fiefs of Tourneville (V Evreux) and du Bosc-Simon in the parish of St Germain-de-Moiroux in V Orbec. Jean's brother Roger canon of Paris was in the French obedience in the 1440s, and by the time of the truce was being granted *souffrance* of homage and *aveu* in respect of these and other lands. Alongside Jean de Longchamps (*qv*) Guillaume de Gaillon witnessed the Saâne's renunciation of any right of *partage* in the Dresnay inheritance in 1452: *Rouen* 10 May 1452.

The connection of these men with the Bessin lineage Gallon is unclear. The nobility of several men with this patronym in the vicinity (east and south-east) of Caen was verified by Monfaut in 1463-64. Jean and his son Pierre were resident in the parish of Vendes, a second Jean was resident in Villy and a third in Longraye south of Bayeux. Richard Gallon was resident at Cheux, and Philipot Gallon was resident at St Contest just outside Caen.

Richard's son Christophe had married the daughter of Jacques Paynel *chevalier* sr Briqueville-la-Blouette: *Monfaut* p367; *Caen* Mar 25 1464, p55.

c) His father gave homage in Sep 1450 for Mesnil-Ferry, Maubucquet, Beaumoncel, Torp and Soumainville (V Pont-Audemer), Tourneville and Sierre (V Evreux), Fains (*chatellenie* of Pacy): *DLN*/34 p249. By inheritance from Marie de Garencières he became sr Macy (V Paris), Croisy (*châtellenie* Pacy), Hardencourt (V Evreux), Villiers-le-Comte (B Chartres).

Pierre Galopin

a) LGB Caux 1449-59: *GR*5900. Retained as cr by archbishop Raoul Roussel on the Reduction, when he was qualified *secrétaire du roi*. Estouteville B Berneval 1461-62: *ADSM* 33 J 846, *Comptes d'Estouteville*.

Seemingly still in the service of Cardinal d'Estouteville at Dieppe in the early 1460s, when he was one of those who dispatched urgent word of admiral de Montauban's 'entreprise' against archiepiscopal rights: *Beaurepaire* 1868 pp121-23.

Jennequin de la Garenne

a) Cp *francs archiers* of B Rouen 1462-63, 1465-66: *BN* Ms fr 23262 n°20; *PO* 1280 *de Garennes* 28826, n°7. He was in Rouen under the apanage regime, selling rents in the presence of Guillaume le Barbier,

who had served Brézé as an archer. A homonym was du Bueil hda in 1470: *Rouen* 18, 24 Oct, 10 Nov; BN Ms fr 21497 p176.

Jean, more usually Karados Garin

a) AvR B Rouen, 1465-83, dying in harness: GR19126, BN PO 1282 *Garin en Normandie* 28860, n°14. An extremely prominent Rouennais lawyer, frequently encountered in the Rouen *tabellionage*. Cr Marie d'Harcourt 1460: *Rouen* 15 June 1460. Pr of Cardinal d'Estouteville at Gaillon 1461-62: Beaurepaire 1868 p142. Purchased rents from Sourdeval during the crisis of Charles de France's regime: *Rouen* 21 Dec 1465.

Jacques Ricard dit Galiot de Genouillac

a) Gascon nobleman who came of age c.1456, when his brother settled a portion of the paternal inheritance on him. Soon after he entered Dunois's service and served as his hda GO towards the end of the 1450s. *Guidon* of Dunois at Sandwich 1457. He was probably identical with the Guillaume de (J-) Genouillac who was *voyer et receveur* of Mantes 1454-70, initially at the nomination of Dunois or his wife, and rec at Pont-de-Meulan 1469. He was still or back in Normandy in 1464 when he purchased rents from Robert le Prevost sr la Couronne, in a transaction witnessed by Robert du Hommet and Simonnet Thomasset sergeant at Rouen. He was *écuyer* of Dunois in 1465. Rallied to Charles de France and served as his *écuyer d'ecurie* by 1467. He was serving in the duke's household (1468.1); in the duke's garrison at Domfront (1468.3); and in the duke's *garde* in Guyenne (1471.4). He was received back into favour after Charles de France's death and was pensioned at L300 by 1474. He succeeded Jean Cholet (*qv*) as *maître de l'artillerie* in 1479 and was snl Beaucaire by 1480. He was confirmed in his *maîtrise* by the Beaujeu regency, was in receipt of an enhanced pension by 1485 and died in 1493: Anselme VIII p162; *Héraut Berry* p407; GR14985, 14965; *Rouen* 3 Mar 1464/65; BN Ms fr 21477 p8-20, 44-49; Ms fr 32663 p485-93.

b) The genealogy of his family is in Anselme VIII p162ff. Second son of Pierre Ricard sr Genouillac and Gourdon and Anne le Tor. His elder brother Jean II served under Arnaud de Naudonnet sr Lustrac cp Penne d'Agenais in the 1430s.

c) Sr Brusac, Ansac, St Projet in Périgord and Agenais.

Jean Gilet, Gilles, Gillet, d. after 1476

a) V Vire 1450-59: GR4583. Secretary of Charles VII by 1445, and under Louis XI. SPrR at Avranches 1455: GR7248. Richemont as *usufruitier* of Vire may have nominated him to the V. Presumed identical with the unnamed V who was excused attendance at the 1453 *Echiquier* as being in the service of the constable: *Echiquier* 1453 p13.

b) See the notice in *Secrétaires* n°294bis: m. Jeanne la Grasse.

James, Jamet Godart *écuyer*

a) V Coutances 1450-52: GR7393.

Thomas Gohier

a) Hda of Mont-Saint-Michel garrison 1458.2 to 1461.3. One of the pr of Michel d'Estouteville baron de Gacé and his wife Marie de la Rocheguyon to negotiate the exchange of rents and debts of her grandmother Perrette de la Rivière in December 1463: BN PO 1083 24901, *d'Estouteville*, n°193

b) Louis Gohier was on the list of those defending the Mont in 1427, as inscribed in the chapel of St Sauveur de l'église du Mont Saint Michel: Abbé Desroches, *op cit.* p72-73. Jean Gohier *écuyer* had been in the garrison of Mont-Saint-Michel under Nicole Paynel *chevalier* for the duke of Alençon and count of Aumale in May 1421: CMSM I p111). Nicole Gohier curé St Germain de Tournebu was on trial for treason against the English 1441: CMSM II p129.

Guillaume Gombault

a) He was farmer of the *vicomté de l'Eau* under the Lancastrians: *Echiquier* 1454 p6. V Rouen 1450-62 ...: GR19380, 19382. Charles VII permitted Gombault to resign the *recette* of the V to his son-in-law Legier de Saint-Laurent (*qv*) in April 1455 'attendu ses services quil a fait tant a la reduction de la ville (de Rouen) et au recouvrement de son duchie de Normandie': *DLN/24* p115. Henceforth he exercised only the judicial functions of the V: the accounting functions were exercised by Saint-Laurent. Gombault was qualifying himself V as late as 1464: *Rouen* 13 July 1464. It is possible that this usage was honorific, but more likely that he still exercised the judicial functions notwithstanding formal replacement: the *pleas des heritages* of the town and suburbs of Rouen were held in his name by lt Pierre Lamy in November 1462: *Rouen* 28 Apr 1463. He was named as incumbent in the *Echiquier* registers of 1463: *Echiquier* 1463 p243. P; although he exercised the office he had been formally replaced by Jean le Roux sr Miromesnil (*qv*).

b) Guillaume Gombault V Beaumont-le-Roger 1403-4: GR12596. Men with this patronym entered the service of Charles de France: Henri served under Jean Blosset at Domfront in 1468 and was hda of the ducal garde in 1470.4. Thibaut Gombault, who had appeared as hda of the former Brézé company in its first muster under la Barde in 1461, was in the ducal household in 1467-68 and *archier du corps* in Guyenne: Stein 1919 p677ff, 789; AN K71 n°15.

Raoul Gourdel

a) Lancastrian V Avranches 1446-48: GR7341. V Carentan 1450-53: GR7365. By a 1458 settlement of litigation over the office of V Carentan with Jean de Cérisey, he received sums from Etienne Bertout *receveur des aides* in the *élection* of Coutances and Carentan in order to compensate him for his loss of the office and his legal expenses: BN PO 315 *Bertout* 6296 n°3.

b) Michel Gourdel avR Vire 1427-34: GR4434, 4462. Jean Gourdel Lancastrian V Avranches 1436-45: GR7340.

Jean de Gouvis

a) *Docteur en droit civil et canon*, archdeacon of Bayeux, canon of Rouen, counsellor of cardinal d'Estouteville, his vicar 1460-80 and *official* 1457: Beaurepaire 1868 p20ff. In his testament he credited his career to the protection of 'Monsieur Pierre Cauchon evesque de Lisieux par le moyen duquel il a eu de grans biens et avancemens et de monsieur Zanon de Castillon evesque dudit Baieux lequel lui donna l'archidiaconne dud Baieux et fist avoir la prebende de ladite eglise archiepiscopale dudit Rouen'. Gouvis had indeed been one of Castillon's executors. But the Estouteville connection was also longstanding: he 'a este nourrye par longtems' in the cardinal's foundation the 'College de Pavye': *Rouen* 11 Feb 1467/68, misplaced at the end of the register; 6 Aug 1467.

He was a player on the Rouen rent market. He was involved in the finances of Roger de Hellande *chevalier*, Georges baron de Clères, Jean de Drosay, Guillaume Frétel and various members of his family.

He was involved with more complex arrangements with Jean du Quesnay (*qv*). His involvement with the Frétel is discussed in chapter 2. In Aug and Oct 1452 he bought rents from Hellande. In 1458 he quit the arrears to the knight and prolonged the term of raquittal in the presence of Clères and Hellande's associate Brunet de Montigny *Rouen* 24 July 1458. This is not an isolated link with Clères, who was involved in financial transactions, witnessed by the canon, with Raoul de Gouvis canon of Lisieux. Jean also purchased rents from Jean de Drosay *écuyer* sr Saint-Marie-aux-Anglais. Again, the association was not casual: Drosay witnessed a string of charitable bequests made by Gouvis in 1467: *Rouen* 7 Aug 1461, 14 Jan 1463. He had links to Biote, with whom he witnessed and probably had a role in brokering the accord between the Drosay and Guy de Briouze over the barony of Briouze in 1462. Biote witnessed a Gouvis family compact the same year: *Rouen* 26 Apr 1461, 3 Apr 1461/62.

b) Brother of Henri de Gouvis and his wife Yudette de Thibouville. She remarried Jacques des Moulins *écuyer* and in 1461 the couple settled over Henri's fief of Fontaine-la-Forêt with her son Jean de Gouvis *écuyer*. Henri had been a *demeurant*, captain of the nobles of V Orbec for Henry VI in 1429, when another brother Guillaume acted as his deputy in conveying supplies to the seige of Orleans: *Rouen* 26 April 1461; *CMSM* I 276. A viscomital inquest (1438, Lisieux) into the family survives in *DLN/9* p162. Guillaume *fl.* 1461 when he witnessed Clères money-raising contracts with canon Jean du Bec: *Rouen* 21 Mar 1460/61. The son, Jean de Gouvis sr de la Mare (V Pont-Audemer) and of lands in the V Orbec, was put *hors de garde* in 1457, knighted by 1462 and married Jeanne daughter of Guillaume de Mailloc *écuyer*: *DLN/10* p75; *Rouen* May 28 1462. Raoul de Gouvis, perhaps a nephew of the canon, was canon of Lisieux, curé of Sainte-Opportune, and a creditor of George de Clères. In 1458 he became godfather to Gauvain son of Robert d'Esneval sr Saint-Maard: *Rouen* 27 Mar 1462/63; *DLN/11* p89.

c) Jean possessed property in Rouen itself: *Rouen* 15 Mar 1463/64.

Jean de la Grange

a) Jean was a member of the Harfleur garrison 1452.1-1453.1, presumed identical with *élu* Montivilliers, qualified *valet de chambre* of Louis Dauphin when he sold a rent to Robert Biote (*qv*) by the intermediary

of Guillaume Couldren LV Eau: Rouen 29 Aug 1451. A homonym served in the duke's garrison at Domfront in 1468: BN Ms fr 21477 p44-49.

b) Son of Jean de la Grange bourgeois of Harfleur. His sister Jeanne married Ysore de la Fosse bourgeois of Rouen, taking the Norman lands of their parents: *Rouen* 30 Aug 1451. His heir was perhaps Michel de la Grange who with Denis and Martin de Dammartin his consorts sold rights in a large cash debt (L2,500 reckoned as ¼ value of the barony of Cailly and Saint-Germain-sous-Cailly) to M. Nicole de Sailly, M. Jean Bureau and Pierre de Génouillac. The trio pursued Jean Masquerel *chevalier* seigneur de Hermanville for this sum at the Rouen assises, then evoked the case before the *Requetes de l'hotel* at Paris. Masquerel appealed to the 1462 *Echiquier* against this evocation, and won his point in 1464: *Echiquier* 1462 p40v^o; 1464 p47.

Michel de la Grange had succeeded Jean as *élu* Montivilliers by 1456, and was *Général maître des monnoies* by 1464, when he was *commis* in respect of the prohibition on exports of arms to Brittany: *Rouen* 27 Oct 1456; BN Ms fr 20485 p133.

c) Jean was resident at Harfleur in 1451.

Robert le Gras *écuyer*, b. c.1411.

a) V Evreux since 1441, he was granted the office of V Pont-Audemer/Pont-Antou by Dunois for services at the reduction of Pont-Audemer 'enquoy il s'est bien et grandement emploie et y a expose son corps et pour ce fait et soustenus grans frais et mises.' The king confirmed the grant 13 Oct 1449: *DLN/24* p103. He was also granted property within the town which had been belonged to the English knight John Salvain: *DLN/25* p89. He resigned his office at Evreux in favour of Jean Guedon a month after his confirmation at Pont-Audemer: *DLN/25* p83, *GR*12681. V Pont-Audemer 1449-61: *GR*19262. P. In May 1471 he gave his age as c.60 to an inquest into the wardship of Robert d'Esneval *écuyer* sr Saint-Maard-sur-Rille (*DLN/11* p33). Alongside his fellow *commissaires des aides* Fortin and Tallon he sanctioned payments made by the rec Pont-Audemer, and thus his name appears in the documents we have relating to the October composition of the town after the fall of Rouen to the rebels. His rôle appears to have been important at this point, but there is no other evidence that he gave active support to the ducal regime: Stein 1919 p93.

b) Robert passed the fief of Bigars to his son Christopher; another son may have been Jean le Gras *écuyer* sr Auvreville and gds V Orbec. The family was to marry into a number of prominent *parlementaire* houses in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, but never broke through themselves to the rank of *conseiller*: *DLN/11*, p33; /23 p234; *GR* 12681, 19262, 19297; Frondeville 1960 p625-26. Cardot le Gras rendered *aveu* 20 May 1454 for his fief of Rosay at Courbépine in sgtry Bernay in V Orbec, seized by the English after 1438: Frondeville 1936 p88. Members of his family had office in the legal infrastructure.

c) He had links with the Longchamp family: Jean de Longchamp *écuyer* enfeoffed him with sr Bigars in 1454. Over the next twenty years le Gras progressively bought out all the Longchamps' rights in the fief: *Rouen* 19 Jan 1454/55, 17 Aug 1456; *DLN/34* p245 (minute of Robert le Gras's homage, 3 Feb 1457, for Bigars in the parish of Campigny in V Pont-Audemer). See also *Echiquier* 1462 p7, 1464 p10.

Blaise Gresle, de Gréelle, d.1467

a) Cr *clerc* at the 1452-53 *Echiquiers*, qualified simply gr *du roi*. Sub-deacon of Clermont, elected archbishop of Bordeaux in September 1456; involved in a long dispute with the chapter. Sat as gr *clerc* at the first session of Louis's revived *Parlement* of Bordeaux in 1462. He was a significant creditor of the Moy family: *DBF*, *sub* Gréelle.

Jean de Grouchy

a) Member of the Harfleur garrison 1452.1-1461.2.

b) Married to Isabeau d'Aunoy, widow of Charles de Jencourt *écuyer* by 1456, when he acted as her procureur in sales of property: *Rouen* 13 Aug 1456. His father may have been Jean de Grouchy sr Montérolier (near St-Saens), a Valois partisan since 1429, cp Beauvais in the early 1430s, captured at Gerberoy when Arundel was killed: *Le Cacheux* 1908 II, p365; *GR*21004; *Héraut Berry* p164.

The head of the house after the Reduction was the significant Cauchois lord Louis de Grouchy *chevalier* sr Montérolier (Monstieraullier), presumed Jean's elder brother. He seized Aubery Doule's fief of Neufville-la-Ferrière at the fall of Neufchâtel in the year of the Reduction, generating a suit which was pending in *Parlement* when it was accorded at the *Echiquier*: 1453 p355. He was described as old and crippled with gout in 1462: *DLN*/75 p247. We find him involved in rent sales in the mid-1450s: *Rouen* 25 Oct 1454, 10 May 1456. A frequent partner in these and other rent transactions in 1460-61 was Jean le Porc bourgeois of Rouen. Louis had a bastard son or brother Jacques de Monstieraullier *écuyer*. He recovered lands alienated in 1407 by his predecessor Jean de Grouchy *chevalier* from Laurens Guedon and his wife Jeanne Segouin: *Rouen* 19 Sep 1460.

Louis witnessed contracts of the Jencourt family and acted as pr of Guillaume de Trousseauville *chevalier* sr Guarguesalle and guardian of the minor Jean de Jencourt sr Heubercourt near Vernon, where Louis was normally resident: *Rouen* 31 May, 2 May 1456; *Echiquier* 1469 p40v°. Louis, Colart de Bethencourt and Laurens Touzé were named as the panel of arbitrators to settle disputes relating to the *partage* among the daughters of Pierre de Ganzeville: *Rouen* 10 Dec 1465. A 1428/32 inquest into the wardship of the children of Nicole de Grouchy showed his daughters marrying into the Dubosc and Pierrepont families: *DLN*/09 p122. Marie de Grouchy witnessed contracts of Marguerite de la Heuze dame de Mouy: *Rouen* 5 Nov 1456, 1 May 1463. Mahiet, Mathieu de Groucy, Grouchy served as a member of the Harfleur garrison 1452.1-1456.4 then under Torcy as hda 1460.4-1461.3. Colinet de Grouchy served Charles de France as *fruitier* in 1468-1471: *BN Ms fr* 21477 p44-49; *Ms fr* 32263 p485-93

c) Jean gave *aveu* as sr Elbeuf-en-Bray 1460: *AN P* 284 n°34. In 1503 (when the head of the house was still described as resident in Hebecourt in B Gisors) the family still held Elbeuf-en-Bray and the fief of Bosc-Oursel in the *châtellenie* of la Ferté-en-Bray.

Julien du Gue, Gouey *écuyer*:

a) V Pont-Audemer 1461-73, V Pont-de-l'Arche 1474-81: *GR*19263, 19341. B

b) Jean de Gouey was Montauban's LV in his barony of Marigny 1461: *Fierville* 1875 p81ff. Julien's collateral descendants the Restault entered the province with him, inherited his fief of Calligny, rooted

themselves in Normandy and entered the service of the Brézé and eventually the Rouen *Parlement*: Dewald 1980 p81, 84. Denis du Gue was sgt of the *grenier* of Bellême in 1455: BN PO 1423 *du Gue en Normandie* 32219, n°2. Antoine du Gue served Charles de France as *archier du corps*, later *hda de la garde* in Guyenne: BN PO 1422 *du Gue* 32215, n°5; Ms fr 32663 p485-93; AN K71 n°15.

c) Sr Calligny. HH; excused attendance as of the royal household at the 1462 and 1464 *Echiquiers* (*Echiquier* 1462 p7, 1464 p8).

Hutin de Guebienfay écuyer

a) Vd Eawy 1450, 1451, 1452, 1459: *DLN/17* p15, 27; /15 p359; /16 p133. Hda in Torcy's coy, and excused attendance at the 1454 *Echiquier*, his LG showing the court royal letters certifying that he was in continuous service about his captain's person as his *maître d'hôtel*: *Echiquier* 1454 p17.

Jean Guedon, Guesdon, fl.1432-1498

a) V Evreux 1449-65: *GR12682*. He acquired the office by resignation of the incumbent Robert le Gras and cession of the rights of Pierre du Vieuchâtel: the transactions were very likely venal, which may condition our view of his survival in 1461, though he is included on the list of those officers nominated by the Flocques: *DLN/25* p83; BN Ms fr 20498 p10 n°5. Qualified royal secretary by 1463 when he was responsible for the construction of a royal *maison* in Evreux. Active as secretary to 1465. Destituted of the V by the ducal regime he was compensated with the office of *clerc extraordinaire des comptes*: *LMIQ* p461. Norman *général des aides* 1466-98; Cr lai at the 1469 *Echiquier*: 1469 p1.

b) See notice on Jean Guesdon in *Secrétaires* n°308. A son, Charles, was 12 in 1473. One Guedon was av at the *Cour du Trésor* 1488-94: Dupont-Ferrier, *Avocats* p71.

c) Sr de Franqueville, Jouy at Presles-en-Brie: a homonym had a residence in Paris.

Laurens Guedon, Guédon

a) Lancastrian LB Gisors 1430-31: *GR13078*. AvR B Rouen 1444-52 and still in 1460: *GR19122*; *Rouen* 25 Apr 1460. Cr of Marie d'Harcourt, B Harcourt 1460: *Rouen* 15 June, 21 Oct 1460.

b) Brother of Lancastrian officer Jean Guedon *grenétier* Rouen and V Pont-Audemer in the early 1430s, whose succession he took on the death of his nephew/niece Jeannetin and Jeannette in 1434: *DLN/10* p3; BN PO 1423 *Guedon en Normandie* 32234, n°5-12.

c) In the 1440s Laurens held of Henry VI the fiefs of Franqueville, Rougemoustier, la Haye-Auberey, and the manor of Valcoquin in V Rouen: BN PO 1423 *Guedon en Normandie* 32234, n°14; *DLN/4* p159.

Henri Guérin, Garin écuyer

a) V Arques 1461-1468: *GR6062*. *Grenétier* Lisieux 1466: BN PO 1428 *Guerin en Normandie* 32355,

n°10. V Beaumont-le-Roger 1473 ...: GR12612. B (though Dupont-Ferrier includes a reference dated July 1460). HH; excused attendance as of the royal household at the 1462-64 *Echiquiers* (respectively p7, p8, p8). Jean Guérin was a Torcy hda.

Guillaume Guernon écuyer

a) In September 1449 Charles VII granted him the office of Vd Vernon and Andelys for various services, especially at the Reduction of Vernon. He can be shown incumbent 1449-1451: DLN/15 p335, 321; /14 p83; /18 p39, 45.

Richard Guihommar, alias du Hommet

a) V Bricquebec for Estouteville 1453: *Echiquier* 1453 p35; *Appointements* 1453 p346. LGB Cotentin 1455-58: GR7119. Appears as consort of Guion baron des Biars in suit against Geoffroi d'Evreux: *Echiquier* 1454 p163v°. Witnessed Biars's cession of 170 écus 'pour le bien de la paix' to Robert de Dreux-Esneval in respect of disputed rents: *Rouen* 17 May 1454. He was a practising lawyer, variously qualified cr en court laie and ay. He was accused at the 1454 *Echiquier* of seeking to intervene against a suit brought by Jacques Paynel *chevalier* despite the fact that he had been of the knight's council. He was exonerated: *Echiquier* 1454 p170°. He was dead by 1469: *Echiquier* 1469 p174v°.

b) Noel Guyhommé, witness to a contract of Pierre de Ryvande écuyer d'écurie sr Montboulain in Berry and his cousin Jean sr de Ryvande écuyer: *Caen* 8 July 1450, p131v°.

Jean Guiton

a) Gained remission 1447 for pillaging and other crimes of brigandage. Had been serving since his youth under d'Estouteville and other *chefs de guerre*: CMSM II p209. Had been on the list of those defending the Mont in 1427, as inscribed in the chapel of St Sauveur de l'église du Mont Saint Michel: Desroches p72-73. Was named cp Saint-James-de-Beuvron after the siege of the place during the Reduction: Poli 1895 n°1262. He was cp of the château and beneficiary of the two parish churches, so described *post mortem* in letters of Charles VIII: Desroches p132-133. A distinct homonym qualified *maître* was V Montreuil/Bernay: GR12630 (undated reference, *nagaires* 1460s). This man may be identical with Jean Guiton *secrétaire* of Charles de France and *argentier* of the duke of Alençon: Stein 1919 p656-75.

b) He had 3 children; Jeanne m (1454) to Robert de Verdun; Gilles sr la Rousseliere; Jean sr des Guitons, Briard, Carnet, m Guillemette Charpentier sister of Yvonne, dame de Cheruel, wife of Pierre son of Thomas de la Paluelle of Sacey. Gilles Guiton was also a Mont-Saint-Michel hda 1458.4 to 1459.2, and he and Etienne Guiton were still in the garrison of Tombelaine under Baud de Saint Gelais in 1475: Poli 1895 n°1389.

c) In 1463/64 Monfaut named Guillaume and Jean Guiton as resident at Saint-James-de-Beuvron: *Monfaut* p411. Sr des Guitons? In 1456 he was named as holding the fief of la Rousselière in the parish of Bacilly of Michel d'Estouteville's barony of Moyon. He gave *denombrement* for the *vavassourie* de la Villette at Saint-James-de-Beuvron in 1456: Poli 1895 n°1334, 1341.

Richard à la Hache

a) Estouteville pr Valmont 1464-65: ADSM . 33 J 794, *Comptes d'Estouteville*. Homonym had been *controlleur* of the English garrison of Tancarville in 1442: GR6452.

b) Regnault à la Hache *écuyer* sued Pierre de Brequigny *écuyer* at the 1453 *Echiquier*, claiming to have acquired the seigneurie of Brequigny from the late Colin du Hamel and his wife Jeanne heiress of Jean de Brequigny *écuyer*, brother of Pierre. They reached an accord: *Appointements* 1453 p362. Regnault was picking up rents at Mont-St-Michel after the Reduction: *Echiquier* 1469 p174.

Jean d'Harcourt, d.1457

a) Hda of the GO under Dunois 1452.1. Substantial Norman/Beauceron seigneur.

b) Elder brother of Jacques, who succeeded him in the company and remained in it for longer. Jean's marriage contract with Catherine d'Arpajon dated Issoudun 20 Aug 1453 is in *Harcourt* IV p1744. She was the daughter of Jean sire d'Arpajon vicomte de Lautrec and his wife Blanche de Chauvigny. The contract was brokered by the bride's maternal uncle Guy seigneur de Chauvigny, Châteauroux, vicomte de Brosse. She brought Bonnestable 6,000 *écus* plus a right of *partage*. Her dower was L400 drawn on Bonnétable. The contract was witnessed by Jean seigneur de Brosse, Saint-Sever and Boussac, Jean vicomte de Combret *chevalier*, Arnaud seigneur d'Estissac *chevalier*, Gaultier de Peruse seigneur d'Escars *chevalier*, Claude de Vaudenay *écuyer* seigneur de la Motte; Georges seigneur de Bouchet *écuyer*, Guillaume de Bresolle *écuyer* seigneur de Mortecroix.

c) Baron Bonnétable, sr Tilly, Crye. Bonnétable is on the Percheron border south-east of Alençon and south-west of Nogent-le-Rotrou: it thus fits with a picture of primary recruitment to Dunois's company in the Beauce.

Jacques d'Harcourt

a) Dunois GO hda 1451.2, and then after 1456.4. Succeeded his brother Bonnétable in the company. See the notices on him and his brother in *Harcourt* II.

b) Jean and Jacques were the sons of Girard d'Harcourt baron de Beuvron and Marie de Graille dame de Lougy (m1415). Their grandfather Philippe d'Harcourt baron de Bonnétable m 1374 Jeanne dame de Tilly and Beuvron. The brothers were seemingly also heirs of Guillemette de Tournebu dame d'Auvilliers, baronne of la Motte, Cresny and Grimbosc. Pierre de Taillebois was their *procureur* at various 1450s *Echiquiers*. Jacques married Marie de Ferriers dame de Bailleul.

c) At the 1454 *Echiquier* Jean was qualified sr Bonnétable and Tilly and Jacques baron of Beaufou and Beuvron. The *partage* between them had not been fully ratified, however, when in 1455 Bonnétable rendered *aveu* for the barony of Beaufou and Beuvron (*Harcourt* IV p1748), centred in these parishes in the Auge and other places in V's Falaise, Caen, Bayeux etc. A list of vassals is provided, including interesting details on litigious fiefs.

Gilles dit Lancelot d'Haucourt

a) Senior lt of Torcy's GO. He can be shown brokering the marriage of his brother Jean with the daughter of Charles de Hermanville *chevalier* (*qv*), also a member of the company. Haucourt had been a *demeurant*

before his majority, but defected in 1437: *DLN/4* p171, 381. Vd la Haye d'Arques 1450, 1451, 1456, 1458, 1459, with license to exercise the office through a lt, later usually Lucas le Caron *écuyer*, also his pr: *DLN/17* p15, 25; /16 p133; /15 p347, 349. Le Caron was gds of V Arques 1452: *DLN/16* p135. Haucourt was excused attendance at the 1454 *Echiquier* 'par requete pour l'occupation qu'il a a Caen sur le fait des gens d'armes de Monseigneur de Torchy': *Echiquier* 1454 p17. B Gisors 1461-66: *GR13007*. Dupont-Ferrier thought that Haucourt was already incumbent under Charles VII on the basis of a reference dated 19 Apr 1461: (citing AD Eure Series G (Supplement, 'Inventaire des titres de l'église de Gisors', 1480, p53). There are reasons for thinking this is *recte* 1462. Easter fell on 18 Apr in 1462, and it may be relevant that the bishopric of Beauvais dated *stilus pisamus*. For Dupont-Ferrier it was important that Louis 'confirmed' him in the office of *bailli*, but we have too many other examples of 'confirmations' of men who were clearly post-accession appointees for this to be conclusive: confirmation may refer to a previous promise, commission, or provision by a third party. There is room for doubt, for Jean de Brézé is last attested as B and cp of Louviers in November 1460, and certainly predeceased Charles VII. For Lancelot d'Haucourt's tergiversations during the *Bien Public* see chapter six. He had a relationship with Guillaume de Rosnvinen, for whom he acted as pr in the 1470s: Jones 1981. He was rehabilitated to a limited degree and was in receipt of a pension of L200 on the death of Louis XI: BN Clairambault 473 p199.

b) He was the son of Guillaume de Haucourt *chevalier*. He was a partisan of Jean sans Peur who reduced himself to the obedience of Henry V, was stripped by the king of the cpcy of Beausault but retained as lt by the new cp Alain le Ley. Some time later the place was opened to the French by garrison men who had taken the oath but were familiars of the Valois partisan Antoine de Beausault. Haucourt was injured, imprisoned at Breteuil and ransomed, then rejoined the duke of Burgundy, who in 1423 impetrated a pardon exonerating him of guilt in the treason: *DLN/3* p310. After his death Lancelot's mother remarried Jean de Poissy and they held the wardship. He was aged 29 in 1446. He never freed himself of wardship, thereby avoiding performance of homage to the Lancastrians. His lands and wardship were confiscated and granted to John Melton: *DLN/4* p171. Married in 1455 Louise dite Judith d'Estouteville, daughter of Lorraine hda Blanchet d'Estouteville sr Villebon and Marguerite de Vendôme vidame de Mantes. Louise died 1497 and was interred at Beaubec: Anselme VIII p88ff; BN PO 1490 *Honcourt*. Lancelot's heiress married Jacques de Bailleul sr Bailleul and Saint-Leger. The family had numerous Burgundian and *demeurant* members. In 1420 Henri V granted to Georges d'Arques *écuyer* and wife Gervaise of lands escheated by the death of Jean de Haucourt son of Lancelot de Haucourt her uncle: *DLN/1* p322.

Jean de Haucourt also served as Torcy hda 1451.3-1456.2, qualified cp or lt by 1454. For his elder brother's attempt to broker his marriage, seemingly aborted by Jean's early death, see under Hermanville. Perrotin de Haucourt served as Torcy hda 1451.3-1457.2.

c) Sr Haucourt, Grigneuseville. He had many lesser fiefs in the B's Rouen, Caux and Amiens.

Georges Havart, d.1481

a) *maître des requêtes*, cr *Echiquier*. Georges was a significant counsellor of Charles VII in the 1450s: Gaussin 1982 p117. Cf Guérin IX 297n. Continued to function in English affairs after 1461: Calmette/Périnelle 1930 p19-20.

He intervened 'a la requeste et instance' in the affairs of his wife's parents 'et principalement pour complaire ausdis mariees', buying up *L400* of *rente à vie* owed by his mother-in-law's predecessors, together with the arrears. In return he was granted the fief of Montigny in the *vicomté* of Gournay, which was redeemed in June 1455: *Rouen* 7 Jun 1454 and marginal notation.

b) His father was Jean Havart *qv*. He was the uterine brother of patriarch Louis d'Harcourt. His wife was Antoinette d'Estouteville, daughter and heiress of Louis d'Estouteville's brother Robert sr d'Auzebosc and his wife Marie de Saint-Beuve. The couple's son Louis Havart (to whom the Patriarch left his succession, including the Villes-Saint-Denis purchased from the Brézé) died without issue, leaving a large inheritance to be divided between his three sisters.

c) A considerable Vexin and Upper Norman lord. Sr la Rosière in the Vexin, Fresné-le-Samson, Preaux, Gemages, Chausseaux, Dureil, Dupin, Basoches, la Coudraie, la Puisaie and the *vicomté* hereditaire de Dreux. In right of his wife he held Auzebosc, Montigny, Cernon, Touffreville, Saint-Clair-sur-les-Mons and Cuverville: *Harcourt* III p518.

Jean Havart

a) *Maître de l'Hôtel*, and sat on the royal council in this period; Gaussin 1982. B of the Caux and then Caen in the 1450s. Cp Gaillard in the 1450s and to 1464 at least: *GR*13244; BN Ms fr 23262 n°14; *Echiquier* 1464 p402. Helped to broker the exchange of Gournay for Montrichard operated between king and Tancarville in November 1461: *Ordonnances* XV p180, 182.

b) Married to Marguerite de Preullay vicomtesse de Dreux, and thus step-father of the Patriarch. Pierre Havart was a Brézé hda 1455.3-1461.3.

Gilles de la Haye, Haie

a) GO hda Floquet 1458.2-1460.4. He resumed his *fiefferme* dit Hue de Launoy at Folleville in V Orbec after the Reduction. His family had held it in the 14th century; their arms were parti d'arg & gul, au chef de sable, chargé de 3 besans d'or. Gilles was the heir in this *fiefferme* of Jean de la Haye sr de Cesseville, who had held it before the occupation. He defaulted on the 1469 musters where he was listed as resident in the bailliage of Rouen and owing service in V Orbec as holding the *fieffe-ferme* of Folleville: *Evreux* 1470 p44.

b) Common name. It would be vain to expect kinship between the many men with this name who occur in the Norman *ordonnance*, but there was a concentration in Brézé-Floquet circles. Alixandre de la Haie served as GO hda Floquet 1452.4-1460.4 (highest rank 7). Antoine de la Haye served as Brézé hda

1451.3. Guillaume de la Haye served as GO hda Flocquet 1451.2-1451.3: possibly identical with Guillemin de la Haye, Brézé hda 1451.3-1461.3. Macé de la Haye served as GO hda Flocquet 1451.2-1460.4. He presented himself in *corset blanc* as *usufruitier* of la Fontaine des Champs and Montfort in Y Orbec at the 1469 musters: *Evreux* 1470 p34.

Gauvain de la Haye *écuyer*

a) Hda of the Mont-Saint-Michel garrison 1451.2 to 1461.3. In an accord dated Coutances 10 Dec 1450 he is qualified as having 'continuellement tenu le parti du roi'. The act was passed in the presence of d'Estouteville men Richard de Guihommar and Guillaume des Loges (*qv*): Poli 1895 n°1275. He sued in the *Echiquier* of 1454 Simon Anney *chevalier* and his wife dame Roberte de la Ferrières for rents due to his wife of the inheritance of Jean de Hotot *chevalier*. *Echiquier* 1454 p177. On this lawsuit, related to the disentangling of the Hotot inheritance from the other elements of the succession of Jean Paynel *chevalier* seigneur de Marcey, o.s.p. see *Harcourt* II p1104-5. He was used to take the musters in the Cotentin in 1461. Already described as 'vieu homme d'armes' in the early 1460s, he nevertheless lived long. He and Jean srs de la Meurdragière proved their nobility in 1463. Gauvain still *fl.* 1475, probably dying late in the century.

b) His wife Jeanne de Hotot brought him very considerable possessions. They rendered *aveu* for Arondeville, Vauville, Vasseuil, Vaudray, la Meurdragiere and Beauchamp in 1431, though in which obedience is unclear: *Harcourt* II p1103. The 1450 accord mentioned above was in respect of the *partage* of the inheritance of Jean Costart *écuyer* and his wife Guillemette de Coudeville. They had left two daughters, the elder of whom (Jeanne) had married Jean de Mary *écuyer*. The younger, Robine, had married Jean de la Haye *chevalier*, and Gauvain was their son. Mary 'estoit demeuré pendant quelque temps' under the English, enjoying the whole inheritance and making contracts in the properties, the which were not to prejudice Gauvain's rights. For other genealogical details on this ramified Lower Norman clan, see *Harcourt* pII p1098-1108. Jean de la Haye *chevalier* sr Villebaudon, Beaucoudray e.p., Bouillon and Lengronne, had been in the garrison of Mont-Saint-Michel under Nicole Paynel *chevalier* for the duke of Alençon and count of Aumale in May 1421: *CMSM* I p111. Numerous men with this patronym were on the list of those defending the Mont in 1427, as inscribed in the chapel of St Sauveur de l'église du Mont Saint Michel: Abbé Desroches, *op cit.* p72-73. Jean had left only a daughter, Perrine, who married Maurice de Lesnerac. Louis de la Haye *écuyer* sr la Chasse was the royalist captain of Coutances from Oct 1467: *GR*7645. Guyon de la Haye sr de Vauville and future lt of cpcy Granville, tutor of the children of Guillaume Paynel is mentioned c.1489: Le Cacheux 1935, p57. This Guion was heir e.p. of Gauvain.

c) Sr la Meurdragiere and (*j.u.*) d'Arondeville, la Vauville, Saint Georges de Hotot etc..

occupation, and the family also held Chanteloup and Cretot: Frondeville 1936 p83, 192.

Jean de la Haye, Haie

a) Vd la Ferté-Macé 1453: *Echiquier* 1453 p13.

b) See forgoing notices.

c) Possibly identical with homonym sr Hotot in V Conches: *DLN/29* p159. A homonym held the *siefferme* of Cirfontaine (at Courtonne-la-Meurdrac) in 1447: Frondeville 1936 p85.

Guillaume des Hayes, Haies

a) Hda Dunois GO 1460.3-1461.3. It was probably a Courcy connection which drew him into the financial difficulties of the Frétel and of Richard de Courcy sr du Plessis: *Rouen* 14 Apr 1472. He sold the fief of Touberville near Bourg-Achard to Pierre de Brézé in 1457. References to deals in the 1430s imply he was a *demeurant* then, but in the 1440s a homonym was Brézé's lt in the *cpcy* of Poitiers: *Rouen* 18 Jan 1457; Guérin VIII p178n, 409n. He witnessed contracts of Richard d'Angierville *écuyer* seigneur de Gonneville-en-Auge: *Rouen* 16 Feb 1466/67. He purchased rents from Jean du Fou curé of Saint-Paer in 1472: *Rouen* 22 Dec 1472. He defaulted on the Orbec musters in 1470 as living 'hors le bailliage': *Evreux* 1470 p41. In May 1462 he sold his place in Dunois's company to Guillaume Martel sr Hatentot, reserving Dunois's right to withhold his consent. The price was 72 *écus*, in default of which a rent would be established. Martel was to get the present quarter's wages and the best of des Hayes's horses: *Rouen* 17 May 1462.

b) His father Geoffroi des Hayes *écuyer* was Lancastrian LB Caux, B Eu (for the Bouchier counts) and cp Arques 1419-42: *GR*5896, 5899. His widowed mother Jeanne de Courcy, dame de Lignièrès in V Orbec, was still alive in 1454. Guillaume de Courcy *écuyer* recognised him as his nearest heir in 1456, in the wake of lawsuits relating to *dons de mariage* of his mother and sales of property: *Rouen* 2 Nov 1454, 3 Oct 1456.

c) Sr du Bosc-Guerould, Wys, Lignièrès. In 1503 his heir Olivier des Hayes held Bosc-Guerould and Trubleville in the parish of Saint-Paer (of the monks of Jumièges), the sergentry *hereditat* of Caudebec and the fief of Espinay in the parish of that name (of the king), the fief of Lien in the parish of Grandcamp (of the Malet de Graville), and fiefs and vavassouries in the parishes of Esquetot-sur-les-Bans and Ourville: *Caux* 1503 p184, 185, 187, 194, 212, 229.

Pierre des Hayes, Haies

a) Lancastrian rec *quatrièmes de vin*, *aides* and *appatis* in V Auge, ransomed by fleeing Englishmen at the Reduction of Pont-Audemer. Subsequently rec *aides* in V Falaise: *DLN/28* p209, /75 p41 and p225.

b) Although this is too common a name to be certain of connection, Pierre may be connected to Dunois hda Guillaume des Hayes (*qv*), as both men appear in the dealings related to the financial difficulties of Guillaume Frétel sr Gerponville: Pierre witnessed relevant contracts: *Rouen* 11 Apr 1458. Jean des Haies was LB Caux at Caudebec in the early 1450s and was drawn into disputes over the manor of Malvoisine in the parish of Bertheville on the side of Jean de la Croix *écuyer* seigneur de la Caveline: *DLN/13* p265. Isabel des Hayes was married to Jean de Pillais (*qv*).

c) Resident of Pont-Audemer.

Jean de Hazardière

- a) V Saint-Sauveur-Lendelin for the duke of Orléans: *Rouen* 9 May 1463; *DLN/15* p143 (1478).

Robert Hellart

- a) LGB Caux 1460-1496: *GR5901*.
b) Jean Hellart LB Caux at Montivilliers 1482-85: *GR5952*.

Jean Henry, d.1484.

- a) Cr *clerc au Parlement* from 1454 but listed as cr *lai* at the 1459 *Echiquier*: BN PO 1511 *Henry en Normandie* 34225, n°14. Replaced Guillaume Cotin as *président des enquêtes* in which office he was received before Jun 1463.
b) See the notice in Maugis 1913-16 III p93, 99.

Mathieu Henry

- a) V Conches/Bretueil 1450-72: *GR12660*. He is included on the list of those officers nominated by the Flocques: BN Ms fr 20498 p10 n°5.
b) Nicolas Henry Lancastrian V Conches 1439.

Maître Jean Herbert, Hébert

- a) Secretary and then servant of Charles VII in the *Chambre des Comptes*, culminating in office of *général de finance* for Languedoc 1456-61. Destituted of this office on accession of Louis XI, but retained in royal service, judging appeals in respect of extraordinary taxation in conjunction with the *maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel*. On the restoration of the *Cour des aides* 3 Jun 1464 he was made *premier conseiller* and at Brézé's residence Mauny 9 Aug 1464 he was *commis Président* of the court. He was displaced from this position 9 Jul 1465 with the appointment of Louis Raguier bishop of Troyes: *Ordonnances XVI* p210-212, 331-32. He was in Rouen during the summer of 1465 and with the Patriarch and le Boursier participated in the opening of the city to the *ligue*. Oct-Nov 1465, *général de finance* for Normandy appointed by the duke of Bourbon. He headed duke Charles's January embassy to the king: *LMIQ* p409-10. He survived the collapse of the ducal regime to become *Président de la justice des aides* to Jan 1467 when he was restored as *général de finance* Outre-Seine on the death of Jean le Flamenc. He held the office of *général de finance* in Languedoil and Languedoc 1466-73 (dismissed): Dupont-Ferrier 1930 p254.
b) There was a homonym ay in the *Parlement* and in the *Cour du Trésor* 1451-82: Dupont-Ferrier, *Avocats* p76.

Charles de Hermanville *chevalier*

a) Torcy hda. Had attended the Lancastrian Estates at Bayeux in 1438, and was *demeurant* right up to the late 1440s: BL Additional Charters 562; *Caen* 1448/49, p86. In 1457 he settled with Lancelot d'Haucourt over the marriage of his only daughter and heiress Katherine to Lancelot's brother Jean. The bride was living in the household of Torcy's wife. Her dower was worth L100 rent, in settlement of which he ceded the fief of Repenty at St Georges d'Aunoy. Lancelot and his brother ceded L500 in advance of the marriage with a promise of another L300. The bride was to get *partage* on marriage, but Jean died before it could be celebrated. Subsequently the knight married her to Jean de Sillans *écuyer* sr la Ferrière on comparable terms. Sillans's cash advance of 1,000 *écus* was explicitly stated to be made to redeem the substantial rents with which Hermanville had charged his lands. The knight would not have to pay these rents to his prospective son-in-law unless he begot a legitimate son, and even then would pay at a preferential rate: *Caen* 24 Apr 1457, p95v^o; 14 Aug 1460, p126.

b) His sister Jeanne was married first to Robert de Warignies (by whom she had a son of the same name), then to Etienne Berthelemieu (*fl.*1451), then to Guion d'Anisy. He settled with her over the succession of their mother Jeanne de Triziguldy in 1451, ceding properties in the Auge: *Caen* 7 May 1451, p200.

c) Sr Hermanville.

Robert Hervieu

a) LGB Harcourt for Marie d'Harcourt, and her pr in transactions related to redemption of rents drawn on Harcourt, 1460: *Rouen* 15 June 1460.

Jean de Hestray, Haistray or Hestren

a) *Ecuier* of the coy of Louis d'Estouteville at Durtal near Baugé, 1420: *CMSM* I 106. Hda of Louis d'Estouteville, 1451.2 to 1461.3. Managing works on the château of Valmont in 1464: *ADSM* 33 J 794, *Comptes d'Estouteville*. 'Serviteur' carrying funds from Caux to Hambye and accounting for them there to Michel d'Estouteville in 1465. Cp Valmont for Michel d'Estouteville in 1466 and 1469: *Echiquier* 1466 p75 and 1469 p75. It is clear from the *comptes* that alongside Pevrel and Touze he is the core of the Estouteville council in the Caux: *ADSM* 33 J 847, *Comptes d'Estouteville*. He witnessed Jean Pevrel's purchase of a rent from Jean le Gris *écuyer* sr Montreul and Chauson in 1456: *Rouen* 17 Oct 1456. He is described 1466 as having 'charge de par mondit seigneur des terres Berneval, Hotot, Varengueval etc.': *ADSM* 33 J 848, *Comptes d'Estouteville*.

b) Members of this family continued in d'Estouteville service into the next generation: Le Cacheux 1935, under Jacques et Jean du Hestray.

c) Sr Hestray. His fief is difficult to identify, but if we assume his lands were not far from those he supervised for Estouteville, then it may have been in the parish of Oherville: *Dictionnaire Topographique de la Seine-Maritime*, sub Hestray.

Nicolas, Colin Holet

a) Dec 1448 granted the office of *controlleur de la recette ordinaire* of Mantes and of the bridge and fortress of Pont-de-Meulan, for his services 'au fait de la guerre' and because 'il fut un des moyens de mettre en l'obeissance du roi ledit Pont de Meulent': *DLN/75* p81.

Pierre Houel *écuyer*

a) Brézé hda GO 1451.3-1461.3. In 1457 he was LG of Jean de Loncelles *écuyer*, Vd Bur-le-Roy.: BN PO 2437 *Rat* 54785 n°5.

b) Younger brother of Jean Houel *écuyer* sr Montraine and de la Porte in V Vire and of the *vavassouries* of Desneullet and Saint Laurens: *Rouen* 10, 12 Jun 1463. Jean was *commis* by Richemont 'a conduire et gouverner le fait d'artillerie' at the seige of Vire after Formigny: Hunger 1971 p111. He too may be associated with Brézé, since he may be the Jean Houel who witnessed the ratification of an arbitral sentence delivered by the GS in 1452. The brothers partitioned their parents' lands in 1463. Their mother was Thomine de Tournebu. The name is common but their father may have been the *demeurant* Martin Houel *écuyer*. He had been granted a delay in respect of his homage for the seignury of Pommereul in V Pontaudemer in 1444. Jean Houel had succeeded him in this seignury by 1453. Nonetheless in Oct 1451 he was granted 26 years of arrears of a rent drawn on the fief of la Rousseliere the which the king of England had granted to Jean de Troismonts, this because Houel 'avait beaucoup souffert des anglais dont il avait ete prisonnier': *Rouen* 10 Jun 1463; *DLN/4* p207; Poli 1895 n°1291. At least one other predecessor of the brothers had reduced himself to the Lancastrian obedience; in Aug 1423 Robert Houel *écuyer* secured letters patent to the vicomte of Vire restoring him in all the lands he had possessed in Normandy before 1417: *DLN/75* p173; /1 p332. The family probably had affinal links with Jean de Troismonts *écuyer* seigneur de Montgoubert, who witnessed the *partage* of Jean and Pierre, and who was engaged in a lawsuit against Jean by 1454. The brothers witnessed the marriage settlement drawn up between Jeannette daughter of Guillaume Grosparmy *écuyer*, and Jean Grosparmy *écuyer* seigneur of Beusville, brother of baron Nicolas.

Guillaume Houel was a sergeant involved in the pursuit and arrest of an English traitor in 1450. A homonym was *maître du pont* of Pont-de-l'Arche in 1470: *DLN/25* p141, 13/ p265.,

Jean Houel priest was presented to the curacy of Yvetot in the name of Charles de France in 1465, which may indicate that the family was involved with the Consiliar regime in the apanage duchy. Louis XI had the B Caux and the vicar-general of the archbishopric to overturn the presentation in Feb 1466 under the allodial privileges of Yvetot: Beaucousin 1884 p105.

Robinet de Hurel, or Hural

a) Hda at Mont-Saint-Michel of Louis d'Estouteville, 1451.2 to 1461.3.

b) There was a Rouen bourgeois family of this name, but Robinet is more likely connected to, even identical with, the Robert sr de Hurel who in 1434 at Rouen sold *L8* rent for necessity of ransom to Nicole de Pillais *chevalier* sr Ableiges. Guillebert Dubosc *écuyer* sr Louraille pledged Hurel in this rent, and was subsequently constrained by the Pillais to pay the rent and arrears. Hurel had left the province and du Bosc could not constrain him for

compensation because of the wars. After the Reduction he and Dubosc agreed on compensation of L100 for a fief at Barentin called Buscoursel which du Bosc had ceded to the Pillais: *Rouen* 21 Nov 1451. In 1467 Roger Goucl negotiated the marriage between Guillaume son of Louis du Fresne and Jeannette de Hural; she received dons de mariage from Roger: *Rouen* 10 Jun 1467. Jean Hural was Vd Touques in the early 1450s: *Echiquier* 1453 p13 and 1454 p13. This man may be identical with Jean de Hural cp *franc-archiers* who was *maître d'hôtel* of Torcy c.1480, then living at Dieppe: *Le Cacheux* 1935 pp22-23).

Florent d'Illiers *chevalier*, d.1461

a) An old Orléanist *routier*, cp of Châteaudun for the duke of Orléans in the late 1430s: *Bastard* p87 n°1358. He had been at Orleans 1429, had taken Chartres 1432, defended Louviers, was present at the capture of Pont-de-Meulent and the ^vseige of Verneuil 1435, evicted the English from Le Neubourg and Beaumesnil. He was left by Dunois in command of 600 men beseiging Verneuil in the summer of 1449 when Talbot fell back on Harcourt rather than risk battle. He was subsequently held responsible for the escape of some members of the garrison when resistance was on the verge of collapse: *Blondel* II p63 and 82. He succeeded Thibaut d'Armagnac in B Chartres 1457-61: *GR*6646. He was *conseiller et chambellan* of Charles VII.

b) A great Beauceron family, cadets of the Vendôme vidames de Chartres who had assumed the name and arms of Illiers when (?13th C) Philippe de Vendôme, youngest son of the count of Vendôme married Iolande d'Illiers. Their son Guillaume or Geoffroi (*fl.* 1366) was father of Pierre sire d'Illiers, he the father of Florent. There are genealogical notes in *Harcourt* II 1782ff. On Florent's brother Mille, see next notice. Florent's third son by Jeanne de Coutes was Charles d'Illiers sr Chantemesle. He was Dunois's cp Châteaudun, 1474-76: *Merlet* 1886 p32. He married Olive de Saintré, and their son continued the male line of Illiers. Marin d'Illiers, youngest son of Florent, was in the service of the duke of Alençon as *écuyer de l'écurie* and cp Essay in 1472: *DLN*/17 p113, p127.

Mille, Milon d'Illiers, d.1492

a) Mille d'Illiers was cr *au Parlement* by 1448, *maître des requêtes de l'hôtel*, dean of Chartres by 1452. He experienced difficulties in 1451 associated with the assumption of his doctorate after more than seven years study at Paris, but was nonetheless delegated with cardinal d'Estouteville to the reformation of the University of Paris in 1452, and thereafter was *docteur regent du faculté du decret*. Cr *clerc* in the 1453-56 *Echiquiers*. Elected bishop of Chartres May 1459 under pressure from Charles VII, replaced as cr in the *Parlement* Aug 1459. Present at the funeral of Charles VII and at the coronation of Louis XI. *Dictionnaire ecclésiastique*, *sub* Illiers; *Maugis* II p256n, III p92.

b) See forgoing notice.

Guillaume and Jean des Isles, de Silles

a) Guillaume, Vd Gavray 1459, was succeeded in this office by Jean, who held it 1463, 1466: *Echiquier* 1459 p3; 1463 p25; 1466 p17.

Jean Jabin

a) V Gisors 1449-60 ..., 1475-91 (homonym?): GR13163, 13165. P; still qualified V 1462, but by Dec of that year was qualified lieutenant, which position he or a homonym maintained until 1489: Rouen 6 May 1462; GR13181. Qualified *serviteur* of Dunois when he was granted the office of V Gisors for his services 'et aussi pour consideration des grans pertes qu'il a eues a l'occasion des guerres pour lesquelles et acquitter sa loyaulte devers ledit seigneur Roy il a de son jeune aage delaisse et habandonne le lieu de sa nativite que tenoient les Anglois avec tous ses biens et heritages quil y avoit en grande et bonne valeur'. Dunois was present with Jacques Coeur when this grant was made in Oct 1449: DLN/15 p343.

Jean de Jencourt

a) Appeared in the former GO of Torcy now under Lau after the accession of Louis XI. Of *demeurant* background, Jean or his mother were entering into rent transactions and striving to eliminate excessive charges on his lands in the Andelle valley in the mid-1450s through deals with Rouen canons Jacques de Rouville and Laurens Surreau, and Louis de Fontaines: Rouen 31 May, 13 Aug 1456. He was killed at Monlhéry and the wardship of his children was awarded *gratis* to his father-in-law, Guillaume de Trousseauville *chevalier* sr Garguesalle (Gerquesalle), himself 'tres fort blecie' in the king's company: DLN/24 p169.

b) His father Charles took the oath to Henry VI by Nov 1423, and died c.1441, still in the Lancastrian obedience. His children by Isabel d'Aunoy, Jean and Jeanne, were freed of wardship in 1453-54. Jeanne married Delphinal *échanson* Louis de Fontaines sr Heudemare and Caquetot by the counsel of her uncles in 1455: *Bastard d'Estant* p87 n°803; Rouen 1 Mar 1454/55; *Echiquier* 1455 p33. Jean's widow Peronne de Trousseauville remarried Pierre d'Annebault *chevalier*. *Harcourt* II p1251. Jean's mother had remarried Dunois *hda* Jean de Grouchy *écuyer* and Louis de Grouchy (*qv*) witnessed important contracts for the Jencourt and acted as the *pr* of the knight and his wards in a Pont-de-l'Arche lawsuit in 1469: Rouen 31 May, 13 Aug 1456, 2 May 1471; *Echiquier* 1469 p40v°.

c) Sr Heubercourt near Vernon and held many other lesser Norman fiefs in V Pont-de-l'Arche and B Gisors: DLN/3 p364, /9 p328. Jeanne's dower is detailed in her marriage settlement and extended over eight parishes in the Andelle valley. She and her husband Fontaines were drawn into a dispute over the fief of Montoire with Henri de Blavette in the early 1460s: Rouen 1 Mar 1454/55, 19 Apr 1464.

Saguet de Jencourt *chevalier*

a) Jean or Jacques dit Saguet de Jencourt entered Valois service in 1429, and emerged thereafter as a notable French *chef de guerre*. He was captured by the English and put to a gross ransom, which was met by his brother at the cost of selling half the inheritance which he still enjoyed in the English obedience. Saguet de Jencourt *chevalier* died without heir of his body on 15 May 1454 in France where he was stated to have had charge of *gens d'armes de par le roi*: DLN/3 p364, /9 p328. See also with a marriage settlement and an accord of 1455 which identifies Charles de Jencourt's late brother as Jacques: Rouen 1 Mar 1454/55.

b) Saguet was the son of Pierre de Jencourt *chevalier* and younger brother of Charles de Jencourt. The family had divided their allegiance during the occupation. See forgoing notice.

Jean Jouin, Jouan, dit Bleriau

a) Flocquet GO hda 1451.2-1460.4 (highest rank 8). Jean le Bleriau qualified simply as *homme noble* presented himself as hda at the 1469 musters of V Beaumont: *Evreux 1470* p71. A Jean Jouvin sergent of Glos in V Conches presented in his place Guillaume Rouxel at the 1469 musters: *Evreux 1470* p58. A Jean Jouin was acting as LG of Jean Bellengier snl of Fontaines-la-Soret Jan 1452: Baudot 1993 p109.

Pierre Jubert, Jobert

a) Norman rec général 1461-67: GR16322; Jacqueton, appendix 3; *Mancel I* p47. His wages and expenses were reckoned at L1,500 per year in 1461-62: BN Ms fr 23262 n°15. He also had a *comptable* position in the royal household, which he lost in November 1466: *Secrétaires* p57.

b) In 1463 he married a daughter Marie to Jean Guidier merchant of Tours, and another daughter Jeanne to Durant Abraham *élu* Bayeux: *Rouen* 22 Feb, 9 Apr 1462/63. A third daughter may be Jacqueline wife of Robert le Gay rec aides Rouen, for whom Pierre constituted very large rents in 1463, in association with other royal fiscal officers Abraham, Noel le Barge (*qv*), Jean le Porec *grenétier* Gisors: *Rouen* 20 June 1463. Pierre is presumed kinsman (?brother) of Guillaume I Jubert *écuyer* sr Perey at Vernon (d.1450). His son was Guillaume II Jubert sr Vesly LGB Gisors 1465, husband of Catherine Daniel and brother-in-law of Michel Daniel avR B Gisors: Frondeville 1953 p187. An unnamed Jobert was av at the *Cour du Trésor* 1479: Dupont-Ferrier, *Avocats* p80.

Guillaume Lachere, La Chere, Larche *écuyer*.

a) Lt at Bernay of the Lancastrian V Orbec 1438-43. V Falaise 1450-61 GR4558, P. LGB Evreux 1463-64: GR12471. A homonym was named as one of the principal men involved in *attentats* by tenants of the barony of Briouze against inhabitants of the Harcourt vicomté of la Carnaille. These related to seizures of beasts arising in seigneurial rights claimed by Guy de Briouze, so Lachere may have been a demesne officer of the baron: *Echiquier* 1463 p154v°.

b) See the notice in Frondeville 1936 p244n. Guy Lachere (conjectured by Frondeville to be Guillaume's father) was Lancastrian *grenétier* and rec aides at Lisieux to 1437.

Guillaume Lambert

a) V Auge 1461-71: GR19181. B; provided by 27 Nov. HH; excused attendance as of the royal household at the 1462-64 *Echiquiers* (respectively p7, p8, p8): named by Pilot du Thorey (I p238, 256) as an archer of the guard of Louis Dauphin.

b) Homonym was vicar general of cardinal d'Estouteville 1478: Beaurepaire 1868 I p20ff.

Michel Langlois, Lenglois

a) LGB Caen 1462-63: GR4283.

b) Pierre Langlois avR V Bayeux 1450: *DLN/7* p330. Jean Langlois in the *garde noble* of the V Neufchâtel, 1456: *Neufchâtel* p213. Guillaume Langlois was Torcy hda 1460.1-1461.3.

Guillaume de Lavars *écuyer*

a) Vd Trait-Maulévrier Sep-Dec 1449: *DLN/16* p313.

Pierre Lendet, Leudet

a) V Montreuil/Bernay 1454: Frondeville 1936 p88. Lancastrian *rec aides* Valognes by 1448, he retained the office on the fall of the town and was confirmed by Charles VII in March 1453 'attendu ses bons et agreables services a la recouvrance de la ville': BL Additional Charters 612; Additional Mss 11509 p98; *DLN/24* p113. Still in this post, he purchased rents from Thomas de Clamorgan *chevalier*: *Rouen* 5 Nov 1456.

b) Jean Lendes, Lendet bourgeois of Lisieux. A homonym was farming the salt pans of Touques in 1463 and had to be compensated for losses consequent upon royal concessions over the *gabelle* to the inhabitants of Lisieux: *Rouen* 3 June 1454.

c) *Sr en partie* Saint-Victor-de-Cretienville in V Orbec: Frondeville 1936 p88.

Jean Lenfant, *maître des requêtes de l'Hôtel*

a) Cr *lai* at the 1462-64 *Echiquiers*, qualified *maître des requêtes de l'Hôtel*. He issued letters restoring the possessions of the duke of Alençon in 1465. As the duke's chancellor he was sent before the king in October 1465 to respond to accusations made against him: *DLN/1* p1; *LMIQ* p398-99. Presumed identical with a major legal officer of Henry VI, *maître des requêtes de l'Hôtel*, *président* of the 1448 *Echiquier*, and *commissaire* in respect of ecclesiastical revenues accruing to churches in the Valois obedience during the truce: BL Additional Charters 12376, Additional Mss 11509 p28v°, *DLN/74* p185. In the latter capacity he negotiated with Cousinot and Jean Havart in 1447 over the possessions of the abbey of Saint-Denis, and was sent on the July 1449 embassy to Charles VII to avert war: *DLN/28* p129. Another homonym, Jean Lenfant *écuyer* of Saint-Cosme-du-Mont, was involved in a suit with the bishop of Coutances in 1453, and he and Raoul l'Empereur were *meneurs/gardains* of Guillaume Taillepus in 1454: *Echiquier* 1453 p203, 1454 p112v°.

b) Husband of Colette de Rouvre, father of Emond Lenfant cr *au Parlement* 1474. A homonym was PrR B Evreux in the 1420s. Henry Lenfant owned the hôtel 'ou pend l'ensaigne du cornet d'argent' at Rouen in 1437, and subsequently defected to the Valois: *Rouen* 23 Aug 1461. André or Audon Lenfant *écuyer* sr Havouart and his wife daughter of Manessier de Lattre resumed Cauchois lands after the Reduction; he was cardinal d'Estouteville's B Dieppe in 1454, and witnessed contracts relating to the debts of the cardinal's brother Robert sr d'Auzebosc: *DLN/13* p269-73; *Rouen* 1, 7 Jun 1454; see also *Echiquier* 1466 p70v°. One Hardouin Lenfant baron de Varenne in Maine had a son Jean, who became cr *clerc* in 1488: Maugis 1913-16 III p110, 124. A homonym, member of François II's *garde* 1461-62 became V Carentan by 1466: Morice II 1777; *GR* 2519, 7362-63, 7368.

Guillaume des Loges

a) Hda Mont-Saint-Michel garrison 1458.2 to 1461.3 and seemingly among those resident in V Coutances but of the *ordonnance* of Mont-Saint-Michel in 1463: *Monfaut* p423. In 1450 Guillaume des Loges *écuyer* was present at a family compact of Gauvain de la Haye *écuyer*, *qv*. NB that the fief des Loges was part of d'Estouteville's inheritance from his father.

b) Jean des Loges was also an Estouteville hda. Men with this patronym served in Lower Norman companies in the generation before the English descent: Poli 1895 n°608, 629, 725, 781, 881. In this period (1403) one Guillaume des Loges *écuyer* held a fief at la Boulouze and his homonym and one Jean des Loges reduced themselves to the English obedience by the composition of Saint-Lô. A Jean des Loges was in Valois service in 1420 and led a small mesne of 2 chevaliers bannerets, 16 *écuyers* and 18 archers in the defence of the Mont in 1425: Poli 1895 n°677, 922, 997, 1064.

Jean Lombart, Lambert etc. *écuyer*, d. before Aug 1475

a) V Neuchâtel 1449-74: GR6157. His lt Jean le Mercier compiled the *Etat* of charges upon the V in 1456 printed in *Neufchâtel*. Engaged in a long-running dispute with the *Chambre des Comptes* over the wardship of Aumale, claiming that it pertained to the V, and hence the administration of the viscomital jurisdiction in the county should be undertaken by himself and his staff: BN Clairambault 220, n°67. It is likely that he had been nominated by Eu, *usufruitier* of the V: GR; May 1457, Mar 1460 and *Echiquier* 1459 p70.

b) Martin Lombart *qv* hda Dunois. Richard Lombart, Patriarch Louis d'Harcourt's lt in the episcopal seigneurie of Carquigny 1464: BN Ms fr 11935 p7. Eustace Lombart was a Rouen financier. Andre Lombart had been cp Tournan-en-Brie 1447-59: GR17147. He and Pierre Lombart were hda of Jean de Lorraine.

Jean de Loncelles, Lancheulles, Lousselles etc. *écuyer*

a) Granted the Vd of Bur-le-Roy in September 1449 at Louviers for services in war and as *écuyer d'ecurie*. He can be shown incumbent in 1451, 1453, 1454, 1461 (before the death of Charles VII) at wages of L52 per year: BN PO 1758 *Loncelles* NN n°1; BL Additional Charters 11105, 11087; *Echiquier* 1453 p13, 1454 p12, 117; *DLN/17* p217. His LG in 1451 was Brézé hda Pierre Houel. He was also a frequent *commissaire* to take the musters of Lower Norman companies: Solon 1976 p108. At the 1462 *Echiquier* the unnamed incumbent of his Vd was stated to be absent as on the service of admiral de Montauban: *Echiquier* 1462 p8. Loncelles may not have been purged; *pace* Solon he had not been an hda of Couvran, appearing in the company for the first time under Du Pont, immediately after the accession. If he was taken into the service of the admiral and continued in military administration, this is further evidence of Montauban's Lower Norman importance in 1461-65. By 1466 Antoine de Tillay was stated to have been holding the Vd. It was presumably him who held it that year in maintenance, again absent from the court as 'au service du roi': 1466 p11, 105. HH, *écuyer d'ecurie* 1451: BN PO 2437 *Rat* 54785, n°5.

b) A homonym served as hda under Montelimar in the 1470s: *DLN/17* p41. Guillaume de Loucelles was hda under Jean du Bueil.

c) Probably identical with a homonym resident in the parish of Cormières south of Bayeux in 1464: *Monfaut* p370.

Jean dit Brunet de Longchamps *chevalier*

a) Brézé hda PO 1453.4-1461.2, a senior figure in the Rouen garrison. Alongside Robert de Dreux, Guillaume de Dampierre and Roger Gouel he witnessed the Brézé-brokered Saâne-Dresnay marriage settlement in 1452. He witnessed the first partage of the Crespín inheritance made between Brézé and Robert de Floques in 1454. He was Brézé's lt in the Palais of Rouen at the moment of Charles VII's death. Following Brézé's restoration, by letters dated Abbeville 15 Sep (presented Sep 23) he was committed by Brézé to the same position, having been one of those who presented to the council of Rouen the king's letters re-granting the captaincy to Brézé on Sep 9 1464. With other pivotal figures in Brézé circles he was in the audience for Jacques de Brézé's assumption of the captaincy in July 1465: *Inv Som AC Rouen I* p63; *Rouen* 3 May 1452, 10 Jul 1454; *AC Rouen A8 Registre des délibérations* p237-237v°. Probably a senior figure in Brézé's household.

Can be shown in association with other Cauchois figures of local importance. Robert de Dreux-Esneval sold him rents in 1451: the rents were never paid, and in 1456 Longchamps sold them on (with all arrears) to Richard sr des Essars and de Canteleu. When Claudin d'Amfreville married his sister Marguerite to Roger sr de Criquetot *chevalier* in 1451, among those present were Longchamps and fellow Cauchois knights Jean de Saâne and Jean Masquerel. In 1456 both Longchamps and Dreux witnessed Colart de Moy's redemption of large rents from Jacques du Fayel vicomte de Bretueil and his wife Jacqueline d'Esneval: *Rouen* 13 Aug 1451, 29 May 1456. With Roger de Criquetot and Jean Masquerel he became involved in money raising efforts on behalf of Jean sr de Bréauté in 1459, at the request of cp Dieppe, Charles Desmarestz. In the summer of 1464 he was raising money on the Rouen rent markets by selling rents to his brother-in-law Robert Biote, and property purchases around Dieppe in 1465 involved Roger Gouel: *Rouen* 22, 24 Feb 1458/59. The contracts of both Jean and his father were often witnessed by Jean de Torcy *écuyer*, nicknamed Gallivet, and Jean Cavetier or Caretier, who may be identical with Jean Chartier dit Limoges later V Evreux and Brézé hda.

He rallied to Charles de France and served in the duke's household in 1465 and in Guyenne: *BN Ms fr 23262*; *Ms fr 32263* p485-93.

b) The head of this Cauchois knightly family of some standing was Roger or Brunet de Longchamps sr Ermenonville, still living in the 1460s. He witnessed the reception of Brézé as captain of Rouen in Nov 1449: *Inv Som AC Rn I* p49. They had been *demeurants*, though they had not necessarily enjoyed all their property under the English. We can find Brunet engaged in a number of contracts indicative of the family's physical reconstruction of their property and legal reconstruction of their title. Jean was married to the daughter of Guillaume de Calleville. Guillaume's elder daughter Jeanne was married to Robert Biote and when in 1456 they came to law over the *partage* of the Calleville inheritance the case went

straight to the sovereign arbitration of Brézé. An accord between the two men was registered at the Châtelet before 1462: *Echiquier* 1456 p55; 1462 p84. In 1450 Laurens de Boissay gifted the knights, father and son, the reversion of lands then held by his aunt Isabel de Boissay. These lands included the seignury of Daubeuf and one other fief, together with property on the Seine at Val de Rueil. The gift was explained by *prochaineté de lignage* and services rendered. In this period Laurens was coming to terms with Isabel and her estranged husband Jean Masquerel *chevalier* sr Hermanville over the inheritance of her father Robert, Laurens's grandfather. The Longchamps may have been being recompensed for having brokered arrangements between the parties. By 1454 Laurens had repented of his generosity: his attempt to resume the lands gifted led to a suit settled by the arbitration of Louis d'Harcourt archbishop of Narbonne, B Caux Jean Havart, Robert Biote, Laurens Guedon, Jean du Quesnay, Roger Gouel, Robert de Villeneuve, all senior figures in the administration of royal justice locally or indeed provincially: *Rouen* 8 Mar 1454/55. The settlement involved the Longchamps retroceding all but the fief of Daubeuf, for which they paid 300 *écus*.

c) Sr Noville and Ausonville before his father's death, and had property in the parish of St Aubin le Cauf.

Colinet de Longchamps

a) Brézé hda GO 1452.4-1461.3. Helped broker the obedience of Lancelot de Haucourt to Charles de France and followed the latter in his flight from Rouen, serving as his *écuyer tranchant* by 1467: Stein 1919 p656-75.

b) Younger brother of the forgoing Jean de Longchamps. Provisions for the succession to Roger, excluding the eldest son Jean, were redrawn in 1462. The other sons were Pierre (a cleric), Colin, Louis and Nicolas: *Rouen* 17 Sep 1462.

Jean III de Longueuil, d.1466

a) *Lieutenant civil* in the Châtelet nominated by Bedford in 1431, confirmed in this post by Charles VII in 1436, incumbent to 1461: GR16533. This important *parlementaire* family had strong Norman associations. His grandfather had been V Auge and his grandmother the daughter of a late 14th century mayor of Rouen. He sat as *cr lai* in all the 1450s *Echiquiers* qualified *cr au Parlement* though Manguis gives no instances of him exercising his functions; he was *maître des requêtes* at some time in this period (probably after 1454 when the *Chambre des Requêtes* was re-established), *commissaire* for the trial of Alençon in 1456, promoted *président des requêtes du Palais* (ceasing to function as *lieutenant civil*; 16533) by Louis XI in Jan 1462, replaced in the period 1464-69.

b) Nephew of the subject of the following notice. Member of a considerable *parlementaire* dynasty (son of a Burgundian *président* and brother of a *conseiller*). His wife was Marie daughter of Philippe de Morvillier. His brother Pierre bishop of Auxerre was a prominent Burgundian counsellor who took part in the negotiations at Arras and was restored as *cr au Parlement* 1440. See the notices in Manguis 1913-16 III p70, 100; Dupont-Ferrier 1932 p131-32 n°187, 188; VS413 p248.

c) His father Jean II (d.1430) was sr Longueil, Varangueville, Offrainville, la Rivière, Maisons and Rancher. Jean III sold Longueil in Normandy in 1440. He was resident in Rue Hautefeuille, Paris, 1455-56.

Richard Olivier de Longueil d.1470

a) Made his career in the Norman church under the Lancastrians, for whom he acted as *président* in their *Chambre des Comptes*. *Chantre* of Lisieux, canon and *official* of Rouen 1437-51. In 1449 he was the first emissary of Rouen to Charles VII, seeking safe conducts for a deputation of the bourgeois. Charles VII granted him the office of *maître des requêtes de l'hôtel* at a pension of L300 'en remuneration des services faits ... en fait de la Reduction de la ville de Rouen': *DLN/15* p303. He was vicar-general of archbishop Raoul Roussel at his death and executor of his testament. Qualified archdeacon of Eu when he sat as *gr cleric* at the 1452 *Echiquier*. Disputed the 1453 election to the archbishopric with Philippe de la Rose, leading to a major confrontation of their supporters in the cathedral precincts. Disappointed, he resorted to Rome, where he reached an accommodation with Cardinal d'Estouteville, to whom he resigned his rights. He secured compensation through papal provision to the see of Coutances. He did not sit again in the *Echiquier* under Charles VII, but was continued as a counsellor and diplomatic agent of the king in the later 1450s despite his opposition to the Pragmatic Sanction. On the accession Louis XI promoted him *président cleric* in the *Chambre des Comptes* in place of Jacques Juvenal des Ursins, in which post he was received on 26 Aug 1461: He participated in the 1462 embassy to Rome, where he had credit as having opposed the Pragmatic Sanction, on behalf of the Angevins. Thereafter he progressively lost favour with Louis XI, and went into Papal service. He died at Perugia in 1470. Beaurepaire 1868 I p20ff; *Chroniques de Rouen* p90, 98-99; Toustain de Billy 1880 II p275-304; Gaussin 1982 p119; *Ordonnances* XV p12.

b) Son of Guillaume III de Longueil and Catherine de Bourguenolle. His vicar general Guillaume de Longueil is presumed his nephew, brother of the preceding. Jean le Rat was his *official*. Both men governed the diocese during the bishop's absence in Italy. There was a distant connection with the prominent Parisian *parlementaires* the Longueil: see the genealogy in *VS413* p248.

Alain and Jean des Longues

a) Both were hda's Mont-Saint-Michel garrison 1451.2 to 1453.4. A and L de Longues were on the list of those defending the Mont in 1427, as inscribed in the chapel of St Sauveur de l'église du Mont Saint Michel (Abbé Desroches, *op cit.* p72-73). Alain de Longues *écuyer* was granted remission in June 1454 (when he was described as aged c.70 years!); he and his brother Jean had been insulted by and killed in the subsequent brawl Colinet de la Motte dit Dormour, also of the Mont. Jean was drowned while attempting to flee justice, and interred at the Mont with Colinet. The brothers were described as 'nobles et longtemps extraiz de noble lignee'; their grandfather had been killed and his manor burned by the English; they had served Charles VII for 35 years, been made prisoner and ransomed several times and their elder brother Pierre had fought an Englishman in the lists before Cherbourg in 1454: AN JJ 182 n°117. Alain subsequently made charitable donations to the abbey.

b) Alain also sold the abbey L10 rent, which sale was subsequently subject to *marchie de bourse et lignage* by his sister Jacquette and her husband Noel Potier. Alain, Jean, and Jacquette had partaged the goods of their

mother Jeanne de Longues in Oct 1450. Their heir was their nephew Jean Sanson *écuyer* seigneur d'Urville and the siblings were all dead by 25 Jun 1457. Alain had in 1434 donated to the abbey of Longues his portion of his inheritance from his grandfather Ferrant de Longues: Poli 1895 n°1323, 1274, 1350, 1200.

Jacques Lorin, Lourin, Lorrain *écuyer*.

a) *Rec ordinaire* and *des aides* at Valognes 1444-48, and representative of the town at the Lancastrian Estates of 1448: BL Additional Charters 612, 12371, 12397, 26802-4. *V* Gisors 1449-50: GR13162. Charles VII granted him the office of *rec ordinaire* of *V* Domfront in June 1459, and he was serving as *V* in April 1461: DLN/25 p107; GR437.

b) His wife was Annette Baille, with whose family he can be found in rent transactions: Rouen 23 June 1466, 13 Aug 1466. The family was Auxerrois in origin, and held lands in the Auxerrois and France. Jacques was the brother and sole heir of André and Henry Lorin, the latter canon of Narbonne and Amiens: Rouen 13 Aug 1466. André, a creditor of the Poissy, was secretary of Henry VI in 1448: BL Additional Mss 11509 p16v°; Rouen 27 June 1458, 8 Nov 1460. He was a resident of Rouen and qualified *honourable homme*, and dead by 1466. Eustace Lombart was among the witnesses to the *partage* of his succession: Rouen 13 Aug 1466.

Guillaume Lorin was *garde du forêt* of Auberay in 1466: ADSM 6E 13 *Notes de Beaurepaire* p19. Thomas Lourin was Norman *général des aides* 1482-83: Jacqueton appendix 3.

c) Sr Farcy, Parcy, Pavoy, Parroy: Rouen 23 June 1466, 14 June 1467, 16 Jan 1474/75. Henry's prebend at Narbonne is suggestive of a link to the Patriarch or Antoine Crespin. This is leant some support by the presence of one Jean Lorin in the witness lists to Brézé's intervention in the debt problems of the Basset/Ganzeville in 1458, alongside officers of the *sénéchaussée*: Rouen 7 July 1458.

Thomas de Louraille

a) A fascinating career, beginning in Lancastrian service. *V* Caen 1444-48, *V* Rouen 1448-49, and *maître en la Chambre des Comptes*, 1448: GR4520, 19378; BL Additional Mss 11509 p60-62. He made the transition to Valois service without difficulty, *LB* Caen at Bayeux 1450 and *LGB* Caen 1450-55: GR4308, 4280; named as still incumbent June 1458 in Mancel *V* p7. Still *commis* in Jan 1454, he would shortly become Norman *trs guerres*: BN PO 315 *Bertout* 6296, n°1; Caen 5 Jul 1454, Rouen 8 Feb 1457/58; Solon. He was 'naguaires tresorier des guerres en Normandie' in May 1461: ADSM Fonds d'Anquin 100 J20, unnumbered piece. *Maître d'hôtel* by 1458 and under Louis XI: Mancel *V* p7; *Echiquier* 1462 p1; Caen 6 Jan 1462/63, p51v°; 12 Apr 1464/65, p63v°; 30 July 1465, p113. It is probably in this capacity that he was acting when we find him alongside Robert de Dreux-Esneval, Robert de Villeneuve and others witnessing George de Clères's financial rescue of the Moy family, heavily indebted to Blaise Gresle archbishop of Bordeaux: Rouen 4 June 1462.

He was moved sideways rather than destituted on the accession of Louis XI, serving as *Echiquier* counsellor in 1463-64. He cannot be shown to belong to that group of Lower Norman officers whose prominence on the wider provincial scene after 1461 can be linked to Estouteville's assumption of the

sénéchaussée. Such associations as can be identified in the 1450s point in other directions. During the dealings over Brézé's maternal inheritance in Lower Normandy he advanced money to Sourdeval on the security of the lands of his wife Perrette du Bois. That this was not merely a casual commercial transaction is suggested by its scale, character, and by the fact that Louraille had actually witnessed Brézé's agreement in principal to cede the lands: *Caen* 14 Aug 1456, p95v^o; the redemption of the fief of Marcellet p106v^o; *Rouen* 8 Feb 1456/57. Louraille can be shown in at least one other such credit operation. In 1454 he purchased Fontenay-le-Marmion from Jean de Montenay, with a four-year raquittal period: *Caen* 5 July 1454, p85. Both the Carbonnel and the Montenay deals were large scale: the former worth L1,200 in two *tranches*, and the latter L1,450. He was also linked to the Laval officers at Condé-sur-Noireau. In the spring of 1465 he was involved in rent transports associated with the marriage of Perrette daughter of Jean de Cintray. Cintray was a bourgeois of Caen, ay and B Condé. Escoville gifted him a rent in kind for 'bonne amour et services'. A few months later Escoville bailed out one of the pledges of Guillaume du Marescq, lately rec aides in V Vire/Condé: *Caen*: 12 Apr 1464, p63v^o; Jul 30th 1465, p113.

He rallied to the ducal regime in 1465. He became ducal B Caen after the duke's entry into Rouen in 1465, but never took seisin of the office. In the winter of 1465-66 he was on various missions in Lower Normandy and towards François II for the duke. 'A l'occasion des divisions et differences qui soudainement survindrent il fust contraint de soy ratraire avec nous ou pays de Bretagne': he remained in the camp of Charles de France and his Breton allies. His wife's kin and others associated with him can be shown in Charles's service during the 1467 restoration of ducal authority at Caen. In March 1468 the duke recognised his right to install lts in the B. He was sent on an embassy to Burgundy in 1467: BN Clairambault 221, f^o143ff, *DLN*/18 p95, p97; Ms fr 21477 pp31-39.

b) He was married to Jeanne la Chevaliere, and they had a son Thomassin and a daughter Girette who married Michel de Saint-Germain sr Saint-Jore. Jean de Louraille was a kinsman and perhaps brother: he took musters of *ordonnance* companies in the 1450s as *commis* of Thomas, and also entered the household of Charles de France, as *pannetier*. In 1467-68 he acted as Charles's B Caen: BN Ms fr 21477 pp31-39; *GR*4250. He was rec of the V Pont-de-l'Arche 1476-79: BN PO 1422 *du Gue* 32215, n^o6; *GR*19354. Guillaume Abelin (*qv*) was an associate of Louraille.

c) His normal residence in the 1450s was in the Rue Cattehoule in Caen; he was thus neighbour to the le Danois family: *Caen* 6 Jan 1450, p167v^o. He was sr d'Escoville near Caen.

Louis Louvel

a) Hda Mont-Saint-Michel garrison, 1460.2 to 1461.3. Had previously been an archer. He died in September 1467, and the following month the B Cotentin was ordered to inquire into the wardship of the children of Louis Louvel sr Valency, 'laquelle garde a ete donne par Lettres patentes à Jean de la Luiserne escuier': *DLN*/10 p273; the letters of gift of the *garde* are *DLN*/11 p41, dated Oct 8th 1467, along with the inquest dated 31 Jan 1471.

b) Louis's younger brothers Jean Louvel *chevalier* and Olivier Louvel *écuyer* were still demanding their *partage* in the early 1470s. Jean's homonym had been prisoner of the English garrison of Falaise awaiting ransom in

1430: Poli 1895 n°1168. Louis had 3 sisters, married respectively to Jean Patry *écuyer* sr Culcy-le-Patry with L25 rent dower; Jeanne to Guillaume le Bon *écuyer* sr la Malerbiere with L25 rent; and Marguerite widow of Jean seigneur de Saucey with L15 rent, who was now the wife of Robert de Bouquetot *écuyer*. Several men with this patronym can be shown in the Estouteville orbit. Louis and his uncle Huet Louvel were vassals of Michel d'Estouteville's barony of Moyon: Poli 1895 n°1334. According to the testimony of witnesses at the Coutances inquest into the wardship of Jeanne de Ver in 1464, Huet de Louvel *écuyer*, his wife Jeanne de Vierville, and Louis d'Estouteville arranged the marriage of Jeanne with Jean de la Luiserne *écuyer* in 1451. A number of men in the d'Estouteville orbit (surnames la Belliere, le Breton and le Tellier) appeared as witnesses: DLN/9 p404. La Luiserne was the uncle of Louvel's two daughters, Marie born 1465, and the younger born 1467. By royal gift he enjoyed their seigneuries while he had the *garde* DLN/75 p295. The La Luiserne were on the list of those defending the Mont in 1427, as inscribed in the chapel of St Sauveur de l'église du Mont Saint Michel: Abbé Desroches, *op cit.* p72-73. Given the background of Estouteville links it is interesting to see a suit involving Huet Louvel before the court of the *grande sénéchaussée* around the time of Louis d'Estouteville's take-over from Brézé. Huet and Guillaume Louvel *écuyers* appear in 1462 as procureurs for their father Jean Louvel, being bought out of their rights in the fief of Gerrots in V Auge. The Louvel received 300 *écus* and kept all the profits of their occupation. The accord brokered in the *sénéchaussée* was registered at the *Echiquier* and in the Rouen *tabellionage* in 1462: Rouen 25 May 1462. Huet's brother may be identifiable with the Guillaume Louvel sr Caville-sur-la-Folletiere near Caudebec, who we find dealing on the Rouen rent markets in the generation after 1450. So a branch, possibly a separate family, had interests in Rouen, in the Caux and in the Auge. It is not clear that all the Louvel or Louvet in the ordonnance and in royal office in the Cotentin were locals. One J Louvet *écuyer* would be V Coutances 1505-16: GR7399. Cardot or Richard Louvel was a longstanding member of Jean de Lorraine's company, and he is probably a member of the Auge Louvel, since this family had links with and another member of the company, Pierre l'Estandart.

Louis Louvel's brothers rallied to Charles de France and were serving in his household, Jean *chevalier* as chambellan and Olivier as *maître d'hôtel*: Stein 1919 p622, 656-75, 677-85, 789; BN Clairambault 816 p344. The Auge Louvel were seigneurs of Janville, Lézeaux, Repainville and Normare: Frondeville 1960 p86. Jean de la Luisarne *chevalier hda* and Jean Louvel archer were serving in the GO of Jean d'Estouteville sr Bricquebec in the 1470s: Poli 1895 n°1391.

c) Louis was sr Valency in the parish of Ver (L113), Louveur (L33) in that parish, Mesnil-Vaudon (L15) and Molliere (L21) in the parish of Cerences, and of 2 fiefs Monceaux (L62) in the parish of Contrieux. All these places are in the Sienne valley between Coutances and Granville. Many of the mills, dovecotes etc were described as in ruins, blamed on the English who had possessed his lands while he had followed the king's party. His net income from these lands was assessed at L244. He also had a share in the fief of Beauregard in the Breton parish St Meler with his younger brother Jean.

Philippe Luillier

a) Brézé *hda* 1454.1-1461.3. Led the francs archiers of B Rouen on the Sandwich raid, 1457: *Héraut Berry* p408. Cp Amboise 1465-68: GR507. In 1467 he accompanied the king in reviewing the general muster of the city of Paris, probably in his capacity as cp Bastille, which post he certainly held at L1,200

wages from the following year to 1492: *Roye I* p182; *GR*16991. Philippe was custodian of Nemours in 1477: *Mandrot* 1890 p280; *Perret* 1889 p31.

b) He was son of Jean Luillier and Jeanne de Vitry. He married first Anne de Morvilliers (d.1481) and second Gabrielle de Villiers (d.1505) daughter of Jacques de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam: *Roye I* p182n. In Oct 1465 Louis XI granted the *cpcy* of Corbeil with its revenues to Philippe and Jean Luillier in survivance, and the latter was in post in the later 1460s: *GR*.

c) Sr Cailly, Manicamp.

Jean Macé, Massin, Massy

a) Brought Louis d'Estouteville's *excusacion* on grounds of illness to the *Echiquier* of 1454 and acted as *pr* of Michel d'Estouteville baron of Moyon in 1454 and of father and son in 1455: *Echiquier* 1454 p22, 203; 1455 p68, 78. Jean Massy *écuyer* was *pr* of Jean and Michel d'Estouteville at the *Echiquier* of 1469: *Echiquier* 1469 p171. He witnessed Jean Pevrel's purchase of a rent from Jean le Gris *écuyer* seigneur de Montreul and Chauson in 1456: *Rouen* 17 Oct 1456.

Michel le Maire

a) *Vd* Evreux 1454, 1460-1461: *Echiquier* 1453 p13; *DLN*/14 p359.

b) Jean de la Maire was *cr* of Patriarch Louis d'Harcourt in 1464: *BN Ms fr 11935* p7.

Guillaume Malerbe

a) Brézé hda GO from 1455. A homonym had been in the service of Louis Dauphin to c.1454: *BN Clairambault* 816 p333. A homonym and Pierre Malerbe witnessed the marriage settlement of Jean de Sillans sr la Ferrière Katherine only daughter and heiress of Charles de Hermanville *chevalier*: *Caen* 14 Aug 1460, p126.

b) Pierre Malerbe sr de la Malerbière in *V* Bayeux testified in viscomital inquests into the affairs of the Tesart and Hericy families: *DLN*/7 p330, 9/408. Kin to the Aupoix family: *Caen* 7 Mar 1452, p134v°.

Colinet, Nicolas de Malleville

a) Torcy hda. Still in Torcy's service in 1470 when he excused himself from the musters of the nobles of *V* Caudebec, styling himself *cp* Saint-Maur-des-Fosses: *Caux* 1470 p297. A minor *cp* of *ordonnance* lances by 1472: *BN Ms fr 20498* p108v°.

b) His wife Alice settled with her sister Marguerite, wife of Gueffin Blondel *écuyer*, over their inheritance from the late Pierre Larchevesque *élu* of Gisors and his wife Beatrix Lescuier: *Rouen* 23 Oct 1460. Guillaume de Malleville sr Fontenelles, Calletot, Mesnil-Varin engaged in rent sales in Rouen in the 1450s and was *V* Orbec after the *Bien Public*, *V* Caudebec by 1467: *Rouen* 17 May 1454, 11 Apr 1461, 1 Aug 1465; *GR*12512, 6094. Jehannet de Malleville *écuyer* was in the service of Marguerite de la Heuze dame de Moy: *Rouen* 26 Sep 1460. Pierre de Malville, who served in Charles de France's household in 1468, may be identical with the Floquet hda Pierre de Malleville: *BN Ms fr 21477* 8-20.

c) Held noble fiefs in the V Caudebec in 1469-70: *Caux* 1470 p297.

Cardot, Cardin, Richard Malortie dit Bainei, Paynel *chevalier*

a) Hda GO Brézé, then Dunois 1460.3-1461.3. Distinguished himself in the skirmishing before Formigny, when he was under Geoffroi de Couvran: *Blondel* II p183. After the Reduction he contracted a marriage with Marie daughter of the late Jacques l'Empereur *écuyer*. She was thirteen or fourteen at the time of the exchange of promises, and he ran up against the opposition of her kin. These were members of the family of Marie's mother Jeanne Gosset. Jean Gosset, son of Jeanne's late cousin Richard, had himself just returned from exile and was deploying the edict of Compiègne against the Lancastrian *demeurant* and *détenteur* of his lands Jacques Paynel. Gosset attempted to obstruct the consummation of Marie l'Empereur's marriage. The dispute can be followed through the *Echiquier* registers and through an invaluable set of minutes of documents seen by Dom Le Noir in the eighteenth century: *DLN/9* p318, /10 p53; *Echiquier* 1454 p56, 202; 1459 p49. We thus have an adequate picture of the course of a succession dispute between the heirs male and general of a Norman noble lineage both of whom had been Valois partisans.

Malortie responded to the obstacles placed in his path by the girl's kin by citing her before the *official* of Lisieux to confirm her promise of marriage. The *procureur du Roi* for the *bailliage* of Rouen intervened at the instance of unnamed third parties, presumably her kin. By virtue of letters of the *grand sénéchal* she was placed in the *garde du roi* as having been under-age and 'inhabille a contracter mariage sans le congie du roi'. The royal *procureur* ordered a royal *mainmise* on the body and goods of Malortie for having seduced her. In January 1452 Malortie obtained letters of Charles VII in his favour which granted him the value of any fines he might have incurred, and ordered the *grand sénéchal* to permit the marriage if he was satisfied that Marie gave her consent freely. Within weeks of these letters, she was interrogated in the *auditoire* of the *Sénéchal's* court: Brézé's lieutenant found that the marriage was contracted with her consent and that of some of her kin and friends. He put both her and Malortie *hors de court* and gave permission for the accomplishment of the marriage.

Why had this incident gone right to the top? She was an important heiress: through her mother she was the heiress of the late Richard Gosset and his eldest son Jean. Richard's sons Jean and Jean the younger had fled Normandy after the fall of Rouen. The elder brother died soon after, the younger Jean returned from 'le pays de France' after the Reduction and seised himself of the Gosset lands which had been held under the English by Jacques Paynel *chevalier*. In 1451-52 Jean Gosset *le jeune* was still living on them, when the *garde* of Marie as heiress *par droit d'ainesse* was adjudged at the assises of Pont-Audemer to Jean d'Auteny *écuyer*. Auteny was a Cauchois landholder, sr Bertrimont, *greffier* of the *bailliage* of Rouen and hence a Rouennais office-holding notable. He did not succeed in taking over the lands of his new ward, however. Jean Gosset obtained a *mandement* from the *gens des comptes* 'pour jouir a sa caution' the whole inheritance under the obligation of rendering account. It appears from lawsuits at the *Echiquier* in the 1450s that it was he who had been the prime mover in Malortie's difficulties.

Malortie 'depuis longtemps s'en alla demourer en l'obeissance du Roi ou il a tousjours depuis continuellement demeuré et servi ledit seigneur roi comme homme d'armes'. In the legal documents related to his marriage he was stated to have distinguished himself at the fall of Pont-Audemer. He might have added his

record at Formigny, where under Geoffroi de Courvan he was at the head of a force which engaged Matthew Gough. Rouault, Courvan and Brézé all followed him into the attack: *Beaucourt V* p30, p331.

Having driven his marriage through over the opposition of Jean Gosset, Malortie attacked Gosset's custody of the lands of his l'Empereur niece and nephew. Marie and her brother Gabriel l'Empereur (the forgoing litigation makes sense only if Gabriel is assumed to be of a different mother) possessed lands spread across V Orbec, Pont-Audemer, Pont-Authou and the Auge. Malortie adjourned Gosset before the V Orbec to render accounts for the period since the Reduction up to 1 Jun 1452. He had already taken his wife's lands out of wardship and was taking possession of sergentries and *fieffe-fermes* in V Orbec and Pont-Audemer in 1453: *DLN/10* p53 (16 Jan 1453), /75 p175 (delay of *aveu et denombrement* 13 Dec 1453 stating that he had done homage 9 Jul 1453). Gosset convoked his adversaries to implement the *partage* of the Gosset lands which had never taken place between himself and his late brother. This generated dispute over the genealogical particulars. Gosset had to take it all the way to the *Echiquier*, but in 1454 overrode a *doléance* of Malortie to draw the up lots: *Echiquier* 1454 p56. Malortie was fined L100 for appealing frivolously from the assises of Pont-Audemer to the *Echiquier*. This suit was terminated by an accord which gave *saisine verbal* to Gosset and allowed him to enjoy the manor of Llieurray pending implementation of the *partage*.

This was not the end of the struggle between the two men; there was at least one other issue between them pending at the 1454 *Echiquier*. This dragged on through the decade, with Gosset and his son making executions on Marie l'Empereur's lands in the vicomté of Orbec, and Malortie fighting them off with royal letters: *Echiquier* 1454 p202; 1459 p49. The Gosset were pursuing claims to rents and cash debts in which Jacques l'Empereur and Jeanne Gosset had been obligated. In 1459 Nicolas Gosset, son of the now dead Jean, abandoned one of these claims, amounting to 1,400 *moutons d'or*.

Malortie's position is of wider interest because of his connection to the Dauphin. He was described as a delphinal *pannetier* in 1453, and a presumed kinsman was high in the counsels of the Dauphin in this period. This link may explain why Cardot Malortie does not appear in Brézé's retinue after 1452. This is more plausible because it matches the situation of Jean d'Estuer, a servant of the Dauphin who defected to the Dauphin from Brézé's company in the early 1450s.

b) Noble family with representatives in the Auge and the Caux. His kinsman Jean Malortie *écuyer* had represented the nobles of V Pont-Audemer at the Lancastrian Estates in 1449. Cardin was pledged in a sale of rent by Guillaume du Valvendrin priest in 1452: among the witnesses were Guillaume de Bailleul, Jean Malortie and Andre Roque: *Rouen* 14 Feb 1451/52. Robert or Robin Malortie had also been an *homme d'armes* in Brézé's service, qualified as such when in Feb 1449 he was pardoned for complicity in murder, committed in the company of Jacques de la Chapelle dit Mouschet, Pierre de la Tour and Jean Findel, also *compaignons de guerre* under Brézé: *Guérin IX* p114; remission relating to a confrontation with Poitevin villagers over a woman in Jan 1449. Robert was named by Chabannes as one of the captains involved in the Dauphin's preparations for war with Charles VII: *Beaucourt V* p434; undated letter from Antoine or Jean de Chabannes to Charles VII on Louis Dauphin's preparations for war, in either 1452 or 1456. In the spring of 1465 he was in the Lyonnais and Dauphiné; he was at Monthéry where he was wounded in the head: *LM/Q* p209n, *Morice III* 103. In January

1466 the brunt of the fighting before Louviers was borne by the companies of Malortie and Jean de Salazar: *Maupoint* p97.

c) Sr Litebec near Pont-Audemer, and of extensive lands in right of his wife in the V's Orbec, Pont-Audemer, Pont-Authou and the Auge: *DLN/10* p53. He was described in 1470 as *chevalier*, holding the fief of le Breul and fiefs at Brevedent and Fontaines; he was then a prisoner in England: *Evreux 1470* p43

Martin Marguerie *écuyer*, d. by 1469

a) Pr général and *gouverneur* of the county of Harcourt for Jean VII d'Harcourt after its reduction, 1449. He acted in the name of the old count and of Marie d'Harcourt and Jean de Lorraine, 'heritiers presumez et naturelz dudit comte' in 1450: Guilmeth 1842 p540-41. Gds V Harcourt and Elbeuf in June 1450: *DLN/75* p55. V Lillebonne for the countess of Harcourt 1460: *Rouen* 15 Jun 1460. LV Caudebec 1462 and LB Caux at Caudebec 1462-69: *GR*6192, 5923. He may have been used in these capacities because of a link to Louis XI's *échanson* and V Rouen Jean le Roux (*qv*).

b) Second son of Guillaume Marguerie *écuyer* sr Penneville and his wife Marie Vasse. Her nephews Raoul Vasse sr Perromare and Jean Vasse ceded him all their property in B Caux and Rouen, which were 'en ruyne et de petite valleur a l'occasion de la guerre' for *bonne amour* and services on the occasion of his marriage. His nephew Guillaume II ceded him Marie's dower rights at the same time: *Rouen* 24 and 30 May 1452. His wife was Jacqueline Alixandre, widow of Guillaume de la Fontaine: *Rouen* 9 Dec 1474.

Their son Laurens Marguerie *écuyer* sr Perromare was engaged in *marchie de bourse* against his Vasse cousins in the 1470s: *Rouen* 15 Oct 1474. Another of Martin's nephews Nicolas married the daughter of Roger Gouel (*qv*): *Rouen* 7 Sep 1461. There was a Bessin branch which suffered forfeiture under the Lancastrians, but *Rouen* 9 Apr 1472/73 shows the Rouen line to have been *demeurant* in 1436, and maître André Marguerie cr du roi d'Angleterre en sa court du conseil à Rouen was gifted *L*100 for his continual service at the 1448 *Echiquier*: BL Additional Mss 11509 p42v°. André was canon of Rouen, archdeacon of the Petit-Caux, nominated vicar general by the chapter during after the death of archbishop Louis d'Harcourt in 1422, and again after the death of the cardinal de Luxembourg 1443: *Beaurepaire* 1868 I p20ff.

c) He was dead by 1469, when his heirs defaulted at the musters of the nobles of V Caudebec. A few years later he was qualified *conseiller en cour laie*, resident at Lillebonne: *Caux 1470* p297; *Rouen* 9 Apr 1472/73.

William Stroud, Stroulde, Stode, Guillaume de Marigny

a) Brézé hda and renegade Englishman. In 1454 he was granted the fief of Marigny confiscated from his father and brother on their flight to England. In his request to the king Guillaume stated that his mother Cardine de Vieux had married 'par force ou autrement a un anglois'. His step-father Sir Thomas Clingham took her and his elder brother to England on the Reduction. Guillaume was representing himself as *seul heritier* 'par sa demeure en nostre obeissance et service ouquel il a tousjours depuis este et la continue et continue en la compaignie de nostre Grand Senechal de Normendie'. He claimed Marigny and other property 'en plain droit de sa mere'. Marigny was in the king's hands by confiscation and being farmed at *L*10.

Charles VII had already granted the fief to Stroud up to the value of L200. The *gens des comptes* ordered the V Bayeux to inquire as to the real value and take back any surplus above L10 rent. The *ferme* was now worth L120-140 annually and the king discharged the V of the sums demanded by the *Chambre*, but he nonetheless tried to constrain Stroud for the arrears of the surplus incurred prior to the discharge. The case was recounted in the 1454 royal grant for services *au fait de la guerre* of all sums in which he might be liable in respect of the grant up to L140: *DLN/25* p101. Marigny died c.1459, and Brézé secured a grant of the lands escheating to the crown, but he was not seised of the fief on the death of Charles VII and his letters lapsed on Louis XI's annulment of all grants made by his father. He secured a new grant of the reversion in Mar 1464: *DLN/2* p237; the date of Marigny's death can be reckoned from details of *decret* proceedings mounted by his heirs in *Echiquier* 1466 p114v^o.

b) Son of Richard Stroud and Cardine de Vieulx. Stroud's sister and her husband Jean Baussain or Vaussigny attempted to secure all or part of his inheritance. They were claiming to be *prochain heritiers* whose rights should take precedence over the royal grant. A suit was before the *Echiquier* in 1462 when, however Brézé as defendant of their suit had lost his rights. By then the inheritance had been granted to Jean Bourré, whose attempts to have the grant take effect are detailed in a letter of c.1462-64. His title had been accepted by the Lt's of B Caen and V Bayeux. Subsequently he ran into difficulties in Rouen, where the *cour du roi* (presumed the *grande sénéchaussée*, but possibly the 1462 or 1463 *Echiquier*) restored the fief to the blood heirs. Bourré's local agent Jean du Val assembled the local *gens du roi* to deliberate on a course of action and secured a commitment from the PrR at Bayeux to obstruct the *mandement executoire*. Pressure was to be brought against the royal sergeant who had re-seised the couple and the *gens de comptes* were being mobilised. Bourré's officers were arguing that the couple's case fell because Stroud's rights depended on royal grant rather than hereditary right. Were he still alive this title would itself fail on the *revocation générale* of Charles VII's grants unless he had secured confirmation or new grant. Even were the grant to stand, the *prochain heritier* was actually Stroud's absent English brother, and hence the fief would fall anew by confiscation. This is a fascinating insight into the interaction of power and customary law: BN Ms fr 20499 p49, n°12, dated 23 Sep. The 1462 suit was revived after Bourré returned his letters so that Brézé could be restored. It came before the 1464 *Echiquier*. Vaussigny was now conjoined with Jean Jacquesson dit de Vieux, presumed another renegade Englishman with blood ties to Marigny's maternal lineage. The PrR intervened in both cases : Allmand 1983 p80; *Echiquier* 1462 p122, 1464 p194v^o.

c) Sr Marigny in V Bayeux.

Guillaume Marquier

a) *Sécrétaire* and *audiencier* of Charles de France, secretary *des finances* in Guyenne: BN Ms fr 23262; *DLN/13* p63; BN Ms fr 32263 p485-93. He was named by him to office of V Bayeux 'pendant qu'il tint le duchie de Normandie'. His clerk Jean des Saumeres was constrained to surrender all his papers and to render account before the officers of the royal lieutenant. Marquier subsequently fell into problems with the *Chambre des Comptes*: *DLN/13* p63.

Jean Martel

- a) Vd Longchamps from 1452, obtaining the office by resignation of Jean Binet: *DLN/75* p135.
- b) Guillaume Martel sr Hatentot hda GO Dunois after 1462: see notice under Guillaume des Hayes above. If Hatentot was related to the Martel de Bacqueville then he was also related to the Harcourt de Bonnétable/Beuvron. Jean Martel de Bacqueville married Marie de Graille widow of Girard d'Harcourt father of Bonnétable and Beuvron (*qv*): *Harcourt II*, p1397.
- c) Sr Perrueil-sur-Andelle.

Guillaume Maugier

- a) *Greffier* of the GS and of the *Grand Conseil* at Rouen: *Rouen* 7 Jul 1458. The office of *Monnoier* of Rouen was created for him in 1462: AN JJ 194 n°37. Witnessed numerous contracts of Pierre de Brézé including ones relating to the pursuit of the Crespin succession and the transport of Brézé's maternal inheritance to Carbonnel: *Rouen* 20 Jun 1454; 8 Feb 1456/57.
- b) Jean Maugier had been canon of Rouen during the occupation, affinal kinsman and godparent of Olivier de Dampont sr Merey (*qv*): *DLN/9* p296.

Jean de Mauhugeon

- a) Hda of Couvran.
- b) Jean Mauhugeon married (before 1454) Marguerite de Mauny (d.1469), widow of Jean Goyon sr Matignon and la Roche Guyon (d.1452). She was daughter of Olivier de Mauny, and Mauhugeon held the barony of Torigny in her right in 1459 and 1464. His enjoyment of the extensive lands of his wife led him into a number of difficulties, including lawsuits and violence, with her Goyon children: Anselme V 581-82; *Harcourt II* p1248. Geoffroi Mauhugeon was *écuyer* of Pierre II 1451-52 and hda under Villeblanche Sep 1456: *Morice II* p1604, 1727.
- c) Baron *j.u.* Torigny.

Louis de Mauny

- a) Hda of the Mont-Saint-Michel garrison 1461.2-1461.3. 'Serviteur' of Louis d'Estouteville in Jan 1461/62 (ADSM 33 J 790, Comptes d'Estouteville). Probably Louis Crespin dit de Mauny *écuyer* sr du Quesnay, son of Pierre Crespin and Jeanne Louvel. He was sr Bellengues by 1484. He was serving in the grande ordonnance of Jean d'Estouteville sr Bricquebec in the 1470s: Poli 1895 n°1391. Less likely he was related to Jean de Mauny *chevalier* baron de Marcey-les-Greves (outside Avranches) (see under Mauhugeon), and seigneur Lesieu, cousin (?) of Olivier de Mauny who had been involved early on in the defence of the Mont.

Gauvain Mauviel, d.1466

- a) *Elu* Rouen under Charles VII: *Rouen* 18 May 1458, 22 May 1460. LGB Rouen 1462-65. He should probably not be regarded as a beneficiary of the accession upheaval in office. Pierre Daron is last attested as LGB in Nov 1461. Dupont-Ferrier had Mauviel in office by Nov the following year: *GR18953-54*. The Rouen

tabellionage allows us to be more precise. Daron was stated to have lately died still incumbent as *ll* of Montespédon, having held the assises of Rouen between 4 and 13 Jan 1462. Mauviel held them from Mar 27 to April 6: *Rouen* 14 Apr 1463. He had therefore succeeded Daron on the latter's death in March 1462, perhaps by way of compensation for the loss of the *election* as the *ferme* got under way. He was adult and in possession of his lands, a Rouen lawyer (*pr*) practicing from soon after the Reduction.

He was closely connected with Robert de Dreux-Esneval. The precise kinship link is not clear but Gauvain was described as *lignager* of both Dreux and Jacqueline d'Esneval wife of Jacques du Fayel vicomte de Bretueil, so the link is presumed to run through the Esneval, though it is notable that Gauvain bears the same baptismal name as Robert de Dreux's father so one may conjecture that there was a Godparent linkage. Dreux-Esneval appears as his most exalted connection in the 1450s and 1460s. Mauviel was instrumental in Dreux's efforts to delay the alienation of his valuable fief of Mesnil Esnard, was heavily involved in his financial dealings, and was in receipt of gifts. In 1454 the gift of the right of *raquittal* of Dreux's alienated seignury of Mesnil-Esnard was made for *bonne amour naturelle et prouchaineté de lignage*: *Rouen* 28 Feb, 1 Mar 1454/55.

There is an identifiable circle of men around Dreux and Mauviel in these years. We can see the group in action in August 1456. Marguerite de la Heuze dame de Mouy sold Cardin des Essars a rent of *L*80. The rent was guaranteed by her son Colart de Mouy. The *racquittal* period was ten years: it was intended as a credit facility. The *L*800 thereby raised was used to redeem substantial rents and arrears owed to Jacqueline d'Esneval and her husband Jacques du Fayel. When the couple settled with the lady and her son, Robert de Dreux, Brunet de Longchamp and Gauvain Mauviel witnessed the accord: 2, 7 Aug 1456. Cardin des Essars was an associate of Dreux and Mauviel. In a settlement over charges both men had on the inheritance of Geoffroi de Caumont in Aug 1454 Mauviel and des Essars were described as *parens et amis*. In May 1456 we find Brézé man Jean de Longchamp sr de Noville selling des Essars a *L*40 rent and four years of arrears, drawn on the lands of the vidame: *Roue* 30 Aug 1454, 29 May 1456. All these men were implicated in the ducal regime in 1465, and Gauvain was one of the few victims.

Given Dreux's own movement in the Brézé orbit, we should not be particularly surprised at Mauviel's appearance as *élu* of Rouen in the 1450s. Yet he cannot be shown as linked to the GS (though he was raising large sums of cash through property sales during the Northumbrian venture), and in the spring of 1462 took over the office of *LGB*, so the accession had been no bar to his advancement. In this capacity or as a lawyer of standing on the Rouen scene, he appears on arbitral panels in the early 1460s. Thus alongside Jean Nolant and Robert Biote he was on the panel arbitrating the Cleres-Mouy-Gresle debt triangle. He acted alongside Robert de Villeneuve in a dispute between Jeanne de Rohan (widow of François de Rieux and custodian of the Rieux share of the Harcourt lands) and Jean Hemery: *Rouen* 4, 14 June 1462.

He rallied to the rebels in late 1465, a move conditioned by the Dreux connection, though were we ignorant of this we might also point to links with Rouennais financial circles and Charles VII's fiscal officers. In addition to those already mentioned he can be shown in dealings with Jean de la Perreuse, Jean le Lieure *élu* of Caudebec; members of the du Bosc family witnessed his property deals: 30 Aug 1454, 5 Nov 1458, 18 May 1460, and see (c). Mauviel witnessed the Rouen town council's rent transactions in Dec 1465: 26 Dec 1465. On the collapse of Charles de France's position at Rouen he fled into sanctuary

at Saint-Maur. He was executed for *lèse-majesté* on the bridge at Pont-de-l'Arche after summary process. In the immediate aftermath investigations were conducted by Houaste de Montespedon B Rouen, Jacques de Croismare LGB and Guillaume Picart into 'certaines assemblees conspiracions et monopolles' by various officers and notables of Rouen in his favour (perhaps in relation to his right of sanctuary?): BN PO Montespedon p. If more details of trial, accusation or investigation survived we would be much better informed as to the nature of the duke's support in the city.

b) Son of Richard Mauviel who was son of Pierre and brother of Guillaume: *Rouen* 26 Apr 1452, 31 Dec 1462. Gauvain's grandfather Pierre Mauviel was a bourgeois of Rouen, who before the occupation had been a lawyer resident in Saint-Wandrille, with Caudebec and perhaps Burgundian connections: *DLN/6* p58. He was avR B Rouen in 1430, described during Jeanne d'Arc's rehabilitation process as a noted *avoué* of the Lancastrians in Rouen in the period of Jeanne's trial: *Rehabilitation* III p147. Despite this reputation, after the Reduction the family recovered in Pierre's right lands in V Caudebec which had been granted away by the Lancastrians: *DLN/13* p269-73.

In a contract of 1460 Gauvain was described as *prouchain parent* of Jacqueline d'Esneval wife of Jacques du Fayel *chevalier* vicomte de Bretueil, and earlier the vidame and Mauviel can both be found attesting a contract of the couple: *Rouen* 6 Aug 1456, 18 May 1460. Mauviel witnessed a series of accords over the succession of the vidame's aunt Jeanne du Plessis (wife of Dreux's late nephew), involving Guion des Biars and du Fayel: May 17 1452.

His wife was Guillemette du Buisson, whose family circle is difficult to piece together. In 1467 she was stated to have *affinité et amour* with Louis de Cormeilles. By then she was affianced to Pierre de Crevecœur and had left Rouen: *Rouen* 11 Apr 1467. By 1471 he on her behalf was liquidating her remaining dower rights in mauviel's seigneuries, all of which were held by men unconnected with her husband, grantees or acquirors: *Rouen* 1 Jun 1471. Michel Boissel or de Boissel was clerk of the town of Rouen in the early 1450s, and perhaps still when he witnessed the town council's rent transactions in the crisis of Dec 1465: *Rouen* 13 Sep 1451, 27 Dec 1465. Subsequent to her husband's death a number of Rouen notables assisted her in her affairs, including Laurens Surreau canon of Rouen, Robert de Franqueville and Robert du Bosc sr Esmentreville. Thomas Lecomte and Pierre Vincent appear so frequently in Mauviel's property contracts that they may have been his servants.

c) Briefly sr Mesnil-Esnard, in which fief Martin des Essars pr of the city of Rouen in the 1450s, acted as Mauviel's *sénéchal*. Often styled sr Mesnil-Vasse in the 1450s. After Gauvain's death his widow came to terms with his successor in a transaction over her dower which may value the fief at *L*750, though this should be seen as a minimum: *Rouen* 1 Jun 1471. The fief appears to have been held in *parage*: Jean sr de Hestray also used the title. In the 1450s he was active, if not always successful, in acquiring noble property. He was baulked by *marchie de bourse et lignage* in an attempt to purchase the fief of Troubleville which eventually fell to Brézé: *Rouen* 19 Jul 1456. His deals over Mesnil-Esnard culminated in an exchange of rights which brought Mauviel the rights in Fourneville (Auge: south of Gonnevillle) which Louis de Cormeilles had bought for *L*1500 from the du Fayel: *Rouen* 15 Jan, 14 Apr 1457/58. Mesnil-Vasse fell after Mauviel's death to Robert de Ponces *écuyer*

sometime cp Tancarville for the count, though whether by grant is not known: *Rouen* 28 Apr 1463, 1 Jun 1471, 19 Jan 1468/69.

The Merbury

a) John Merbury hda GO Brézé. In 1451 Brézé pledged himself in the sum of 1,200 *écus* to Jean Marcel *changeur* of Rouen in security for *L230 rente à vie* and unspecified arrears 'en quoy sont oblige messire Richard Merbury chevalier et la dame sa femme et Jehan Merbury leur fils'. The witnesses included Pierre le Bouteiller and Pierre de Vieuchâtel (*qqv*).

b) John was the eldest son of Englishman Sir Richard Merbury and his French wife Katherine de Fontenay. He had a younger brother Edmund. Richard Merbury had a long history of Lancastrian service as cp Gisors, Vernon, and B Gisors in the 1440s. It was Brézé who reduced him to the Valois obedience in 1449. The rendition of Gisors by Merbury was negotiated by Brézé on the basis that his sons, captured at Pont-Audemer, would be set at liberty and that he would retain his wife's lands: *Blondel* p129. Berry Herald tells us that Pierre Paviot *écuyer d'écurie* and Pierre de Courcelles, kin to Merbury's wife, assisted in the negotiations. He was taken into French service as B Troyes (1452-55) and captain *à vie* of Saint-Germain-en-Laye: *GR22527*, 17139. In 1461 he was a victim of the accession, and this is the presumed context for Bourré's undated minute of his request for continuation of his pension as 'accoustumé': BN Ms fr 20495 p13 (2).

c) Sir Richard is qualified sr Tallegard, Vignay, du Grippon and Gondrecourt in *Blondel* p324n. The Cotentin fief of Grippon, along with Dangy and Saint-Malo-de-la-Lande, fell to him by Lancastrian grant in 1433: unless he had other title he lost it in 1449-50: Massey p121. Under the occupation he also enjoyed by royal grant at various times lands in V Auge and Orbec and in B Gisors: Massey p81-82, 121.

Jean le Merchant, Marchant etc.

a) V Valognes 1463: *Echiquier* 1463 p180. Possibly *commis*, since he was LV Valognes 1450-63 and Olivier le Roux *qv* secured the office for his son: *GR7528*. An autograph letter of 1461 X 1464 survives from him as LGV in respect of a viscomital inquest undertaken at the instance of the *gens des comptes*: the text is given under Plumaugat. He is presumed identical with the Jean Marchant ennobled by Louis XI for services in Aug 1462: AN JJ 198 n°378.

b) Dunois ordered the duke of Orléans's B Saint-Sauveur-Lendelin to install Marot le Marchant gr en court laie as snl in V Caen of the duke's lands: *DLN/13* p139. Jeannot le Marchant dit Marinachart was a member of Brézé's Rouen garrison. Others with this patronym were officers at Carentan, Nicolas LV 1458 and Richard LB 1466, 1474: *GR7491*, 7199, 7166. Thomas and Ythier Marchant were respectively Charles de France's *sommelier de l'eschanconnerie* and *maître aux chambre des deniers*: BN Ms fr 23262; Ms fr 21477 p8-23, 44-49

Jacques le Mercier

a) LB Aumale 1459: *Echiquier* 1459 p7. LGB Gisors 1463, 1464: *GR13035*, *Echiquier* 1464 p3. He witnessed alienations of property by Thibaut de Cantiers sr Villiers-sur-Andelys to Jean des Planches sr

Fleury-sur-Andelle in 1462, alongside Jean le Sec sr Gaillardbos and Eliot le Fournier: *Rouen* 7 May 1462. He purchased rents from Jean de Moranville sr la Mesegnière: *Rouen* 15 Aug 1465.

b) Guillaume le Mercier *écuyer* was servant to Jean le Roux sr Miromesnil *échanson du roi* and V Rouen (*qv*). There may well be a connection between Jacques, Guillaume and Jean (see following notice), and the le Roux seem connected to all of them: Guillaume le Roux tutor and brother-in-law of Marion Sebire married her to Jean le Mercier: *Rouen* 21 May 1454. Roger le Mercier was Lt GMEF in V Caudebec 1462: *DLN/14* p171. Pierre le Mercier was sPrR at Avranches 1477-82: *GR7249*. Orléanist servant Denis le Mercier was av at the *Cour du Trésor* 1461-82 and *général des finances* in Picardy 1498: Dupont-Ferrier, *Avocats* p102-3.

Jean le Mercier *écuyer*

a) Lancastrian sPrR in V Pont-Audemer 1439-42, then V Neuchâtel 1445-48: *GR19096*, 6156. *Idem* LG of Jean Lombart V Neuchâtel 1452: *GR6181*.

His homonym, presumed son, was V Aumale 1463-65 and LGB Gisors 1466: *Rouen* 14 Jul 1463, 28 Nov 1465, 21 Nov 1466. Qualified Vd Campdurant he married Marion sister of Jean Sebire bourgeois of Rouen in 1454: *Rouen* 21 May 1454; *DLN/17* p227. Presumed identical with homonym sPrR V Pont-Audemer 1460, LGV Neuchâtel 1470, 1471, 1476 and LV Arques 1469, V himself 1476-77: *GR19096*, 6211, 6220, 6063.

b) See forgoing notice. For much of this period Neuchâtel was enjoyed by Charles d'Artois count of Eu and the offices, which included the *verderie* of Campdurant, were at his disposal. He also claimed the wardship of the county of Aumale. Le Mercier was probably his nominee.

c) The son was bourgeois of Neuchâtel, later of Rouen.

Jean du Mesnil, d.1476.

a) Qualified cr *clerc au Parlement* when he sat in the 1462-64 *Echiquiers*, but not so listed by Maugis: Maugis 1913-16 III p100-105. *Docteur ès lois*, *curé* of Grand Quevilly, abbot *in commendam* of Sainte-Catherine 1466, archdeacon of the Grand Caux, vicar-general and *official* of Guillaume d'Estouteville 1460-1476. Sat again in the 1469 *Echiquier*. The 1470 session of the Norman Estates was held in his hôtel at Rouen: *DLN/23* p394. He acted as the agent of chancellor de Morvilliers and Guillaume le Tellier in transactions in 1460-65: *Rouen* 17 Apr 1464, misplaced after 29 April.

b) See the notice in Beaurepaire 1868 p20ff, also *GC* XI p130. There were several men of this very common name in the Flocquet company: Guillaume, Guillemain GO hda Flocquet 1451.2-1460.4; Naudin du Mesnil was also GO hda Flocquet 1458.2-1460.4; Guillaume bastard du Mesnil dit Vastry was GO hda Flocquet 1451.2-1460.4.

Jean du Mesnil

a) V Montreuil/Bernay 1452: GR12628. A homonym, qualified *maître*, represented the Alençon apanage at the Norman Estates of 1459, and another, possibly distinct, was ay of the duke of Alençon at the assises of Alençon in 1473, and the duke's snl Hauterive later the same year: DLN/75 p269; /17 p113, 119.

b) A common name. There was a Roumois noble family whose most important representative was Hervé du Mesnil, Charles VII's *premier pannetier* then *premier maître d'hôtel*, B Montferrand and Usson 1426-54 at a L200 pension. He was sr Normare and Rosay outside Rouen, which he can be found freeing of rent charges in 1451. He was dead by Jan 1455: GR15752; Rouen 28 Oct 1451. He was succeeded in his Norman lands by Jean du Mesnil *écuyer* sr Vairneuve: Rouen 11 Aug 1451, 20 Nov 1451, 20 Sep 1462, 24 June 1465. This man was the son of Raoul du Mesnil sr Ricarville and la Bucaille, and can be shown in association with Guillaume du Croq *écuyer*. His sister Marguerite married into the du Bosc de Tendos (*qv*). There was another sibling, Raoullet: Rouen 7 Nov 1461, 6 May 1463, 23 Nov 1465.

Jean de Mineray

a) V Coutances 1466-67: GR7396. Homonym qualified *changeur du trésor* when he was named executor in Dunois's 1468 testament: Jarry 1889 p233.

b) Jacques de Mineray was dean of Saint-Père du Mans in 1459: *Saint-Pierre-de-la-Cour* pCCVI.

Jacques le Moine

a) V of the bishopric of Evreux 1456: DLN/18 p136.

b) Jean le Moine was ay at the *Cour du Trésor* 1455-71 and *clerc des comptes* 1467-98: Dupont-Ferrier, *Avocats* p105. There were men with this common name in the Breton companies. One possible connection is with Guillaume le Moine of Flocquet's garrison at Honfleur.

Jean de Molins, Moulins, d.1500.

a) *Greffier civil* of the 1453 *Echiquier*. PrR at the *Cour du Trésor* from 1459, confirmed by Louis XI and promoted royal *secrétaire* 1464, imposed by Louis as *echevin* then mayor of Poitiers 1464, ayR in Poitou 1465-89, royal emissary to Paris during the Public Weal, *greffier* at the trial of Cardinal Baluc 1469, *greffier du Grand Conseil* 1472-83, ambassador to Milan 1474.

b) See the extensive notice and genealogy in *Sécrétaires* n°483-84; see also Dupont-Ferrier, *Personnel* appendix II n°148. A homonym witnessed Guillaume de Bigars's sale of L45 rent to Jean Martel bourgeois de Rouen in 1452, and Jean and Pierre du Moulin witnessed Bigars's sale of further rents in 1461: Rouen 3 Jan 1452/53, 7 Oct 1461.

Louis de Montberon chevalier

a) Flocquet GO hda. Cp of the family château of Montberon by family *partage* 1468. Charles de France's *écuyer de l'écurie* in Breton exile: *Mancel* XII p59; BN Ms fr 21477 8-20, 44-49.

b) See the genealogy in Anselme VII p23. He was the third son of the Angevin lord François I baron de Montberon and Maulevrier (d.1470) and Louise de Clermont . Married 1458 Radegonde daughter of Jean de Rochechouart I sr Montemart and Jeanne de Torsay. His eldest brother was a Delphinal chambellan in the 1440s. His younger brother Savary was canon of Reims and Saintes, archdeacon of Champagne, abbot of Nôtre Dame de Poitiers. This was an Angevin lineage of more than provincial importance. Louis's sisters married into major French, Manceux, Poitevin and Norman lineages, the Maumont, Clermont, Juvenal des Ursins, Malet de Gravelle and Pérusse des Escars.

c) Sr Fontaines, la Chalaudray, Paillé.

Pierre and Robert de Montmirail, Montmirel

a) Pierre was hda GO Dunois 1452.1-1457.1; member of the Harfleur garrison 1461.2. Presumed kin (?brother) to Robert, *clerc* of the *Chambre des comptes* at Paris. See chapter 2 for the latter's financial dealings with Guillaume Frétel. After the Reduction he reached an accord with members of the Pillais family over the recovery of the Hôtel de Montmirail in the parish of Valliquierville, V Caudebec: *Rouen*.31 May 1451, 17 May 1454.

b) Robert was the son of the late Pierre de Montmirail *écuyer*.

c) Robert was sr Briemesnil.

Jean Moriet, Moinet

a) V Argentan/Exmes 1459: GR435. *Idem* under the restored apanage 1464: *Rouen* 19 Apr 1464.

Pierre and Jean de la Motte

a) Pierre was *grenétier* Caudebec by 1454 and into the 1460s: *Rouen* 28 Jun 1454; BN PO 2066 *la Motte en Normandie* 47009, n°3. A homonym was hda in Lorraine's garrison of Granville, and may be identical with resident of this name in the parish of Saint-Paer north of Avranches in 1464: *Monfaut* p423. Another homonym was lately in the service of Charles de France when his widow Isabeau was pensioned by the duke from 1465: BN Ms fr 23262.

Jean de la Motte was a Dunois hda. A homonym, sergeant of Arques, was rewarded for leading the pursuit of a murderer in V Arques in 1463: BN PO 879 *Aux-Coulombs* 19794, n°3.

b) The *grenétier* was the son of Pierre de la Motte and Arnaude de Coquelet, and he can be found witnessing Coquelet contracts: *Rouen* 28 Jun 1454, 26 Feb 1454/55, 14 Dec 1456, 8 Jun 1458, 16 Jun 1461, 9 Nov 1463, 24 Apr, 16 Dec 1465, 25 Jan 1466/67. The name is a common one and there is no basis on which to identify kinsmen with confidence. Jean's homonym was dead by May 1463 when his daughter by Jeanne de Chantepie, Jeanne, contracted marriage with Guillaume de la Mare *écuyer*, in the presence of her kinsmen Gueffin son of Jacques and his son Gueffin de la Motte *écuyers*. Jacquet de la Motte *écuyer* was one of the servants of Louis d'Estouteville who received the duke of Orleans's order of the Camail in 1439: *DLN/29* p373. He was sr Buscoursel in *parage* with Simon de la Motte priest, and was raising money on the rent market in 1451, perhaps preparatory to the purchase of lands from Robert Depardieu *écuyer* sr Bondeville in Dec 1451. He held the *fiefferme* of Le Thil en Bray, and was acquitted of L10 (out of a total owed of L25/9s/4d per

annum) by Eu as *usufruitier* of Neufchâtel in 1456. Gueffin was *pr* of Guillaume Toustain in 1461, and his father was dead by the early 1460s: *Rouen* 28 May 1463; 7 May, 28 Oct, 11 Dec 1451; *Neufchâtel* p217. Guillaume sr de la Motte *écuyer* was *lt* Jean du Bellay *chevalier* sr la Flotte *cp* Harfleur in the 1490s: GR6435.

c) The *grenétier* was sr Vimont, Seques/Feques and Rendillon.

Jacques Mouchet *écuyer*

a) *Hda* GO Brézé. In 1463 he was qualified as lately of the *ordonnance* under la Barde, when he was admitted to the Maison-Dieu 'pour y avoir sa vie et gouvernement de boire et manger à la table du maître, vestir et chausser, feu, lit et hostel, être accueilli aux biens faicts dudit Hostel-Dieu et après son temps y estre enterré, et pour son obsèque avoir douze messes à son enterrement pour pitié et compassion de sa personne et antiquité, en l'honneur et reverence de Dieu et que le dit escuyer avoit toujours tenu le parti du Roi Charles VII et longuement demeuré en garnison en ladite ville ou il s'estoit notablement gouverné'. He gave the inhabitants his harness, brigandines and L60, along with 40 *écus* owed him by his former comrade Antoine du Rieu *écuyer*: Beaupaire 1868 p242.

Jean le Muet

a) He had been a *demeurant* in the service of Henry VI as *V* Orbec in the 1430s, and *LGB* Evreux in the later 1440s: GR12470, 12704/470, 12513. At the relation of Dunois as royal *lieutenant général* he was granted the office of *V* Orbec for continual services in the reduction campaigns, notably at the fall of Lisieux. The king confirmed the grant on 17 Sep 1449: *DLN/25* p81. *V* Orbec 1449-52: GR12708. Still qualified *V* 1453: *Appointements* 1453 p12. He witnessed the sale by Jean de Montenay *chevalier* of L100 rent to Jean Martel *changeur* of Rouen: *Rouen* 14 Jun 1452.

b) In 1470, Gueffin le Muet *écuyer* sr de Forges *en partie*, Carezis and le Buisson presented himself as *hda* with 2 *vougiers en brigandines* at the musters of the *V* Orbec: *Evreux* 1470 p37.

c) Noble homonym resident at Saint-Philibert-des-Champs 1463 in the sgtry of Moyeaulx (Monfaut).

Gacien Mulart

a) *PrR B* Gisors 1449-50. He was *commis* by Dunois as royal *lt* in September, then confirmed in office by the king in November. The following March his *pr* resigned the office into the hands of the king, who granted it to lawyer Bertrand Guillas. In this (probably venal) transaction he was qualified 'serviteur du conte de Dunois'. his *pr* was royal secretary Charles Chaligant: *DLN/15* p325, /18 p43.

Guillaume de Mussy *écuyer*

a) *V* Coutances 1462-65: GR7395.

Jacques dit Coppin de Nedoucel, Nebouchel

a) Flocquet *hda* in the 1450s, described as a native of the Boulonnais in a royal grant of 60 acres of woodland at Espinay in the forest of Touques (*V* Auge) dated Oct 1470. He was then *échanson du roi* and the grant was for continuous war service and in consideration of the confiscation of his inheritance and

goods in his native *pays*, presumably by the duke of Burgundy. The local sergeant Thomas l'Homme and Hamon de Bailleul sr Grandschamps, together with the inhabitants of Gonneville resisted the grant before the *Chambre des Comptes* which ordered an inquest. This was heard before the V Auge, the local MEE, the PrR and other local officers and showed that the extent of the grant was greatly exaggerated in the royal letters. Nedoucel had already obtained one amplification of its terms, but sought to obviate delays before the *Chambre* by evoking the case to the *Echiquier*. The inhabitants of Gonneville were obliged to recognise his rights by a settlement of 1474: *DLN/25* p149, /24 p179; *Rouen* 14 Oct 1474. He was a minor cp of *ordonnance* lances in 1472: BN Ms fr 20498 p108v^o.

b) Members of the family were Burgundian in the 1440s: Anselme VII p275.

Nicolas le Normant écuyer

a) Lancastrian V Domfront from c.1428, and demonstrably in 1437, 1438, 1439, 1445; transferred to V Pont-de-l'Arche c.1448: *DLN/13* p103; /4 p189. Cr and sometime lt of the GS. This is implicit in numerous accords in the Rouen *tabellionage* but is explicit in *DLN/9* p318 (letters dated Feb 1452); *Rouen* Oct 11 1466 (arbitral commission). Entered Brézé service by winter 1451-52: *DLN/9* p318. He witnessed the *sénéchal*'s purchase of the Hôtel de Clères in Rouen, the procuration by which Pierre de Brézé rendered control of all his affairs to Jeanne Crespin in 1462, Brunet de Longchamp's committal as Brézé's lt in the Palais de Rouen in 1464, and Jacques de Brézé's assumption of the captaincy of Rouen in July 1465: *Rouen* 13 Mar 1456, 9 Sep 1462; AC Rouen, A8 *Registre des Deliberations* p237-237v^o. Vd Brotonne 1465: ADSM 6E 13 *Notes de Beaurepaire* p13. Remained at the highest levels of Norman judicial affairs after Brézé's disgrace in 1461 and after his death: witnessed Guillaume le Coq (*qv*)'s arbitration of a dispute between Guillaume de Briqueville *chevalier* sr Lanne and the abbey of Sainte-Trinité de Lessay in 1462, and the politically-driven accord by which Bertrand Goyon sire de Matignon settled the greater part of the Norman inheritance of his late wife Marguerite de Mauny on their younger son Alain Goyon sr de Villiers: *Rouen* 20 May 1462; *Caen* 1 Dec 1470, p220 (though it is possible that this is le Normant's eldest son and namesake). Had associations with Robert Biote: *Rouen* 29 Sep 1454.

b) Native of Pont-Audemer: *DLN/4* p189. His sons were Nicolas canon of Caen and Thibault. The second son Thibault (d.1470) was first husband of Jeanne de Brézé (d.1493). Their son Jacques (in his twenties in 1496) was Jacques de Brézé's godson. Canon Nicolas gave Jeanne the fief of Beaumont-le-Bois (*recte* Beaumont-le-Bataille?) because it was heavily hypothecated, in return for L20 rent and quittance of his debts: *DLN/11* p359. A ? brother Jean le Normant was an archer of Jacques de Brézé's *ordonnance*: *DLN/13* p453.

c) Purchased the fiefs of Beaumont, Tournetot and la Bataille near Pont-Audemer from Aubery Doulle during the occupation, and did homage to Charles VII for them in Nov 1449 after the fall of Rouen: *DLN/4* p189, /75 p119. There is evidence of war damage for these lands: *DLN/10* p37 ('non-valeur' and demolished windmills in the *fieffe-ferme* of la Bataille, 1451). His property at and near Pont-Audemer was pillaged and burned by the French at its fall and at Domfront by the English when he reduced himself to the French obedience: *DLN/75* p37. Sr Beaumont-la-Bataille: *Rouen* 13 Apr 1458, 14 Apr 1461.

Guillaume de Normanville

a) Torcy hda. Present in Caen in the summer of 1460, when he was qualified *écuyer* of the Cachois parish of Four-Ecalles: *Caen* 1460, p89. Mustered among the nobles of the V Montivilliers in 1470: *Caen* 1470 p296.

b) Son of Roger de Normanville and Jeanne daughter of Colart d'Estouteville sr Auzebosc: *CD*. Roger's homonym witnessed a contract related to the marriage settlement between Emond de Monchy *chevalier* and Madeleine de Monstre-Aubert, neice of Marshal Rouault: *Rouen* 9 Feb 1472/73. Guillaume and his wife Guillemette du Pont held Turgoville from the seignury of Auvrechier which passed to Flocquet after 1454. The couple were represented by Jean du Pont in rent sales (on behalf of the couple and of du Pont's mother Jeanne de Sotteville) to Guillaume de Grosmesnil archdeacon of Beauvais effected in the presence of Gauvain Mauviel: *DLN/47* p35; *Rouen* 14 May 1461.

c) Sr Hardonville, Hardouville.

Jean de Nouion, Novion

a) Hda of Torcy. Cp Logempré, present in Rouen in Aug 1465. This office and its revenues were granted to him by Pierre de Roncherolles baron of Heugueville and Pont-Saint-Pierre during his minority, and confirmed to him on his majority but before he escaped wardship. They subsequently transacted in respect of the reversal of this and other abusive transactions to his prejudice, but he remained in Roncherolles service. He was in Rouen between Aug and Dec 1465: *Rouen* 23 Aug, 30 Oct 1465, 27 Dec 1466, 18 Feb, 3 Mar 1466/67.

Jean d'Offencourt, Aussaincourt

a) Torcy hda. Described as *serviteur* of the count of Eu in 1451 when he was selling small rents at Rouen: *Rouen* 15 Oct 1451. He witnessed Robert Biote's redemption of rents drawn on lands in the county of Longueville in 1462: 8 May 1462.

b) His wife was Jacquette le Monnier, who had brought him the fief of Maisonville: *Rouen* 23 Feb 1461/62. A marriage settlement between a homonym and Jeanne de Courcy is in *Rouen* 10 Jul 1457/58. The bridegroom could be a son or kinsman of the next generation. She was the daughter of Guillaume baron de Courcy *écuyer* and his wife Charlotte de Léon, and she was bringing her husband all her mother's Cachois inheritance, with the approval of her brother Thomas.

c) Sr Bonnetot (V Longueville), Biennays, Maisonville.

Christophe Paillart

a) V Orbec 1453-61: *GR12709*. P, but promoted *maître extraordinaire* at the *Chambre des Comptes*, which post he held 1461-72: *Jassemin* p344. Louis XI's emissary to Calabria during the Public Weal: *BN PO 2181 de Paillart* 49285 n°21. Cr *lai* at the 1469 *Echiquier*.

A homonym Christophe Paillart, Paillart was *fourrier* of Charles de France 1465-68, who was serving in the duke's garrison at Domfront in 1468 and in the duke's *garde* in Guyenne: BN Ms fr 21477 8-20, 44-49; Ms fr 32663 p485-93.

b) Scion of a high Parisian *officier* family, married to Catherine Fauvel. There is a complex genealogy in BN PO 2181 *de Paillart* 49285: see also the items in the previous 2 dossiers. The family was Parisian-based, Orléanist in orientation in the early part of the century, related to the Boursier, and had held important offices in Champagne and Normandy. Jean Paillart, holding a fief in the *châtellenie* of Andelys, defaulted at the 1470 musters of Gisors nobles: *Caux 1470* p323. There was a *Parlementaire* family of this name serving in the *Cour du Trésor*: Dupont-Ferrier, *Avocats* p114.

Louis Painbleu

a) V Montivilliers 1461-69: GR6137. B; predecessor last attested in post-accession confirmation. HH; excused attendance as of the royal household at the 1463-64 *Echiquiers* :*Echiquier* 1463 p8, 1464 p8.

Martial Papinot

a) V Gournay 1450-56, *clerc ordinaire des offices* of Charles VII's household, 1452: GR6110; BN PO 2941 *Papinot* 49609 n°2. HH.

The du Parc

a) Bertrand, Charles, Guillaume and Jean du Parc all served under Couvran in the 1450s. They belong to a prominent Breton lineage but it is not certain that they were all members of the main line. Charles and Bertrand may have been brothers, sons of the Breton knight Jean du Parc sr la Motte du Parc and Olive dame de Buchon and Plessis-Bude. Both men would make high profile careers in Breton ducal service, but in the early 1450s their father was still living. If they were serving Couvran, both defected to François II in 1465. Charles married Marguerite daughter and heiress of Lorraine lt Nicole Paynel sr Briqueville.

b) Another Bertrand, cousin of these men, was sr Cresnay near Avranches where he was resident at Monfaut's visitation. Henry du Parc was LV of Vire in 1450, 1455: *Gruel* p279; GR4665; *Monfaut* p411.

Macé Pate

a) Was granted in 1438 the forfeited property in Dieppe of Colart Donnewys. This probably indicates that he had then been in the French garrison. The two men settled leaving property in Dieppe in Pate's hands and restoring other holdings and a small pension to Donnewys, his wife's kinsman: *Rouen* 13 May 1454. V Longueville for Dunois: *Rouen* 13 May 1454, 13 May 1462. He was dead by 1479.

b) A 1455 remission may indicate that the la Prée and Pates families were Poitevin: Guérin IX 416-21. They were established in Dieppe after the Reduction, however. Pate's wife Alison gave him two children, Guillaume and Guillaumie, adult in 1479/80 when they were exempted as noble from payment of *monnoiage*: Beaurepaire 1868 p205.

c) Resident of Dieppe.

Guy Patry, d.c.1463

a) Hda of the Touques garrison under Carbonnel. He was a Bessin noble with *demeurant* antecedents. Aged 40 in 1453 when he testified before LGV Bayeux as to the age of majority of Richard Suhart sr Crouay: *DLN/9* p320.

b) He was married to Jeanne de Sully, who survived him. Through her he was related to members of the Hericy and drawn into disputes with members of the Mauhugeon family: *Echiquier* 1462 p115, 1464 p164.

The link to the Suhart may have arisen because of the marriage between Jean Patry *chevalier* and Guillemette Suhart, both *demeurants* confirmed in their lands in V Vire and Falaise by Henri V in 1418: *DLN/3* p406. Several members of the lineage were active in the same region after the Reduction. Jean Patry was resident in the parish des Moutiers sgtry condé el vire, 1464: *Monfaut* p409. Jean Patry sr Culey-le-Patry married the eldest sister of Louis Louvel sr Valency (*qv*): *DLN/11* p41. Raoul Patry sr Cingal and Jeanne Patry accepted gifts from Philippe de Manneville in 1457. His heir is presumed Robin Patry who was resident at Cingal in 1464: *Caen* 1457 p138; *Monfaut* p218.

Guillaume Paien, Payen

a) Hda Harfleur garrison 1452.1-1461.2. Can be shown in dealings with Etienne de Sasseville *écuyer* (*qv*). Cannot be shown to have had links to a noble line of this name with m15th century Avranchin lands which went on to become a Rouen *parlementaire* family (genealogy in Frondeville *Conseillers* 1594-1640 p285). We may be drawn to a linkage with the Poitevin family of this name, seigneurs de Fougereuse: Guérin IX 133n, 352n.

b) Cannot be shown to have had links to a noble line of this name with m15th century Avranchin lands which went on to become a Rouen *parlementaire* family (genealogy in Frondeville *Conseillers* 1594-1640 p285). We may be drawn to a linkage with the Poitevin family of this name, srs Fougereuse: Guérin IX 133n, 352n.

c) Sr la Pasnière: *Rouen* 21 Feb 1462/63.

Nicole Paynel *chevalier*

a) Lt of the Lorraine company at Granville.

b) He was married into the Bertrand, who are also represented in the company. His son was Guillaume Paynel, who married Marie daughter of Laurens de Vicupont sr Vicupont and baron du Neubourg. On Guillaume's death before 1485 the couple left a son Jacques, 15-16 yrs, and a daughter Francoise, 11. Guion de la Haye took the wardship. The Painel lands were heavily burdened with a loan of 400 *salus* made by the sr de la Motte for the ransom of the late Nicole, in respect of which la Motte had constrained the Paynel to assign L70 rent on Briqueville-sur-la-Mer: BN PO .2183 *Painel* 49315 , n°86.

See under Chisenal for the fate of his uncle Jacques Paynel sr Orglandes. The family was related to the through the mother of Guillaume Paynel sr Bricquebec.

c) Sr Briqueville-la-Blouette. BN PO .2183 *Painel* 49315 , n°86 is a valuation for the purpose of wardship of the lands left by Nicolas's son Guillaume Painel in V Avranches. The principal *châtellenie* of his lands was at Briqueville, and this was where he had resided. The cries for the auction of the wardship were to be made here

and in the market at Granville in Jun 1485. He enjoyed fiefs at Briqueville-sur-la-Mer held of the barony of Hambye (worth L310); Escageul (V Falaise, worth L100); Briqueville-la-Blouette (V Coutances, worth L127); Royelley (V Domfront worth L79); Maydrey (V Avranches worth L98).

Jean Petit

a) V Beaumont-le-Roger 1462-63: GR12609; B? In 1466 a homonym witnessed a contract of the Hobbes family, srs de Bouelles in V?: Rouen 23 Feb 1465/66.

b) Guillaume Petit was a very prominent lawyer, acting for members of the Montmorency, Brézé, Dreux-Esneval, Longchamps, Roncherolles, Estouteville (various cadet lines), Blosset, Antoine Crespin bishop of Laon, Charles d'Artois count of Eu, but in particular for the Harcourt-Lorraine: *Echiquier* 1453 p43, 316; 1454 p34, 50, 52, 63; 1455 p10, 64, 65, 68, 85; 1456 p81; 1462 p19, 40v°, 74, 84, 229v°; 1463 p37, 58, 66, 68, 254; 1464 p15, 194v°; 1466 p49; 1469 p28, 97.

Jean Pevrel, Prevel

a) Hda of the Mont-Saint-Michel garrison 1451.2-1461.3. He handed over cash sums in redemption of a 1405 debt on behalf of Jean d'Estouteville *chevalier* sr Bricquebec in 1458 in a transaction witnessed by other men in the Estouteville orbit, including Guillaume Auber priest, *trs* for Cardinal d'Estouteville and Guillaume le Coq V Hambye: Rouen 7 Jun 1458. Recipient of a letter from Louis d'Estouteville dated by Le Cacheux to Oct 1460: Le Cacheux 1935 pp5-6. Louis d'Estouteville orders him to meet Michel d'Estouteville and wife shortly at la Roche-Guyon in respect of business with their respective mothers. Pevrel was then to come to Louis at Hambye. Pevrel was one of the *pr's* of Michel d'Estouteville baron de Gacé and his wife Marie de la Rocheguyon to negotiate the exchange of rents and debts of her grandmother Perrette de la Rivière in December 1463: BN PO 1083 *d'Estouteville* 24901, n°193. 'Serviteur' of Michel d'Estouteville in 1465 ordering the *rec* of Berneval to make payments. It is clear from the *comptes* that alongside Hestray and Touzé he is the core of the d'Estouteville council in the Caux: ADSM 33 J 847, *Comptes d'Estouteville*. He was aged about 70 in 1472; this should not be taken as an exact figure, but he was therefore born in the first decade of the 15th century: DLN/11 p27. In 1456 he purchased a rent from Jean le Gris *écuyer* sr Montereul and Chauson: Rouen 17 Oct 1456. This transaction was witnessed by three other men from the Estouteville orbit, Jean de Hestray, Jean Macé. In 1463 he witnessed Guillaume du Châtel's sale of the fief of le Tuit to its lord Thomas de Saâne seigneur of Baudribosc: Rouen 16 Jun 1463. Robinet Pevrel was hda Mont-Saint-Michel garrison 1451.2 to 1460.2.

c) He was sr Bennecourt near Vernon, but also held property in the V Arques, and later generations of his family would acquire lands in the heart of the Estouteville zone in the Caux.

Guillaume Picart, le Picart, d.1484.

a) *Greffier civil* of the 1453-64 *Echiquiers*. *PrR* in B Rouen and at the *Cour des Aides* at Rouen in 1456; *controlleur* of the receipts of the confiscated duchy of Alençon in 1458; *secrétaire du roi* before the death of Charles VII; one of those deputed by the Norman estates of 1460 to negotiate with the Parisians over jurisdictional issues. Picart achieved a position of considerable prominence under Louis XI, and was already in favour in 1462, when he was granted a degraded and worthless *vivier et pecherie* at Andely (the

place of his birth) for services rendered to Louis XI and his father. Was this a reward for his activities over the *ferme*? He was *commissaire* at the Estates of Nov 1461: BN PO 2261 *Picart* 28475, n°22-23. He was *commissaire* for the Estates of Normandy 1463, and for the *rachat* of the Somme towns, *général de la justice des aides* by Sep 1463 and *général des finances* from Nov 1464, *commissaire* dispatched to Lyons early in the Public Weal. He refused the oath to Charles de France, and was continued in office by Louis XI after his recovery of Normandy. He was *cp* Abbeville 1477. Losing his *généralité* in 1479 he was compensated with the fruits of the *greniers* of Rouen and Pont-Audemer and the office of *B* Rouen. He became *cp-general* of a new levy of 4,000 *franc-archiers* in 1481. Suffered quasi-disgrace and was largely destituted on the accession of Charles VIII. There is a notice in *Sécrétaires* n°523. See also Dupont-Ferrier 1930, appendix III n°115; Prentout 1925 II, p98; BN Ms fr 23262 n°15.

b) Of Norman origin (Andelys), his half-brother Robert de Croismare had been archbishop of Rouen. Various brothers: Pierre (d.1468) was canon of Rouen; Jean (d.1472) was royal secretary, *greffier* of the *Echiquier* 1466, and *greffier* of the Norman Estates 1469, *élu* of Rouen 1470; Guillaume le jeune was *PrR* in *B* Rouen (*GR* 19074) and *élu* of Rouen. It is presumably him to whom the chapter made gifts on the occasion of his marriage to Jeanne de la Garde (daughter of Jacques de la Garde and Gillette de Baudrac) in 1471: Beaurepaire 1868 p21. Their daughter Anne took a substantial inheritance to Jean du Monchy sr Montcauvrel: BN PO 2069 *de Mouchy* 47060, n°75.

Jean Pillais, Puillois, Pallais *écuyer*

a) *Cr en cour laie* at Rouen: *Rouen* 29 Apr 1451. *LB commis* Rouen 1453. Lost the *sgtry hereditat* of Orbec to Charles VII's grantee Auber Amiot at the 1453-54 *Echiquiers: Appointements* 1453 p177; *Echiquier* 1453 p240; 1454 p207v°; *DLN/75* p267. Can be found witnessing accords in respect of Orbec suits, including one involving Pierre de Roncherolles: *Rouen* 30 Sep 1454. His significance arises in relation to the Rohan wardship. He was described in 1464 as 'aiant la garde advenue au Roy par le trespas de feu Loys de Rohan' and *pr* of Guillaume de Chantepie *commis V* Condé-sur-Noireau. His brother (see below) and Raoulin de Chantepie arbitrated a suit settled in 1466: *Echiquier* 1464 p164, 1466 p83. Given the connections of his brother Louis we may think him an agent of Montauban. He was dead by 1469 when his son Jean was defending his suits: *Echiquier* 1469 p110.

b) Eldest son of *demeurant* Nicolas de Pillais *chevalier*: Beaurepaire 1868 p152. The knight's ransom brokerage in the 1434 case of Robert de Hural *chevalier* can be approached in *Rouen* 21 Nov 1451. Jean was the brother of Louis de Pillais (*qv*). Two contracts in the Rouen *tabellionage* mention a Jean de Puillois *écuyer* sr Ableiges, and if this is not an error the brothers were co-seigneurs. Their sister was Jeanne, widow of Guillaume de Montaigu *chevalier*. She and Jean sold their rights in the hôtel de Montmirel in *V* Caudebec to Robert de Montmirel *clerc des comptes*. The manor had been acquired by their father and her husband from Montmirel's parents and brother during the occupation: *Rouen* 31 May 1451. His mother was alive in 1456 when she guaranteed his rent sales to Oudart le Riche: *Rouen* 1 Jul 1456. Jean and his wife Isabel des Hayes sold lands in the parish des Fontaines to an unnamed brother:

Rouen 22 Nov 1454. He had two sons, Jean and Guillaume, who in 1469 accorded a suit in respect of the fief des Hayes in V Orbec with Guillaume and Fouques de Bailleul (*qv*): *Echiquier* 1469 p265.

Jean Puillois bourgeois d'Alençon is known from *Echiquier* 1464 p213.

c) Sr Ableiges: *Rouen* 25 Nov, 15 May 1460. Bourgeois of Orbec in 1447, of Rouen by 1456, sr Bosc-Antrim in V Orbec: *Rouen* 24 Jun, 1 Jul 1456.

Louis de Pillais, Puillois *écuyer*

a) Can be shown involved in financial dealings with Colin Loisel of the Brézé garrison of the Palais de Rouen and Jean de Lorraine hda Robin Papillon: *Rouen* 8 Jun 1454, 8 Mar 1458/59. B Louviers for cardinal d'Estouteville 1463: *Rouen* 31 Dec 1463. Probably in Montauban's service when he witnessed the admiral's recovery of enfeoffements in his barony of Crepon which had been passed by *decret*: *Rouen* 20 Jul 1463. When homonym and presumed kinsman of the bishop of Saint-Brieuc, Jean Pregent *écuyer*, purchased an hôtel at Rouen, the contract was witnessed by Guillaume Prévôteau (*qv*) and Pillais: *Rouen* 21 Dec 1464. He was Montauban's PrR in Normandy *sur le fait des eaux et forêts* by 1464: *DLN/14* p171.

In the early 1460s he was obstructing the PrR's in the *bailliages* in the exercise of any jurisdiction over the forest, but appears to have lost this struggle at the 1466 *Echiquier*: *Echiquier* 1466 p21. This conjunction of offices is more evidence of co-operation between Estouteville and Montauban in the early 1460s, and in 1466 he was named alongside Raoulin de Chantepie as arbiter in a suit which had been before the *sénéchaussée*, so he may have been a cr: *Rouen* 12 Oct 1466. Although he was raising large sums by selling property, including the hôtel de la Coulpe, in the summer of 1465, he did not join the king on his return to Paris: *Rouen* 2, 3 Aug; 4 Sep 1465. In the summer of 1466 he was being ceded property and rents by parties including Pierre Braque sr Bosc-Guillaume and Yvon de Garencières ec sr Couldray and Villiers sur Rolle: *Rouen* 20, 26 Jun 1466. These cessions may be part of the fall-out of the previous year's struggles. Jean de Montenay as MEnqRefEF retained him as PrR EF in B Evreux at least: *DLN/16* p123. He was a neighbour of Robert Biote and Pierre Braque: *Rouen* 14 Apr 1467. He was still alive and operating on the Rouen finance markets in 1473: *Rouen* Apr 8 1472/73.

b) Second son of Nicole de Pillais *chevalier*. His wife was Eleanor de Dampont, sister of Brézé man Olivier de Dampont sr Saint-Etienne near Rouvray, from whom he can be shown purchasing rents: *Rouen* 6 May 1456, 15 Nov 1458, 11 Dec 1458.

c) Sr Buscoursel, Ableiges, Aubenoye, Saint-Germain: *DLN/34* p165; *Rouen* 8 Jun 1454, 31 Dec 1463. Resident at Rouen: *Rouen* 2 Sep 1458. Holding a fief in the *châtellenie* of Andelys, he defaulted on the muster of nobles in B Gisors 1470: *Caux* 1470 p324.

Jean du Plessis *écuyer*, d.1494.

a) V Bayeux 1461-94: *GR4487*. On the accession he requested this office and those of *élu* of Paris, the *garderie du petit scel* of Montpellier and the cpcy of Sommières in Languedoc: BN Ms fr 20495 p9. He was granted the office for 'grans et continuelz services ... fais par longtemps par longtemps tout alentour de nous comme autrement en plusieurs manieres et diverses manieres, fait chacun jour et esperons que

encores face ou temps avenir': BN PO 2302 *du Plessis en Normandie* 52048, n°18. B HH, *valet de chambre* of Louis XI provided Sep 1461, *maître d'hôtel du roi* by 1466 pensioned at L1,000: PO 2302 *du Plessis en Normandie* 52048, n°18-26; *chambellan* by 1490. Excused attendance as of the royal household at the 1462-63 *Echiquiers* (respectively p7, p8). *Idem* or a homonym, V Caen 1467: GR4523.

b) Common name. Notice and genealogy of a homonym in *Secrétaires* n°230, but seemingly a distinct individual imperfectly distinguished. Guillaume du Plessis *écuyer* was sr du Plessis, Mesnil-Rabout, Auberville in 1451 when he sold rents to Brunet de Longchamp sr Noville. He was also selling rents to prominent Rouen bourgeois of the Auber and Lamy families: *Rouen* 19 July 1451, 7 and 18 June 1454. His wife was Isabeau de Raisse: *Rouen* 23 July 1465, misplaced after 22 Sept. Charlotte dame du Plessis was the wife of Jean de Castillon *chevalier* sr Bonneul and Beaumont-le-Bois: *Rouen* 5 March 1451/52.

Alain de Plumaugat

a) *Maître d'hôtel* of the admiral, presumed Montauban, in whose service he can be shown: BN Ms fr 20429 p51. Cp Valognes in the early 1460s: GR7075; *Echiquier* 1464 p331.

B Cotentin 1465-69: GR7075. The grant was stated to be 'pour la grant confiance que nous avons de la personne de nostre bien ame Alain de Plumaugat escuier et de ses scens noblesse vaillance loyaulte preudhomme et bonne diligence': BN PO 2305 *de Plumaugat* 52102, n°3.

After his career in royal service petered out he made application to the king for reimbursement of expenses over the previous twenty years. He was with the Dauphin in Dauphiné and in Burgundian exile and conducted numerous missions ('donc y en avoient tant dangereux') for Louis in that period. He conducted the 7-week siege of Granville in Jan 1466, and complained of the 2,250 *écus* of his own money it had cost him for the artillery and to keep the local *francs archiers* in the field. He also negotiated the departure of the late admiral's men from the place after his death, again at considerable expense. He had been promised L800 pension but it was never paid: BN Ms fr 20428 p100.

b) His brother Amaury de Plumaugat was lt and GdS in the cpcy of Valognes. He led a consortium bidding for the *ferme* of forest rights in V Valognes, and coerced a rival consortium to withdraw its higher offers: GR7804; *Echiquier* 1466 p164. Letters of the LGV Valognes of the early 1460s in respect of a partial viscomital inquest reveal much about the exploitation of royal rights locally by Montauban's followers:

Et vous plaise savoir que en ceste anne est advenu que les forestz de boix et les Hayes et Buissons de ceste viconte de Vallognes sont sy habandonment chargees de peusson que pasnage y a este Jugie par ceulx qui sont subges a ce faire sy est vray que le jour et leure que lad pasnage devoit estre adiuge et les enchures estre receues et que on en faisoit le banissement sur le prix de vjC lt et trois enchure chacune de lx lt Ilz se comparurent en Jugement cest assavoir Pierre Picart substitü du Procureur du Roy en ceste viconte homme postulant en cour seculier et soy disant estre homme de guerre / Amaury de Plumaugat escuier lieutenant du Capitaine de Vallognes et homme d'armes soubz monsieur l'admiral / Gires le Cesne escuier pareillement homme de guerre sergent de la haie de Vallognes et garde des socaux des obligations de ladite viconte Et Perrin le Couvier et J Aouet (Arnet?) sergens ordinaires du roy en ladite viconte qui tout dun acort y mistrent une enchure a quoy ilz furent receux Jasoit ce que les Ordonnances deffendent et aussy que ilz nestoient de lescence veu les choses dessusdiz Ce non obstant led Picart usant en Jugement de grans parolles disant et parlant aux personnes de Guillaume Depins (Dixms) Robin le Prevost Guillaume le Cesne Robin Alips Jehan Cabart Jehan Planquier Jehan Pinel sur qui led Picart avoit mis ladite enchure qu'ilz les feroit bien quittez a lui et quil leur feroit dommage de plus de

ijC escus / eulx presens les parolles ainsy dites par led Picart / offrirent mettre une autre enchure de lx lt sur led Picart moy estant en Jugement Aquoy ilz furent Receux / dequoy ledit Picart et les aultres ses consors dessus nommes ont obtenu dolleance de laquelle pourres voer la coppie et par ce ceste areste tout le procedement du fait dudit pasnage et ont este Widees hors des mains du viconte que de tous temps a la congnoissance dudit pasnage les papiers et cedulles et par ce nen peuvent Joir lesdis Dixns et ses compaignons Ja soit ce quilz aient enchery de lx lt comme dit est plus que les Picart qui par l'autorite de lui et ses consors en veullent Joir et tenir la chose en tresgrande dissimulation et attendre le tout des assises qui est ou preiudice du Roy et desdis enchurissens qui ne peuvent faire leur prouffit de lad ferme et y veullent Renonchier ne fust la crainte quilz ont dud Picart et de ses consors car ilz sont simples gens de labour / sy vous plaise y bailler telle provision que au cas appartient et aussy que led Dixns et ses consors soient meu en la sauvegarde du roy Treshonnore et & Redoubtes sgrs commandes sur moy voz bons plaisirs pour les acomplir priant nostre sgr que soies tousiours en sa grace Escript a Vallognes ce xiiij Jour de novembre

Le vostre humble serviteur Jeh le Marchant lieut gnal de maistre olliv le roux vic de vallon (Jeran le Merchant LGV Valognes to c.1463)

Pierre Pomeret

a) V Harcourt for the count of Harcourt, 30 Oct 1450. His LG was Jean Goesnier: Baudot 1993 p120.

b) See Frondeville 1953 p536

Robert Portefais

a) LGB Caen 1464-65: GR4284.

b) Jean Portefais LGV Bayeux 1465, qualified *écuyer* and resident in Bayeux, when purchasing rents from Jean de Semilly *chevalier* baron d'Aunoy: *DLN/9* p408; *Caen* 22 Aug 1465, p120.

Bureau Postel

a) Hda GO Dunois 1456.4-1461.3. Resident of Dieppe when he alienated part of his maternal inheritance in 1454 and also when he purchased a rent from Pierre le Roux of Deauville-sur-Mer in 1458: *Rouen* 6 Feb 1454/55, 22 Oct 1458. It is possible that Bureau is a soubriquet for Jean.

b) Jean Postel *écuyer* figured in important contracts of the Boissay and the Crespin. He witnessed the *partage* drawn up in 1459 between Laurens de Boissay baron de Mainières and his younger brother Jean (alongside Georges Havart and others): *Rouen* 19 Jan 1458/59. He also witnessed the gift of rights in the Aunou inheritance by Jean seigneur de Mailloc *chevalier* to Jeanne Crespin in 1463: *Rouen* 15 May 1463. He is probably the *écuyer de cuisine du roi* who was LG of Louis de Bohenc dit de la Rochette *chevalier, maître d'Hôtel*, MEngRefEF in May 1458: *DLN/15* p359. Bureau's connection with this man is unknown, as is any link to the line of Norman lawyers originating from the Evreçin in this period, whose founder was Jean Postel (fl.1450), husband of Jeanne le Velu; there is a genealogy in Frondeville (*Conseillers* 1499-1594 p95). This man or his son was a lawyer at the *Echiquier* in 1454 and 1463. Jean II bourgeois d'Evreux (ennobled by francs fiefs 1470) was *avocat du roi* in the *bailliage* of Evreux in 1462 (Frondeville), LB Evreux in V Evreux in 1464 (GR12510). Frondeville identifies Jean II's wives as respectively Marie du Gerrier and Catherine Lespringuet, but a homonym was affianced to Louis Caval by 1462: *Rouen* 31 Jul 1462. One or other of these homonyms purchased rents from the lawyer Robert la Vache (in the presence of Jean de Villiers *écuyer*); from Roger de Longchamps *chevalier* seigneur d'Ermenonville; and from Louis du Plessis and Robert le Seneschal, *procureurs* of Blanche de Gamaches (*Rouen* 25 May, 7 Jun, 5 Oct 1464). In the last of these contracts he is qualified

seigneur du Mesnil. There was a lineage(s) with lower Norman interests. Jeanne Postel is mentioned as having enfeoffed Richard Aurray the succession of her father Thomas in the Avranchin in 1458: she subsequently sold the rent and all other rights in the properties to Etienne le Fillastre bourgeois of Avranches (*Rouen* 28 Apr 1461). Robert Postel *écuyer* seigneur de Brettes was *bailli* of Alençon in Aug-Sep 1455 (*DLN/13* p51).

Robert Postel

a) Ducal B Alençon 1455, 1457: *DLN/13* p51; B 'en son vivant' by 1459: *Echiquier* 1459 p2.

b) Bureau Postel *écuyer*, resident of Dieppe, was a Dunois hda: see appendix 1(b).

Jean Postel (*fl.* 1450) was an Evreçin lawyer, husband of Jeanne le Velu. His son and homonym (d.1478) became avR B Evreux 1462, LB in V Evreux 1464: *GR12510*. Either father or son had acted for Jean le Bouteiller *écuyer* and Jean de Bouquetot *écuyer* before the 1454 *Echiquier*: *Echiquier* 1454 p33, 53. He witnessed the *partage* between Laurens de Boissay and his brother Jean in 1459: *Rouen* 19 Jan 1458/59. It was probably the son who was *écuyer de cuisine* of Charles VII and LG in Normandy of Louis de la Rochette MEngRefEF, 1458: *DLN/15* p359. In 1463 he witnessed Jean de Mailloc's gift of the Aunou succession to Jeanne Crespin countess of Maulévrier, and became involved in financial transactions with Cauchois men in the Brézé circle in 1464: *Rouen* 15 May 1463, 25 May 1464, 7 June 1464, 5 Oct 1464. A homonym was fiancé of Louise de Caval in 1462: *Rouen* 31 July 1462. For a notice and genealogy, which does not include Robert, see Frondeville 1960 p95ff.

Jeanne Postel enfeoffed Richard Aurray with the Avranchin succession of her father Thomas in 1459: *Rouen* 28 April 1461.

c) The Evreçin branch mentioned by Frondeville were srs Minières and Grosbois in B Evreux. Jean is also qualified sr du Mesnil: *Rouen* 25 May 1464.

Richard Postis, d. between 1470 and 1476

a) V Beaumont-le-Roger 1451-56, 1458-61: *GR12604*, 12608. Still or again qualified V 1461, 1462 1463, 'nagueres' V in 1465: BN PO 2349 *Postis en Normandie* 52868 n°2, 3; *Rouen* 17 Nov 1463, 1 May 1465.

He is included on the list of those officers nominated by the Flocques: BN Ms fr 20498 p10 n°5. His pledges were being pursued for debts owed to the crown by *commissaires* of the Trs France in 1464-65 and one of them, Jacques de Bigars, lost his *sgtry du plat d'epée* in the V as a result. Several of Postis's properties had been passed by *decret*: *Rouen* 1 May 1465.

b) His wife was called Jeanne. He was the second son of Jean Postis bourgeois of Evreux. His elder brother Jean was dead some time before 1463, in which year Richard and his nephew Geoffroi settled their dispute over the *partage* between the brothers. A further settlement followed in 1465: *Rouen* 17 Nov 1463, 27 June 1465.

Jean and Thibault Poulain

a) Both Brézé GO hda's; Thibault went on to serve in the company of Jean Carbonnel. Jean Poulain had been rewarded for his military service during the Reduction by a grant of a sergeantry in the forest of Lucy, and it was

Jean Crespin's lt as *Maître Enquêteur des Eaux et Forêts* who installed him in May 1451. Jean Poulain married Jeanne daughter of Pierre Crespin Marquis de Mauny c.1454. Although his main interests were around Caen, by this match Jean acquired the seigneurie of le Mareschale in Perche, and rents on the Hôtel de Bellengues in Rouen; all these properties had been gifted or bequeathed to the Marquis by Jean, Antoine and Jeanne Crespin. Men associated with Brézé and Jeanne Crespin can be shown to have played a rôle in the dealing around the marriage. Jean le Prince witnessed cessions of property and acted as pr over rents. Jean Gouel was present at the handing over of part of the Marquis's cash *don du mariage*: *DLN/75* p125; *Rouen* 11 Jul 1454, 21 Feb 1454/55.

b) The Poulain had other connections to men in the Brézé circle. In 1456, he rented a manor in the Thimerais to Jean Bosseau, the Sénéchal's poursuivant: *Rouen* 24 Dec 1456. His kinsmen included the Caen lawyer Pierre Poulain, who witnessed the *partage* drawn up by the Houel brothers, and was involved in rent dealings with them and Jacques Poullain (co-seigneur of la Choletière with Jean Cholet, *qv*) and had links to Jean Carbonnel: *Rouen* 10, 12 Jun 1463. There was a Breton line of the same name: Anselme V p423.

Richard du Prael, Prel *écuyer*, d. before 1478.

a) V Avranches 1450-59, a Valois partisan provided to the office on the fall of the town in 1450, either by François I duke of Brittany or under the auspices of Louis d'Estouteville to whom the duke had provided the captaincy: *GR7342*; BN PO 1083 *d'Estouteville* 24901 n°154. Permitted, 'vu son age', to sell his office to Jacques Burdelot in 1459, but still acting as *élu* of Avranches in 1464, and *fl.* 1467: *GR7342*; *Monfaut* p411; Courteaux 1904 p10. He purchased a fief in the parish of Ravenoville from Robert de Chanteloup in 1452: Courteaux 1904 p8.

b) Du Praël's wife was Jeanne de Verdun. His parents were Jean du Prael dit Pimor *écuyer* (*fl.* 1454) and the widow of Guillaume Yon of Avranches: *Echiquier* 1454 p118v°, 1466 p182. Richard had a half-sister, Thomasse Yonne. Pimor's wife may be conjectured to be of the Chanteloup, given the property transactions between the lineages. Pimor was a native of the V Valognes who after his flight from Lancastrian Normandy took to corsairing out of La Rochelle. Ennobled for services 'tant sur mer que sur terre dans les guerres' in Dec 1432, he was of sufficient substance to furnish the shipping required for the voyage of Dauphine-to-be Margaret of Scotland in 1434. In the 1436 quittance for sums owed he was qualified *sergent d'armes du roi* and *maître de navire*: Courteaux 1904 p6; La Roncière II p256-58. Du Praël's had three sons who continued to rise socially, with one becoming baron de la Hogue. His three daughters were married into petty noble lineages in the southern Cotentin: Courteaux 1904 p11.

c) Sr Hièsville in V Valognes which fief Pimor had by purchase from Guillaume de Chanteloup. Sr Morsalines, for which in 1458 he rendered *aveu* to the count of Tancarville as held of his seigneurie of Beuzeville. He held a fief at Tanne by 1456 in right of which the couple claimed the hôtel du Manoir near Avranches: Courteaux 1904 p8-10. His mother had property interests in the city and *faubourgs* of Avranches, reclaimed by Pimor on the Reduction 'soubz umbre de ce que ledit Pimor disoit avoir tenu le parti du roy et cappable de ledict de Compiègne': in subsequent lawsuits Richard claimed that Pimor and his wife had fled Normandy 'alors de la descente des Anglois en Normendie', and had always cleaved to the party of the king. Du Praël was then resident at Jonchées: *Echiquier* 1466 p182.

Etienne de la Pree

a) Member of the Harfleur garrison 1452.1-1461.2. In the early 1450s he was disputing the offices of *garde du vivier* at Andely and the serjeantry of Gaillon with two other men, all claiming title *par don royal*. The LB Evreux disseised Jean de Cathelouse the *Héraut Maine* on the strength of letters impetrated by la Prée, but this was subsequently overturned by the *Echiquier*. *Echiquier* 1453 p225v°. He witnessed a sale of rent by Guillaume de Halencourt *écuyer* resident of Montivilliers to Vincent Massieu bourgeois of Rouen in 1463: *Rouen* 19 Jul 1463.

b) A 1455 remission for theft to one Jean de Lapree 'povre simple homme ignorant' appears to relate to men in Dunois circles, mentioning as it does Macé Pastis (Pates), (*qv*) and members of his family, and one Simon Cholet: Guérin IX 416-21. This implies that the la Prée and Pates families were Poitevin.

Jean Prigent, bishop of Saint-Brieuc

a) Canon, then bishop of Saint-Brieuc from 1450 to his death in 1471. Had been *président* of the Breton *Chambre des Comptes*, and possibly (though there is some confusion) bishop of Léon 1436-39: GC XIV 1099; XIV p980; BN Ms fr 11935 p7; Kerhervé 1987, p715-16. Jubert's accounts for the year beginning 1 Jan 1463 show him in receipt of pension and *état* of L1,200, retained by Louis as cr 'et donne tout pouvoir de presider en son conseil et aultres ses affaires ou pais et duchie de Normandie': BN Ms fr 23262 n°5. He therefore had a more extensive provincial role than as *Président* of the *Echiquier* 1462-64, and was indeed one of the *commissaires* in respect of the *ferme* in 1463: *Ordonnances* XV p627-28.

b) *Noble homme* Jean Prigent *licencié ès lois*, native of the see of Leon in Brittany, bought the Rouen hotel of the late Roger de Golon Normandy king of arms from his widow in 1464. The purchase was witnessed by Guillaume Prévôteau, Louis de Pillais (*qqv*), and men in the orbit of the duke of Orléans: *Rouen* 21 Dec 1464.

Jacques le Prevost

a) *Elu* Bayeux 1452: *Rouen* 19 July 1452. Lt *commis* V and B Rouen under the ducal regime, witnessing Louis de Cormeilles's property sales to raise money to arm himself in Dec 1465: *Rouen* 18 Nov, 20 Dec 1465. A contract in which he is mentioned may indicate doubts as to the long-term validity of actions involving the duke's officers: *Rouen* 18 Nov 1465.

b) His wife was Agnès, daughter of Guillaume Gombault (*qv*): *Rouen* 19 July 1452. A Nicolas le Prevost witnessed transaction involving Jean Crespin and Louis de Cormeilles, and was bequeathed a gift in Crespin's testament: *Rouen* 24 Mar 1452, 2 Jun 1454. He may have been kin to Robert le Prevost *écuyer* sr la Couronne, who had links to the Gouel and to Galiot de Genouillac (*qqv*): *Rouen* 3 Mar 1463/64, 4 Sep 1465, 23 Jan 1472/73.

Guillaume Prévôteau

a) Cr *lai* at the 1462-64 *Echiquiers*. AvR *en cour d'église* at Rouen by 1458 and so qualified when he witnessed transactions for canon Jean du Bec archdeacon of Caen, and in other 1460s transactions. He

can be found moving in the highest circles of the secular clergy in Rouen, having his own land purchases witnessed by Guillaume Menard (cardinal d'Estouteville's vicar-general). He served on the archbishop's own *Echiquier* in 1463: GR19162; Rouen 22 Jan 1461/62, 25 Nov 1466, 20 Jan 1466/67; Beaurepaire 1868 p20.

b) He and his wife Jeanne de Meautils were amongst those who claimed *marchie de bourse et lignage* against the purchase of the seignury of Yvetot by Guillaume Chenu: as such he was party to an agreement among the various claimants on a single candidate to pursue the claim, in which he was stated to be close kin of Pierre de Roncherolles: Rouen 4 Nov 1460. His brother Jean married Katherine daughter of Jacques le Coq and Jeanne de Cintray, his own mother-in-law: Rouen 23 Sep 1464. One Simon Prévôteau was hda in Torcy's company.

c) Sr Tourny and Pressagny in the Vexin, La Chere at l'Aigle in V Verneuil: Rouen 25 Nov 1466, 16 Aug 1462.

Jean le Prince

a) Hda Brézé. A former *demeurant* and Lancastrian servant, holding lands in B Rouen and the fief of la Buscaille in B Gisors in the 1440s: DLN/4 p165, delays of *aveu* etc, dated 20 Apr 1447; p181, Jul 30 1446. He was rec of the *quatrièmes* of Rouen and taking the musters of the earl of Shrewsbury in 1442; mention of the same in this or related receiverships at Rouen under Mar 1443, May 1444, Nov 1444, Jan 1448, Jun 1448, Jul 1449: BL Additional Charters 144-45, 590, 12216, 11079, 12377, 12661; Additional Mss 11509 p101v^o; BN PO 2604 de Saenne 57942, n°2.

If a reference dated 1450 to him as LGB Gisors is to be taken as meaning that he was holding this office in Valois service then he had already been taken into the service of B Jean de Brézé: this is not implausible, as he was qualified *maître d'hôtel* of Pierre de Brézé in Feb 1452: DLN/18 p37; Rouen 18 Feb 1451/52, where he is qualified *honorable et saige*: a lawyer. So speedy a reception in Valois service would indicate a role in the capitulation a place, most likely Rouen itself.

b) There are references to a 16th c. *robin* family of Andelys in Frondeville 1954 p190.

Guillaume de Prunelay *chevalier*, d.1461

a) Hda GO under Dunois 1461.1-1461.3. Became B Caux by the resignation of Jacques de Clermont *qv*. He was sr Herbault, of an old Orleanist family, and d.1461: GR5886; DLN/25 p107, /75 p233. He was cp Bonneval in the Chartain 1447-59... at L200 wages: GR6762.

b) Also Jean de Prunelay *chevalier*, hda of the GO under Dunois 1460.3-1461.2, and Guillaume de Prunelay; member of the Harfleur garrison 1460.1-1461.2, and Huguet de Prunelay; member of the Harfleur garrison 1461.2. Coleut de Prunelay had married Alice sister of Pierre Paviot *écuyer de l'écurie du roi*.

Jean du Quesnay

a) SnI of the archbishop of Rouen: Rouen 19 Apr 1450, 27 Feb 1458/59 (reference to Oct 1454), 29 May 1462. B Longueville for Dunois in the 1450s: *Echiquier* 1453 p13; Rouen 1 Mar 1457, 29 Sep 1458;

ADSM C 2806, *Comptes de Longueville* 1458 p81. LMengRefEF in B Rouen in the 1450s: *Echiquier* 1454 p12v°. Top Rouen lawyer acting in the 1450s for many other major Upper Norman magnates, including members of Dunois's company, such as Guillaume de Bigars: *Rouen* 15 Jun 1460, where he is qualified Bigars's *conseiller*. With other prominent Rouen lawyers like Laurens Guedon, Robert de Villeneuve and Roger Gouel he appeared on arbitral panels dealing with suits of major Upper Norman lords. He acted in this way in disputes between Laurens de Boissay and Jean Masquerel and later, the Longchamps; one involving Jean baron de Ferrières and the Thibouville family; the forced sale by Guillaume Frétel of the fief of Roys; and the settlement of the Sacquenville succession: *Rouen* 29 Jun, 30 Oct 1454, 8 Mar 1454/55, 24 Sep, 8 Nov 1458. He was also among those who brokered the Brézé-Floques *partage* of the Crespin inheritance: *Rouen* 8 Dec 1454. Involved in fund-raising during the Public Weal, but no clear connections to the *ligue*. He died (incumbent of the *sénéchaussée* of the archbishopric) before 1472 when his succession was divided between his five sons.

b) His wife was Mariette de la Cauchée. The couple had long been in wardship when they were put *hors de garde* in 1446 in respect of their lands in V Pont-Audemer: *DLN/4* p173. He can be found acting on behalf of members of his wife's family, the la Cauchée or Chaussée, and was later styled sr la Cauchée: *Rouen* 15 May 1451, 5 May 1462. In Jan 1452 the couple drew up a *partage* in respect of the properties of her maternal grandmother, Agnès du Valvendrin, with the wives of Jean de Longchamps and Gme Biheu *écuyers*. Simultaneously, he can be found selling rents (to raise funds to repair his wife's lands) to Guillaume de Bigars *écuyer* seigneur de la Londe: *Rouen* 5 Jan 1452/53. The *partage* of his succession is in *Rouen* 16 Oct 1472. His eldest son Robert became sr Ineauville. The other sons were Jean, Nicolas, Henri and Thomas. Uncertain connection to the significant Roumois *demeurant* noble family du Quesnay, headed in the generation after the Reduction by Jean du Quesnay dit le Baudrain *écuyer*. He was the son of Guillaume sr du Quesnay *chevalier* sr du Quesnay and la Haye, and Jeanne de la Heuze, aunt of Jean sr de la Heuze et de Bailleul, baron d'Escotignies.

c) Sr Ineauville, la Cauchée. Farmed the *fieffe-ferme* of Camp-Druault in the 1450s, obtaining from Eu a 75% reduction in the farm, it being 'en non valeur': *Neufchâtel* p218.

Guy Rabaschier, d. 1456

a) Lancastrian V Gisors 1442-48, V Caudebec 1449-56, PrR at Caudebec 1453: *GR13161*, 6091, 5989. Can be shown in financial dealings with Nicolas Basin: *Rouen* 3 April 1454/55.

b) His widow, Perrette Polin, mentioned *Rouen* 10 Oct 1462.

Pierre Raoullin

a) Dunois hda. He witnessed an accord of Jean bâtard de Graille *chevalier* in 1464: *Rouen* 9 Aug 1464; *Echiquier* 1456 p261. He was still alive and disposing of properties in the Caux in 1479: *Rouen* 4 Dec 1479.

b) His wife was Perrette daughter of Michel Daniel AvR B Gisors. He appointed with his father in law in respect of the obligations arising from the marriage in 1464, in the presence of PrR at Gisors Michel Bonte, Jean d'Auteny sr Bertrimont, Jacques de Bresmes and Nicolas Daniel: *Rouen* 31 Jul 1464.

c) He was styled *écuyer* sr Longpaen and la Géole, and was resident in Fery-Fontaine when he sold a portion of a fief in the parish du Bos to Jean du Bosc *écuyer* of Saint Laud de Rouen in 1454: *Rouen* 4 Jun 1454, 5 May 1461.

Guillaume Rat

a) Cr and rec général of Richard de Bretagne count of Etampes in 1446-47: BN PO 2437 *Rat* 54785, n°4-7. V Bayeux 1450-57: GR4485. Gonsalle d'Ars resigned the office in favour of Guillaume Rat in Oct 1450: *DLN/25* p91.

b) His sons may be Guillaume and Michel le Rat. Guillaume ceded property in the Bessin to Michel on the latter's marriage, but later obstructed the couple's possession, triggering a lawsuit which was before the *Echiquier* by 1466: *Echiquier* 1466 p125v°.

b) Bourgeois of Paris.

Pierre de Reffuge

a) *Général des aides*: Dupont-Ferrier 1932, n°256, and in Dupont-Ferrier 1930, appendix III n°118. Cr *lai* at the 1453-54 *Echiquiers*. Disputed the office of B Saint-Sauveur-Lendelin in 1465 with Robert Biote *qv*, he having support of the duchess, Biote the support of Montauban and the king: BN Ms fr 20428 p35.

b) A homonym, conjecturally his nephew, was cr *clerc au Parlement* from 1484, the first representative of a *parlementaire* dynasty. This homonym was the son of Jean sr Courcelles, B Asti for the duke of Orléans: Maugis 1913-16 III p122. The whole family had strong service connections to the house of Orléans.

Gilbert Richard, Rochart *écuyer*

a) V Vire 1461-65, provided after the accession: GR4585. B, HH; he was excused attendance as of the royal household at the 1463 *Echiquier*: *Echiquier* 1463 p8. He held the V to 1469 when he was qualified V, *écuyer de cuisine du roi*, and relieved of all penalties for his failure to give caution, obtain letters of non-residence or permission to exercise the office through lieutenant. The king granted this favour 'en consideration des bons et agreables services ... par longtemps a l'entour de sa personne et au fait de ses guerres tant paravant son advenement a la couronne que depuis et fait chacun jour': *DLN/10* p23. He died soon after: *Caen* 20 March 1470, p98. Richard had held the office in maintenance through the decade. Although Philippe de Clinchamp *chevalier* sr Maisières was received as V in 1467, Richard was still authorising payments and communicating with the king as V during the Breton war of 1467-68. In January 1468 he, Clinchamps and Guy d'Orange all 'commis a la garde du chateau et ville de Vire' notified the king of the fall of Caen and pleaded for reinforcement: Clinchamp was incumbent by 1470, qualified cr *et chambellan*: GR4586; *DLN/13* p455.

b) Gilbert's brother Guillaume was curé de Quesigny: *Caen* 20 March 1470, p98. Jean Richard was LGV Caen in June 1468, acting under the orders of Charles de France. He was made a pr of the ducal V in Aug: *DLN/17* p91; /18 p101. The following year Jean, qualified bourgeois of Caen and royal secretary,

was in the entourage of Main Goyon at Caen: *Caen* 16 Oct 1470, p196v°, 14 Jan 1470/71, p236; not named in *Sécrétaires*. Eustache Richart was *lieutenant et commis* of the Y Caen in 1488: GR4635.

c) Left a house in Caen to the confraternity of Notre dame de Langemaire in Vire: *Caen* 20 March 1470, p98.

Philippe de la Rose, Rosel, d.1479.

a) *Licencié en decret*, canon of Evreux and Rouen, archdeacon of the Petit Caux, one of the judges of Jeanne d'Arc, vicar-general in spiritual and temporal of cardinal de Luxembourg 1440-43, *official* 1439-43, nominated by the chapter vicar-general on the death of archbishop Raoul Roussel, Jan 1453. There ensued a violent confrontation in the cathedral precincts with the supporters of Richard Olivier de Longueil in which la Rose's party, drawn from the Rouen Draperie, were victorious. He surrendered his rights to Cardinal d'Estouteville on the latter's approach to Rouen, but rather too late to have secured benefit thereby. Treasurer of Nôtre Dame de Rouen when he sat on the *Echiquier* bench. Sat on Henry VI's *Echiquier* of 1448 qualified cr *maître des requêtes*: BL Additional Mss 11509 p42v°. See the notices on him and his brother in Beaurepaire 1868 I, p20ff, *Chronique de Rouen* p98-100.

b) Parisian origin. Pierre de La Rose, either one man or homonyms, had been ay at the *Cour du Trésor* in 1405-17, pr at the *Parlement*, *secrétaire* of Charles VI 1422, *greffier* at the *Parlement* 1420-33: see Dupont-Ferrier, *Avocats* p126 and *Personnel* appendix III n°448. Another Pierre de la Rose was brother of Philippe, Rouen canon, archdeacon of Rouen, nominated by the chapter vicar general after the death of Raoul Roussel 1453. No known connection with Jean de Rosel (*qv*).

Jean de Rosel, Rozel

a) Lt *commis* Cotentin 1457, LGB Cotentin 1459-61: GR7185, 7120. P, but later appears as PrR Cotentin in 1463: GR7234.

b) Jeanne de Rosel was married to Englishman Thomas Bourton and resident in the Caen parish of Saint Sauveur in 1450: *Caen* 1 July 1450, p128v°. Another possible kin connection is with the family settled in Nîmes and imbricated in Montmorency service in the later 16th century: see Greengrass 1986 p283 and sources there cited.

Michel le Rouilly

a) Granted sgtry Vernouvel in B Gisors November 1449, in the presence of Dunois and Brézé, for services rendered at the reduction of Vernon 'et des perils dangers et diligences qu'il a pour ce prins et soustenus'.

A contradictory grant of the sgtry was made the following month to Regnault de Bordeaux (*qv*): DLN/15 p329.

b) Pierre le Rouilly was a Rouen *épicier* with interests and connections in the Vexin: *Rouen* 1 April 1456/57.

c) Native and resident of Soussy near Vernon.

Guillaume de Rouville *chevalier*

- a) Guillaume was Brézé hda 1460.1-1461.3. He was knighted by 1463 and cp of the nobles of B Gisors: *Caen* 1470 p315, 321. By 1483 he was pensioned at L260: BN Clairambault 473 p199.
- b) Second son of Pierre Gougeul de Rouville (d. spring 1459) and Aldouce de Braquemont, brother of Jacques and Jean de Rouville. In 1463 he married Louise daughter of the late Jean Malet de Graille and sister of the Jean Malet who was captured on Brézé's Northumbrian expedition: *Rouen* 1 Dec 1463.
- c) Sr Léry, Roye, and Moulineaux (V Rouen).

Jacques de Rouville

- a) See chapter 2 for discussion of the dispute with his mother Aldouce de Braquemont over her dower. Jacques was a major Rouen financier, canon of Rouen though often styled *écuyer* sr Rouville in addition. The hugely important wardship of his late sister's son Pierre de Roncherolles passed to him on his father's death after being held for a time by Jean de Brézé B Gisors: Dewald 1987 p162-163; ADSM *Fonds d'Anquin* C5 'Etats' p13. A very large amount of evidence relating to his activities both in the Roncherolles lands and in wider financial dealings survives in the *tabellionage*. He became involved in the affairs of the Jencourt family having acquired Roncherolles rents drawn on their lands. Among the more important deals was one over the debts of the Bréauté which drew in a large group of Cauchois lords including Charles Desmarestz cp Dieppe, the des Essars, Longchamps and the Masquerel. Jean du Bec (*qv*) acted as his pr here, and they were associated in other transactions. Legier de Saint-Laurens (*qv*) can also be found acting as his agent: *Rouen* 24 Feb 1458/59, 5 Mar 1458/59, 4 Nov 1460, 20 Dec 1460, 31 Jul, 23 Oct 1461, 27 Oct, 7 Nov 1463, 30 Oct 1465. He was in Rouen in Dec 1465, then absent – perhaps in exile – in 1466, when all his notarial transactions were conducted by his brother Guillaume, agents and pr's. He was back in Rouen and acting as pr for Breton ducal courtier Michel de Parthenay in late 1467: *Rouen* 13 and 23 May, 12 Sep 1466, 16 Mar 1466/67, 10 Oct 1467.
- b) Eldest son of Pierre Gougeul de Rouville (d. spring 1459) and Aldouce de Braquemont. His cousins were the Bellintot lineage of the Braquemont rather than the main line. Pierre was one of the most territorially significant *demeurant* secular lord in Upper Normandy. He submitted to Charles VII only on the fall of Rouen, giving homage in Nov 1449 for Rouville, la Boche-aux-Loups, la Heuze (V Pont-de-l'Arche), Molineaux, Bobainville (V Caen). He also held Grainville-la-Tainturière in the Caux and extensive lands of the abbey of Fécamp, for which his eldest son did homage as his pr in 1456. Jean de Rouville was *vichancelier* of Brittany, involved in all the intrigues of the prelude to the *Bien Public*, and a signatory and named beneficiary of the Caen settlement between François II and Louis XI. His portion of the paternal inheritance (for which he gave homage in 1460) comprised lands in V Pont-de-l'Arche: *DLN*/34 p217; Ms fr 6972 p259; homages for the lands dated 1456, 1459/60, 1461 and 1484 survive in *Rouen* 19 Nov 1456, AN P 277 n°238; P 278 n°243; P 305 n°183, 281; P 715 n°39. The bulk of the inheritance passed to the eldest son Jacques.

Guillaume le Roux *écuyer*, b. c.1420.

- b) V Elbeuf (for the count of Harcourt) 1451, 1452, 1455, 1456, c.1466 (though this may be his son and homonym who succeeded him in the office): *DLN*/9 p340; *Rouen* 10 Jun 1456; Guilmeth 1842 p548. *Rec*

aides Elbœuf/Harcourt 1455: *DLN/9* p340. Homonym *commis rec aides* Pont-de-l'Arche May 1450 (for the residue of the May 1449 grant to the English), and still *commis rec* 1452, 1453, 1458: BN PO 2575 *le Roux en Normandie* 57379, n°9, 10; BL Additional Charters 7004. He and Colin le Roux were 'communes' in the receivership of Pont-de-l'Arche. With their *contrôleur* Pierre Bachelier (*qv*) they were condemned as having falsified the value of levies on wine in 1463 (they claimed it as £7,244 when it was in fact 7% higher, and they had permitted large quantities to pass untaxed). The proceeds of their fines were granted to Charles de Melun: BN Ms fr 23262 n°22.

Named by Frondeville *intendant et secrétaire* of Marie d'Harcourt and one of her executors. There remains a question mark over whether this close servant and associate of Marie d'Harcourt was identical with his homonym, Brézé *hda* 1451.3-1461.3. This is not implausible, given the background of the family in Louviers, where Brézé had maintained a garrison in the 1440s, which led to Guillaume's *LGV* in 1451.

Also suggestive is the *V*'s marriage to the daughter of another Brézé man, Guillaume du Fay.

Homonym, qualified *sr* Saint-Martin-de-la-Besache in *V* Bayeux, rewarded 1443 by the Lancastrian regime for taking wolves, and ? *idem. archier à cheval* in Lancastrian service 1443: *Bastard d'Estant* p88 n°807; BN PO 1365 *Gouel en Normandie* 30915, n°6. Other homonyms include i) a Brézé *hda* and former *fermier* of the Rouen *vicomté de l'eau: Echiquier* 1466 p45. ii) Husband of NN Sebire of Rouen and with Nicolas de Louvigny tutor to the Sebire: *Rouen* 21 May 1454.

b) Common name, but see the genealogy and notices in Frondeville 1953 p292ff. Guillaume married (c.1450) Alison du Fay daughter of Brézé *hda* Guillaume du Fay *LGB* Gisors and his wife Phillipotte Roussel (sister of archbishop Raoul Roussel). Their son, also Guillaume, became a *gr* of the *GS* and then the standing *Echiquier* in 1499. His father Denis (d. c.1455) was a bourgeois and noble of Louviers, *pr* at Louviers of the archbishop and holder of several fiefs in the vicinity. His mother was Guillemette du Buisson. He had four brothers: Pierre, canon and chancellor of Evreux; Nicolas canon of Evreux; and Jean (see following notice). His relation is uncertain with Nicolas le Roux of Louviers – possibly identical with Colin le Roux Guillaume's *commune* in the receivership – who was detained 'à l'occasion des divisions ... et par aucuns sinistres et mauvais rapports que l'on fait au Roy' at Pont-de-l'Arche and Chartres 'en grant captivite et misere de sa personne'. Exonerated, he was freed and committed to the governance of the king's artillery, for which he was rewarded in 1476 with the expectation of the *maîtrise* of Pont-de-l'Arche: *DLN/25* p141.

c) *Sr* Becdal, Moucel (Heudreville), Vironvay, la Fontaine near Tilly. Buried in the church of Saint Jean d'Elbeuf.

Jean le Roux *écuyer*

a) *Commis rec aides V's* Harcourt and Pont-de-l'Arche for the half year ending 31 Dec 1454: BN PO 1365 *Gouel en Normandie* 30915, n°7. *Echevin* of Rouen, he also served Marie d'Harcourt and alongside his brother witnessed her prolongation of the baron de Clères's rights of *raquittal* in the fief of Goupillières in 1468: *Rouen* Jun 7 1468. He is probably identical with his homonym committed by Jeanne Crespin to

receive *L889/2s6d* from the *grenétier* of Louviers in Sep 1465: BN PO 509 *Brézé* n°45, quittance dated Sep 26th 1465, the day before the treason.

He is probably, but not certainly, identical with his homonym, who 'fuit unus de principalibus ad villam Rotomagensis in obedientia domini nostri Regis redducendam': he was ennobled in Nov 1449 in consequence and pensioned at *L200* pending provision to an office of equivalent value. By 1453 he was styled *écuyer de cuisine du roi*: *DLN/1* p344; /15 p303; BN PO 2575 *le Roux en Normandie* 57379, n°8. He was kin to the du Bosc family, to Guérout Naguet and to Jean Gouel: *Rouen* 7 Mar 1454/55, 6 Jul 1456, 15 and 31 Oct 1456.

b) Brother of Guillaume le Roux (see forgoing notice).

c) Sr Epervier, *écuyer bourgeois de Rouen*.

Jean le Roux *écuyer*, d.1472

a) V Rouen 1462-68 and still so qualified when giving *vidimus* Jun 1472: GR19383; BN PO 1365 *Gouel en Normandie* 30915, n°12. B, HH, *échanson du roi*: BN PO 2575 *le Roux en Normandie* 57379, n°12; 1365 *Gouel en Normandie* 30915, n°12; *Rouen* 30 Aug 1466, 1 Aug 1467.

Homonyms included a du Bueil *hda* and a *demeurant*, 'dit Bienfaicte' *poursuivant d'armes* carrying letters all over Normandy for the Lancastrian *commissaires des finances*, 1445: BN PO 2575 *le Roux en Normandie* 57379, n°7.

b) His wife was Jeanne Marguerie, presumed daughter of Guillaume Marguerie *écuyer* sr Penneville and sister of Martin Marguerie (*qv*). His *valet*, to whom he made a number of gifts for 'bonne amour et services', was Guillaume le Mercier *écuyer*: *Rouen* 10 May 1464, 14 Jun 1464. His possessions link him to the le Roux de Touffreville, genealogical notes on whom may be found in Frondeville 1960 p622ff. Guillaume le Roux *écuyer* sr d'Ouille (*fl.*1470 X 1484) may have been a nephew. He was brother-in-law to Michel Basin (*qv*) whose remission he brokered in Jan 1466.

c) Sr Miromesnil near Arques. Resident in Rouen, where he had a hôtel. Possessions in the parishes of Bois-Normand and Saint-Germain-des-Essourts.

Olivier le Roux, d. after 1500.

a) V Valognes 1461-63: GR7443. B; 'confirmed' and thus presumed without other evidence by Dupont-Ferrier (and thence Lapeyre and Scheurer) to have been in post under Charles VII. Created royal secretary for services rendered in 1461, in 1466 he secured for Artur the survivance of this office, without effect. Olivier was *maître clerc des comptes* 1464-1500, employed by Louis XI on various diplomatic missions.

b) Passed office to his son Artur, provided Dec 1464, not known to have exercised it before the office was granted to admiral Louis de Bourbon in 1466: GR7443-45. Son of Guillaume le Roux sr Beauvoir and la Mullenière; husband of i) Marie Freuschart ii) Marguerite Paen (widow of François Bertin sr des Brosses); father of Artus sr Beauvoir and Jacques sr Saint-Ouen. See the notice and genealogy, *Secrétaires* n°423. Poitevin

c) On his Poitevin land-holding, see *Secrétaires*.

Pierre le Roy

a) V Beaumont-le-Roger 1456: GR12605. A homonym was Brézé hda 1451.3-1455.3, presumed identical with Pierrolet or Polet le Roy who witnessed a contract of Guillaume de Braquemont *écuyer* sr Compainville in 1462, and was in the assembly which saw Jacques de Brézé assume the *cpcy* of Rouen in 1465: *Rouen* 5 May 1462; AC Rouen A8, *Registre des délibérations* p237-37v°.

b) He may be associated with one of two lineages, Angevin and Norman/Vexin, both with loose Brézé affiliations. The Angevin Guillaume le Roy sr Chavigny and Baussonière married Jeanne de Dreux in 1398 and their sons divided their allegiance, Gauvain serving the Anglo-Burgundians in the 1430s, Guillaume III serving as *chambellan* of the count of Maine. Guillaume III had served in Maine's household alongside Brézé, and was the cousin of Robert de Dreux-Esneval, with whom he settled over the inheritance of Simon de Dreux in 1452, the *partage* being brokered by George Havart: Anselme VIII p250; BN Clairambault 816 p329. It is the relationship between the brothers which explains Dupont-Ferrier's dilemma relative to the *cpcy* of Montlhéry, Marcoussis and Chevreuse in GR17089.

The Vexin/Evreçin lineage were srs du Bois, la Rivière, sr Gangny in B Evreux in 1470: *Evreux* 1470 p26, 30. They can be shown linked to the Poissy. Jacquet le Roy *écuyer* sr de Houville witnessed numerous debt settlements and property sales: *Rouen* 27 Jun 1458, 8 Nov 1460, 4 Jan 1460/61, 30 Mar 1461/62, 3 Aug 1463, 1 Aug 1466. In addition Colin le Roy witnessed a property sale by Jean Poullain sr de la Choletière and Jeanne Crespin la Marquise de Mauny in 1456: *Rouen* 14 Sep 1456. If the Brézé hda was a member of this lineage, this would strengthen the hypothesis that he was identical with the V Beaumont-le-Roger.

Charles VII granted Jean le Roy the office of *rec* V Verneuil (worth L40 p.a. in wages) in 1460 in favour of services rendered to 'aucuns ses principaux officiers': DLN/25 p107; GR13203. He was a royal secretary (by 1445), *trs* of Carcassonne and Béziers 1461-65, *commissaire* in respect of the *rachat* in Limousin 1463 and in Normandy 1467, who m. Isabeau Burdelot, was disgraced for his mismanagement of royal fiscal office after 1473 and d.1479: *Secrétaires* n°426. His homonym sr de Houville can be shown in dealings with Flocquet man Jehannequin de Gaillardbos and he is probably identical with the 'ami' of the family of minor Pierre de Roncherolles in an accord of 1460: *Rouen* 4 Nov 1460, 4 Jan 1460/61. Colin le Roy, who witnessed a sale of property recently acquired from Remon Manessier *greffier* of the *généraux de justice* at Rouen in 1456, may be linked to this man: *Rouen* 14 Sep 1456. Jean's son and namesake was V Avranches 1488-98: GR7347. Other men with the same (admittedly common) patronym can be shown in Norman office: Guillaume was Lancastrian *rec aides* in V Caen 1444, Robert was LB Gisors 1473, André was confirmed as *rec* Mortain on the accession of Louis XII and Jacques *écuyer* was LPI Evreux in the V Orbec 1501: BL Additional Charters 3987; GR13052, 12513; *Secrétaires* n°424-5. The last-named of these men belonged to the Vexin lineage. Thomas le Roy was a bourgeois and merchant of Rouen in 1454: *Rouen* 20 May 1454.

a) The father, Saâne senior, was an important Lancastrian knight who had distinguished himself at Verneuil and served in various military and administrative capacities in and around Rouen. He oversaw the artillery and works for the recovery of the Grosse Tour of Rouen after it was seized by Ricarville's pro-Valois conspirators in 1430. He was *cr du roi* at a pension of L200 by 1434, and one of the *commissaires* holding the Estates at Pont-de-l'Arche in Oct 1439. He was 'conseiller en la court du conseil a Rouen' in 1444. He was one of the emissaries of Rouen to Charles VII prior to the reduction of the city, and was rewarded by Charles VII: Beaucourt 1886 V, p15; BN PO 2604 *de Saenne* 57942, n°2; PO 2599 *de Saane* 57815, n°4-19; DLN/4 p295. Thereafter he was pensioned as *cr du roi* and if, as appears likely, this implies position on the *Grand Conseil* at Rouen this would be a remarkable instance of continuity from the Lancastrian to the Valois regimes in the province. He was stated to be present in the *auditoire* of the court when Brézé's lt Nicolas le Normant interrogated Marie l'Empereur about the circumstances of her marriage in 1451 (see under Malortie). Both he and his son were present in Nov 1452 at the ratification before the tabellions of Rouen of an arbitral sentence rendered by Brézé in respect of a dispute between the Argouges and Clamorgan: BN PO 2599 *de Saane* 57815, n°16; *Rouen* 27 Aug 1456; DLN/9 p318; BN PO 91 *Argouges* 1892, n°179.

Saâne senior was among those who witnessed one of the agreements between Brézé and Floques over the *partage* of the Crespin inheritance, which puts him in an inner circle of Brézé's noble associates. Others of this group were Pierre le Bouteiller, Jean le Prince, and Olivier de Dampierre. Saâne may have been closer than some of these others, for after Brézé's death he witnessed the estimation of Brézé's annual revenue for the purposes of Jeanne Crespin's dower alongside Jean Hebert and Jean Gouel. He also witnessed the modification of the terms of this agreement after the fall of Rouen, unusually being explicitly described as a witness 'au passément' of Brézé's son, Jacques, alongside Jean Gouel: *Rouen* 8 Dec 1454, 19 Aug 1465, 31 Jan 1465/66. He had therefore returned to the service of Jacques de Brézé, although in the autumn of 1465 the apanage regime had paid him for his efforts to dislodge Bourbon troops who were ravaging the countryside around Evreux: Stein 1919 P.J. 24.

Saâne junior was GO hda of Brézé. In May 1452, Brézé brokered the marriage of Regnault de Dresnay's daughter Marguerite to this man, who was son and heir of Jean de Saâne *chevalier, conseiller et chambellan du roi*. Brézé had Dresnay's procuration to make a match with Saâne 'ou autre noble et honorable personne'. Dresnay was also a knight and royal counsellor, B Sens, *Gouverneur* d'Asti, sr Plessis and Martineau. Brézé as *pr* promised payment of L1500 at the wedding, L500 for *meubles* to Saâne junior, the rest to be disposed by the counsel of Brézé in acquisition of rents for the bride. Brézé and Jeanne Crespin committed themselves to the expense of the *noces*. Another of Dresnay's *pr*'s, Louis Robart, promised Marguerit L100 of rent drawn on her father's lands and L500 at Saâne's *plaisir*, payable within four years. The terms of her dower were unusual: she was to get it *before* the deaths of father and son, the custom notwithstanding: a substantial concession from the Saâne. The witnesses were Jean de Longchamps le jeune *chevalier* sr Noville, Robert de Dreux vidame d'Esneval, Guillaume de Dampierre, Roger Gouel: *Rouen* 3 May 1452 (below, 10 May, the Saâne renounce any right of *partage* in the Dresnay inheritance).

A number of contracts show the family in financial difficulties. Among his creditors named in *decret* proceedings on property in St-Sulpice-de-la-Pierre in V Rouen in Aug 1454 were Robin de Villeneuve, former *routier* cp Hector de Flavy and the Rouen Chapter. The fief in question was then in the hands of Henry Charpentier as guardian of Antoine de Craon sr Lorrey for default of feudal obligations. The debts in question dated from the 1410s: *Rouen* 22 Aug 1454. Among other figures in the Rouen financial with whom Saâne dealt were Robin le Cornu. He had longstanding financial ties dating from before the Reduction to former Lancastrian fiscal officer Jean de la Perreuse.: *Rouen* 5 Oct 1451, 20 Feb 1454/55, 27 Aug 1456, 24 Jan 1463/64

b) The Saâne were in the front rank of the Cauchois *demeurant* nobility. This can be seen in the many contracts involving such men they witnessed, probably also a reflection of position in Brézé's Rouen establishment. Alongside Jean Masquerel *chevalier* sr Hermanville, Jean dit Brunet de Longchamp *chevalier* and Jacques de Poissy *écuyer* he witnessed the 1452 marriage contract of Roger de Criquetot *écuyer* and Marguerite sister of Claudin sr d'Anfreville *écuyer*: *Rouen* 9 Jan 1451/52.

There was a cadet branch of the family, represented in this generation by Jean's cousin Thomas de Saâne *écuyer* sr Baudribosc, who had not remained loyal to the Lancastrians, but had defected in the late 1430s. His lands were granted to a domestic servant of Richard earl of Warwick in 1438: *DLN/4* p353. Thomas's traceable connections were largely with the Cauchois petty nobility. Among those with whom he can be found associating were the le Bouteiller, Menard and Fontaines of the county of Eu, la Perreuse and the le Gouppil family and Jean Masquerel *chevalier*: *Rouen* 3 Jan 1451/52, 7 Apr 1456, 4 Nov 1460, 7 May 1465. His wife was Leanor Buhurel. The couple fell into conflict with Georges de Clères in the early 1460s, as the latter pursued them for debts of her sister and brother-in-law Marguerite Buhurel and Robert de Hellande *chevalier*. This suit is probably a hold over from an accord between Hellande's heirs and Clères, for Roger de Hellande *chevalier* negotiated an accord of the issue with Saâne. The Clères/Hellande were successful in compelling Saâne to accept some of these obligations in consequence of his wife's inheritance via her sister of Robert's *meubles*. Roger de Hellande witnesses other contracts of Saâne's in the early 1460s: *Rouen* 11 Jun 1462; 29 Apr 1464. By the early 1460s he was consolidating his holdings by acquisition, perhaps a specific example of how the gathering pace of recovery in the Caux was directing the activities of lords. In 1463 Jean Pevrel *écuyer* (*qv*) witnessed his acquisition of the fief du Tuit from his vassal Brézé archer Guillaume du Chatel *écuyer*. In the same period he was buying up rents from du Chatel and from Rouennais lord Robert Depardieu *chevalier* sr Bondeville. He also recovered parts of the inheritance of the late Mathieu de Saâne, and allowed rents belonging to his wife to be redeemed by the cession of the Masquerel fief of Ermenonville (south of St-Valery-en-Caux): *Rouen* 16 Jun 1463, 23 Jun 1464, 9 Dec 1465, 29 Apr 1464

c) Sr Saâne, Wygnemare, and many other minor fiefs in the central Caux. Among the deals which show the family in financial difficulties is Saâne's 1451 sale of the fief of Fresquiennes in the parishes of Fresquiennes, Barentin and Malaunoy for £420 cash and the quittance by former Rouen financier Jean de la Perreuse of £80 rent and arrears dating from 1448: *Rouen* 5 Oct 1451.

Jean de Saint-Denis

a) LGB Alençon 1459: *Echiquier* 1459 p17. *Maître des comptes* of the duke of Alençon 1470: *DLN/17* p107.

Jean de Saint-Fromont *écuyer*.

a) *Elu* Bayeux 1441: BL Additional Charters 3932. Representative of the nobles of the V Bayeux at the Lancastrian provincial Estates, 1449: BL Additional Mss 11509 p62v^o-66. *Commis* LB Caen holding the assises of Bayeux 1451: BL Additional Charters 6992. LGB Caen 1460-61: *GR4282*.

Legier de Saint-Laurent, Saint-Laurens *écuyer*.

a) V Rouen 1455: *GR19381*. In fact he exercised the accounting functions of the V, and as such was usually qualified rec 1455-65, and even up to 1468: *DLN/24* p115; *GR14972*. His lt was Nicolas Baudry. He was no longer qualified rec in 1466, however, when he witnessed the accord between Guillaume Gombault and the heirs of his *greffier* Amaury du Hamel in respect of sums owed on Gombault's viscomital *recette*. This settlement, very detailed on the process of rendering viscomital accounts and the spread of liabilities amongst officers, shows that the *Chambre des Comptes* laid ultimate responsibility for the viscomital *recette* upon Gombault rather than Saint-Laurens: *Rouen* 11 Oct 1466. This should be read in conjunction with an accord in respect of the estate of the late *trésorier de France* Jean Hardouin: it shows royal officers including Hardouin and Saint-Laurent trading funds of their *recettes* with each other and with Rouen financiers: *Rouen* 4 Mar 1466/67, misplaced under 5 Mar. Also relevant is Nicolas Baudry's receipt Journal, 1466, of which Dom Le Noir took scant notes: *DLN/14* p97ff.

Saint-Laurent was *commis* to receive the sums taxed in the 1459 and 1462 *Echiquiers*: *ADSM Fonds d'Anquin*, C5 'Etats' n°26 and C II, unnumbered piece. He witnessed and perhaps brokered an accord between Jean de Brisemur *valet de chambre du roi* and Jean le Sec (*qv*) in Jan 1466: *DLN/25* p125. He acted as agent for Rouen canon Jacques de Rouville in rent transactions: *Rouen* 23 May 1466.

b) He was the son-in-law of Guillaume Gombault: *DLN/24* p115. Jean de Saint-Laurent *écuyer* was dead by 1465 when his widow Guillemette de Houdetot and their son Robin settled debts with her family: *Rouen* 18 Aug 1465.

c) Legier was resident in Rouen and possessed his own hôtel: *Rouen* 4 Mar 1466/67, misplaced under 5 Mar.

Jean de Saint Maard dit Blosseville

a) Torcy hda 1457.2-1461.3. He was raising large sums on the Rouen rent markets from members of the Drosay, Roussel, Viton and Mustel families in Mar 1466. He can be shown in a more extended relationship with the last two families: *Rouen* 18, 29 Mar 1465/66, 26 Aug 1458 (showing the relationship with the Mustel going back to the 1430s), 14 Mar 1458/59. These may be connected with his activities during the *Bien Public*. He was assigned *L207* 'pour le despens de certains gens de guerre' and *L45* 'pour la reparacion de Caudbec' on the *recette* of the year ending Sep 1465, but remained long unpaid: these sums were also assigned elsewhere in the

recette of 1466: *LMIQ* p469. BN Ms fr 20498 p39 indicates that payments in the same sums were to recompense him for advances he made to his *gens d'armes* laying seige to Arques in the king's name during the *revanche* of 1465-66. This was probably in his capacity as *cp* of the nobles of the *ban* of Caudebec, in which office he was by 1472. An inquest on his majority dated Jan 1472 has him born at Arques in 1436. His godfather was the English knight Sir John Montgomery and his baptism by Guillaume du Bosc-Garin hospitaller and chaplain of Nôtre-Dame d'Arques was attended by 'belle et honnorable compaignie de gens de bien at grant autorite'. His father died in 1449 and the wardship was adjudged to Georges du Bosc-Huillin *écuyer*, but after the Reduction it was granted *gratis* to Torcy since the revenues of the lands were inadequate for the boy's upkeep. He was raised in Torcy's household with Robinet le Sénéchal and they both entered his company. The inquest is detailed and fascinating on his efforts and vast expenditure on the reconstruction of his wasted inheritance in the outer Caux. He was stated to be of high local reputation, *cp* Caudebec and *commissaire de logis des gens d'armes*: *DLN*/11 p27, /75 p117; see also /10 p281. He was *MEF* in *B* Rouen by 1474: BL Additional Charters 4495-96.

b) His parents were the *demeurant* knight Pierre de Saint-Maard and Blanche de Saint-Pierre *sénéchalle* hereditalle d'Eu. To his death in 1449 Pierre was in receipt of a *L*600 pension; its size was explicated in terms of the devastation of his estates and his 'bonne loyauté'. He was granted an additional *L*200 to keep Christmas in 1448: BL Additional Charters 11509 p41. His cousin was Jean Martel sr Basqueville. The family may have been related to the aux-Coulombs family in whose hôtel at Arques he was born. Nicolas II aux-Coulombs sr la Jonquerie, resident of Arques and *B* Eu was present in Rouen in the same periods as Saint-Maard, eg. Aug 1465.

c) Vicomte hereditail de Blosseville, sr Auramesnil, Saxetot-le-Mauconduit

Nicolas le Sage

a) Made *maître de la monnoie* at Saint-Lô by François I in 1449-50: *Ordonnances* XIV p256, from AN JJ 185 n°296. *LB* Cotentin: *GR*7162. He witnessed an accord between Guillaume de Briqueville *chevalier* sr Lanne and the abbey of Sainte-Trinité-de-Lessay in 1462: *Rouen* 20 May 1462.

b) A common name, but the lawyer Guillaume le Sage, who acted as for various Cotentin nobles (including Guillaume Lenfant captain of Regneville, and members of the Carbonnel and Briqueville families), may have been a kinsman. For Guillaume le Sage's clients see *Echiquier* 1453 p170, 208; 1454 p95, 122, 181; 1463 p112v°; 1464 p182, 247; 1466 p91, 136. One Jean le Sage was *Rec aides* Gisors, 1456: *Rouen* 18 Nov 1456.

Perret, Pierre, Perot de Sallenove l'ainé and le jeune

a) *L'ainé*, Flocquet *hda* in the garrison of Honfleur 1451.3-1460.4. He was the subject of one of Monstrelet's more picaresque stories, captured at Beauvais during a game of tennis with La Hire in 1437. He paid a ransom of 1,000 *écus*: *Monstrelet* V p298. Consistently named first in the Honfleur musters and explicitly qualified *ll* in 1453: see also Plaisse 1984 p172. He was one of those organising the ships for Brézé's English expedition at Caudebec, Dieppe, Fécamp, Harfleur and other Norman ports in Nov 1462: BN Ms fr 26088 n°117.

His ?son Pierre le jeune was also *hda* in the Honfleur garrison 1453.2-1461.3, and was *grenetier* of Honfleur by 1479: Bréard/Barrey 1906 p209. He was a minor *cp* of *petits payes* in 1472-73: BN Ms fr 20498 p108v°.

b) Bréard believed that they arrived with Flocquet after the Reduction and established themselves at Honfleur: Thibaut de Sallenove was in garrison in the 1490s and his niece Barbe brought the fief of Blossville to her husband Jean de Nollent in 1519: Bréard/Barrey 1906 p209.

c) Sr du Val.

Jean Salles, de Saalles

a) V Caudebec 1456-61: GR6092, Caen 25 Jan 1457. P, but subsequently rec aides in V Caen, replaced after the Breton entry 1467-68: DLN/24 p125.

Jean le Sauvage écuyer

a) *Pannétier* of the Dauphin in 1435 when he was provided to the office of Vd Lyons. Charles VII initially granted the same office to Pierre de Rivandes, but then restored le Sauvage in Nov 1449. Rivandes resigned his rights and le Sauvage can be shown incumbent 1450-1451, waged at 3s.1. per year and L5 for robes, and holding the Vd Gravigny in 1453: DLN/14 p83; /15 p321, 339; /18 p39; *Echiquier* 1453 p13.

Jean le Scellier, Sellier

a) Cr au Parlement by 1447, *commissaire adjoint* at the *Cour du Trésor* in 1450, cr *clerc* at the 1454 *Echiquier* (qualified archdeacon of Brie), elected *président des enquêtes* 1455, confirmed by Louis XI, resigned 1481: Maugis 1913-16 III p81, 91, 99; Dupont-Ferrier, *Personnel* appendix II n°106.

b) Pierre Seellier, Scellier resigned the office of V Orbec to Jean Fournier in 1449: GR12707. Michel Scelle had been Lancastrian LPB Cotentin at Saint-Sauveur-Lendelin 1446, and became Jean de Montauban's snl of Marigny by 1461: GR7220; Fierville 1875 p81ff.

Jean le Sec

a) Hda under Jean Carbonnel sr Sourdeval. He was granted the wasted mills and fisheries of Val-du-Rueil in V Pont-de-l'Arche by Charles VII in 1446. The grant was made for his 'bons et agreables services ... ou fait de nos guerres esquelles des son jeune aage et depuis qu'il a peu porter harnois il s'est bien et honorablement entretenu et emploie a lencontre de nos anciens ennemis et adversaires les angloises pais et frontieres de Normendie sans avoir varie ne tenu autre parti que le notre, lequel pais avecques ses biens et chevance quil avoit en icelui en bonne et grande valeur selon son estat il a delaissez et abandonnez ... et que en exposant son corps a plusieurs grans perils et dangiers en l'exercise de guerre il a mainte fols este prisonnier es mains de nosdis anciens ennemis les anglois lesquels en nostre service ont occis esdis frontieres trois de ses freres germains et plusieurs autres ses parens et amis, esquelles prisons nosdis ennemis l'ont tres durement traictie de sa personne et mis a grans et excessives rancons, pour faire le paiement desquelles il a este et encores est destruit et desert et tellement et tellement que il est en voie de jamais ne se pouvoir ressourdre sans avoir de nous aucun secours'. During the truces he came to terms with the English *fermier* whereby he enjoyed half the profits of the *ferme*. The witnesses to a 1449 vicomital inquest into the value of the *fieffe-ferme* were also asked whether le Sec had abandoned lands to follow

Charles VII; they testified that they knew of him only since 1440 when Louviers fell to the France, but that since then 'ils l'ont tousjours vu de bon estat et gouvernement et se comportant comme gentilhomme doit faire'; one witness said only that he was of *bonne maison* and had *bons heritages* which had become worthless 'durant les guerres': *DLN/9* p314; /24 p101. He held the *ferme* until it was confiscated by Louis XI on the collapse of the apanage, he having 'delaissee son service sans congie et s'est arme a l'encontre de luy en la compaignie d'aucuns ses adversaires'.

A homonym was sr Gaillarbos, Suhartbos, LG of Guillaume de Casenove dit Coulomp *visamiral* of Normandy and MEF Normandy and Picardy 1464, 1465, 1468, 1469: *ADSM 6E 13 Notes de Beaurepaire*, p16; *DLN/25* p119; *BN PO 2575 le Roux en Normandie 57379*, n°12; *Echiquier 1469* p99. This man was not certainly distinct from the deprived sr Val-du-Rueil, for the latter remained in Normandy, fought the confiscation, and reached agreement in Jan 1466 with the new grantee, royal *valet de chambre* Jean de Brisemur dit de Paris. Louis XI was still trying to get the *Chambre des Comptes* to put Brisemur in unqualified possession of the grant in 1471: *DLN/25* p125, /24 p163. If the identification of Brisemur with le Sec's former comrade under Carbonnel, Jean de Paris, this material sheds interesting light on divisions within Brézé/Carbonnel circles during the *Bien Public*.

b) Gaillarbos was related through his mother to the le Coq family. His cousin Katherine le Coq had married Jean, brother of Guillaume Prévôteau (*qv*). Prévôteau and le Sec had numerous dealings in the 1450s and 1460s as pledges of rents, as witnesses in accords and in property transactions involving Prévôteau and Vexin and Rouennais nobles: *Rouen* 7 May 1462, 16 Aug 1462, 23 Sep 1464 (misplaced after 30 Sep), 18 Oct 1465, 11 Sep, 25 Nov 1466.

Le Sec married his daughter Guillemette to Guillaume de Casenove (*qv*).

After the Reduction Robert le Sec sr Cressonière settled with the heirs of Henri de Rouil over the latter's fief of Bellou in V Orbec. Rouil had ceded the fief to le Sec during the occupation because of the mortality in the *pays* and to evade its forfeiture, the heirs being then in the French obedience. The sale was fictive, since le Sec paid nothing of a promised cash price but Rouil had declared himself content by the letters of sale. Rouil had secured annulment of various rents drawn on the fief which le Sec had acquired, and a promise to allow the heirs to racquit the fief. After 1449 Gervaise Fourmentin and Cardin Michel approached le Sec for restoration of the fief in the right of their wives, but refused to acknowledge any obligation to pay the rents drawn on the lands or to compensate le Sec for the dower rights of Rouil's widow which he had also acquired. A lawsuit at the assises of Orbec and before the GS was settled by appointment (largely favourable to the claimants) brokered by kin and friends in 1452: *Rouen* 20 Apr 1451/52.

c) Sr Gaillardbos, Suhartbos?

Robert Seran, Feron, Serry

a) *Controlleur* of the English garrison of Falaise 1446, attended the Estates of 1448: *BL Additional Charters* 12299, 1514. After the Reduction was LV at Falaise from 1457 to 1488, rec in 1471 and sn of Falaise for the duke of Orléans in 1478: *GR*4312, 4642 and 4653; *Mancel I* p170.

b) Pierre Seran, Feron, pr *général* of Estouteville in 1461-62; pr of Valmont in 1461-62 and of Berneval in 1465: ADSM 33 J 790, 846 & 847, *Comptes d'Estouteville*. Jean and Robin Feron were hda's of Brézé.

c) Falaise notable.

Guillaume or Guillot de Setausson, Steusson

a) Flocquet GO hda 1451.3-1452.3. Is this an English renegade? One Guillaume Stawton, natif du pays d'Angleterre, had been granted lands to the value of L300 in 1429 from the inheritances of Jean de la Rue, Guillaume de Liée, Guillaume Amiot and their wives, rebels. These lands were in V Orbec, and he had still not entered them in 1444, having had *souffrance* at each default up to then: Frondeville 1936 p243.

Jean Sifflet, Chifflet

a) Cp (or *châtelain*) and Vd Nonancourt 1460-61, 1470: *DLN/14* p359; *GR12884*.

Laurent Surreau, canon of Rouen.

a) Laurens, like his brother Jean was a significant presence on the Rouen rent market. On his financial dealings with the Dreux-Esneval and the Jencourt, *Rouen* 28 Feb and 1 Mar 1453/1454, 15 Jan 1456, 31 May and 13 Aug 1456. He was similarly involved with other noble lineages, including the Elbœuf and the Drosay: *Rouen* 9 Feb 1458/9, 6 Jun 1462. Laurens appears alongside the Rouen *changeur* and prominent financier Jean de la Perreuse witnessing the family compact already mentioned.

b) He had some *parlementaire* antecedents; a homonym had been PrR at the *Parlement* in the 1390s and av at the *Cour du Trésor* in 1405. One Nicolas Surreau had been cr lai in the Burgundian *Parlement* from 1418 to his death in 1428. He had been avR at Sens in the 1370s, lt criminel at the Châtelet 1418-19 and B Chartres 1421-28: Maugis 1913-16 III p67, 329; Dupont-Ferrier, *Personnel* appendix III n°482; *Avocats* p133.

The head of the family in this generation was Jean Surreau *écuyer* and bourgeois of Rouen, whose land and rent deals occur in profusion in the *tabellionage*. The fief Malaunoy outside Rouen which he acquired by *decret* in 1453 was then valued at L150 rent. He had associations with Brézé men and was named as one of the pr's for the acquisition of rents in the marriage settlement between Jeanne daughter of Pierre Crespin Marquis de Mauny and Brézé hda Jean Poullain sr la Choletière: *Rouen* 11 Jul 1454; *DLN/15* p281, 283, 285. The major Rouen financier Oudart le Riche was his brother-in-law: *Rouen* 6 Aug 1463.

Guillaume le Tavernier *écuyer*

a) Vd Rouvray 1453-54. He was excused attendance at the 1454 *Echiquier* as being on service in the royall household in which he was *garde de huche*: *DLN/15* p285, 295; *Echiquier* 1454 p16. III

Guillaume le Tellier

a) Hda Mont-Saint-Michel garrison 1451.2 to 1461.3. This is one of two brothers, the elder a major Cotentin lord, baron de la Luthumière, sr Ivetot (where he was resident when Monfaut made his researches in 1463), de la

Haye-Esquetot, de Rouville (in V Valognes and Carentan). By the time of Monfaut's enquiry the elder brother had been knighted, but this had not necessarily been so in the 1450s. They had lands in the county of Aumale as well: the fief of Fourcigny in this county was sold to Chancellor Morvilliers before 1464. Part of the purchase price was placed in the hands of Cardinal d'Estouteville's vicar-général Jean du Mesnil, who established rents on the fief, redeemed in 1464: *Rouen* 17 Apr 1464 misplaced after 29 Apr. Guillaume *écuyer* excused himself from attending the *Echiquier* of 1454 through Guillaume de Helys: *Echiquier* 1454 p22v^o. In 1456, alongside the future *lieutenant général* of the Cotentin Robert Josel, and the captain of the *bailliage franc-archiers* Raoul de Brully he witnessed the sale by Henry Millet (*secrétaire du roi* and of Constable de Richemont) of his rights by royal grant in a house in Carentan formerly belonging to Sir Hugh Spencer: *Rouen* 19 Nov 1456.

b) Other members of the family were moving in the Estouteville orbit: Girard le Tellier *écuyer* sr la Varablière aged 60 was one of the witnesses in the inquest into the wardship of Jeanne de Ver in 1464, alongside members of the Mont-Saint-Michel garrison such as Girard de la Belliere *écuyer* seigneur de la Belliere and du Desert, aged 50; and Henry le Breton *écuyer*: *DLN/9* p404. Jean le Tellier was V Valognes in Aug 1458 (but possible typographical error in this, as it is out of sequence: *GR7445*). Guillaume le Tellier was serving in the *grande ordonnance* of Jean d'Estouteville sr Bricquebec in the 1470s. The family was well established in the Cotentin: one Guillaume le Tellier had been *élu* Coutances in 1415, and members of the family occur in Lower Norman musters of the same period, but Guillaume le Tellier gave homage to Henry V: *Poli* 1895 n°1391, 747, 766, 770, 850, 934.

Jean le Tessier *écuyer*

a) V Valognes 1451-56 ..., last attested Nov 1456: *GR7442*. He was probably a dependent of the admiral. As *pr* of Jean du Bueil he took possession of the V and château of Carentan 27 Oct 1466: *DLN/16* p155.

b) Conceivably a kinsman of Guillaume Daguenet (*qv*), the wardship of whose son he attempted to acquire after 1462.

c) Sr Forges.

Pierre Thibault, Thibout

a) *Pr*, with power to collect wages, of Jean de Brézé as B Gisors 1449: *DLN/15* p327. V Montreuil/Bernay 1459, or possibly mere *rec*: *GR436*. Witnessed Jean le Prevost's sale of a small rent to Jean le Febvre *maître d'hôtel*: *Rouen* 30 Oct 1466.

b) Jean Thibaud *avR en cour d'église* at Evreux 1408, and in V Falaise 1425 ...: *GR* 19162, 4424. Thomas Thibout *élu* of Rouen: *Rouen* 26 June 1471, 16 Sep 1474. Girard Thibout LB Caen 1483, *avB* Falaise 1489, and in the service of the duke of Orléans: *GR4316*, 4461, 4430.

Robert I Thibout, d.1465.

a) *Cr lai* at Poitiers from 1434, translated to Paris 1436, *commissaire adjoint* at the *Cour du Trésor* in 1449-1450 (others of his family also served in the court), *cr lai* at the 1453-54 *Echiquiers*, *président au Parlement* 1454, confirmed by Louis XI.

b) Member and probable founder of a considerable *parlementaire* dynasty; of Parisian origin, m. Jeanne de Jouis. See the notices in Maugis 1913-16 III p78, 83, 102; Dupont-Ferrier, *Personnel* appendix II n°107; *Avocats* p133-134.

Richard de Thieuville

a) Hda of Flocquet and Brézé. His Lancastrian father had been targeted for special attention by Flocquet (see below), so his entry by 1452 into Flocquet's GO is an example of chivalrous absorption. He transferred to Brézé's GO company by 1459: In addition to the muster references, BN PO n°42-44 (quittances for *ustencilles* dated 19 Jan 1452/53; Oct 2 1459; Feb 23 1459/60. He was in Brézé's immediate circle by 1458 when we find him witnessing a Brézé contract in support of Guy de Briouze's claim to the barony. He also witnessed the ratification by Brézé and his wife of an accord in Aug 1461 and of the couple's transport of the Villes St Denis to Patriarch Louis d'Harcourt in 1462. Rentsales to Rouen bourgeois Richard de Brumare and Henri Hurel in 1462 should be seen with other money raising efforts by Brézé and his clients in preparation for the Northumbrian venture. Although the evidence is circumstantial, we should conclude that he was in Brézé's household in the late 1450s and early 1460s: *Rouen* 29 Jan 1458/59, 13 Aug 1461, 25 Aug, Sep 13, 5 Oct 1462; BN PO 720 *de la Chaussee de Boisville* 16470, n°167 shows marriage links in the next generation between the Thieuville and other Brézé-background families in the Chartrain (Beauvilliers and la Chaussee.

He was in Rouen under the ducal regime and can be found raising cash in December 1465. Another Brézé homme d'armes, his maternal uncle Jean de Bouquetot *chevalier* seigneur de Breuil, and Guillaume Vipart pledged him in this transport: *Rouen* 7, 19 Dec 1465. We should see this money raising as in support of the ducal regime, for he can be shown in Charles de France's household by March 1466. In 1467 he was paid for his efforts in supplying the garrison of Montorgueil, and is mentioned as the liaison between the duke and the garrison in Sourdeval's letters. He remained in the household through the late 1460s and alongside Geoffroi de Couvran, Olivier de Broons, and the seigneur de Quenelec appealed to the University of Caen to take the oath to Charles de France in 1467: Stein 1919 p222, and P.J. 41, 43, 44, 61. He followed his master to Guyenne.

He was qualified *écuyer* sr Gonnevile in the 1462 deals and in that with Brumare the rent was assigned on property in Honfleur. He was received back into grace after the settlement of 1469, serving as V Beaumont-le-Roger in the early 1470s; as *maître d'hôtel*; administering the temporalities of Thomas Basin as bishop of Lisieux; and as *contrôleur* of the *grenier* of Caen: GR12611; DLN/24 p177, grant dated Feb 8 1470/71 for good service; Basin, *Louis XI* IV p261; BN PO n°46. He was also qualified *maître d'hôtel* in April 1472/73 in a *Chambre des Comptes mandement* to V Auge to investigate the value of a property called la Haye Bertrand, grant of which he had requested. It was found to consist of 260 acres in the parishes of Nôtre Dame de Honfleur and Gonnevile, and was granted to him at the charge of homage etc, for the ferme of L13 and the wages of a sergeant. The tone of the request is plaintive. He demanded the office of *élu* of Lisieux, currently held by the sr Mesières, 'lequel a sept offices du roy dont il en a deux que le Roy avoit premierement donne audit Richard': BN Ms fr 20495 p2. He was also granted the lands of Robert de Montfort seigneur de Donzelay, who had died in England: *Harcourt* I p947-48.

b) The Thieuville (arg a 3 bandes de gul, accompagnes de 7 coquilles du meme couleur) were a ramified Auge and Cotentin lineage. They had provided a bishop of Coutances in 1318. Henry de Thieuville *chevalier*, last

male of the direct line was dead by the end of the 14th century, passing very extensive Lower Norman lands to his son in law Olivier de Mauny baron de Thorigny, a man with extensive Breton ducal service links and a defender of Mont Saint Michel. When his widow, the last representative and sole heiress of the main line, Catherine de Thieuville, made her testament at the Mont in 1448 she qualified herself dame de Thieuville, Mesnil Garnier, Bourgeville, St Pierre des Bois, Mesnil Hue, Vains, Chantoire, Saint Leonard and other fiefs. This inheritance passed through her daughter Marguerite to the Goyon-Matignon and was one of the foundations of the Matignon family estate in the province. Louis XI's servant Alain Goyon bore arms Mauny quartered with Thieuville: *Harcourt* II 1246ff.

The cadet lines were linked to lineages such as the Carbonnel and Suhart which had been *demeurant*. Two lineages, the Augeron Thieuville de Gonneville and the Cotentin Thieuville de Guihebert were also *demeurant*. On the latter, see *Harcourt* II p2005-6, I p945-47. A member of the former was prominent in Lancastrian service. Durant de Thieuville *écuyer* seigneur de Gonneville was an Auge noble and Honfleur notable who moved from the service of Charles VI in the early 1400s to that of Henry VI in the 1420s. He was *contrôleur* of the *grenier* of Honfleur 1422-41 at least, LB Rouen in V Auge in the 1430s, and LV Auge in the 1440s. In 1445 he was York's *commis* as B Evreux. He was demonstrably a regular attender at meetings of the Estates in the 1440s, and headed the list of nobles summoned at the Estates of 1442. His lands extended over the bailliages of Rouen, Caen and the Caux, but he was resident normally at Honfleur: GR19001; BN PO 2828 *de Thieuville en Normandie* 62827, n°18-40; *DLN*/4 p189; GR12434; BL Additional Charters 14452. See also Frondeville 1936 p249n. Durant's daughter Blanche married May 30 1451 Jacques de Calais *écuyer* sr Manneville-la-Raoult.

He was in receipt of grants from the Lancastrian regime for good service, for example of lands in V Orbec supposedly worth 60 *salus*. In 1443 the regime compensated him to the tune of L600 for the destruction of his lordship of Gonneville by Flocquet. 'Procedant par ire hayne et voy de vengeance', Flocquet had proceeded against Thieuville for his role in the execution of 'plusieurs larrons brigans et ennemis de la chose publique'. The French had 'fait bouter le feu ou manoir et hostel feodal ... ardre bruler et mettre en cendre le grange dudit Hostel en laquelle avoit grande quantite de froment comme de quatre a cinq mil gerbes qui a este tout mis a neant et en perdicion et semblément pour harnois et aussi bestes au mailles et oultre ce y aste rompu le coulombier par ce que le feu ny pouvoit bonnement estre miz ne boute esuelles choses': *DLN*/10 p13; BN PO n°35.

There are strong indications of links to the Carbonnel: Raoullin Carbonnel witnessed the 1462 rentsale to Brumare. Sourdeval described him as 'mon fils' in 1465, and in a quittance of 1476 he qualified himself sr Gonneville and Marcellet, the latter fief one which had been held by Sourdeval *jure uxoris* in the 1440s and 1450s. May one hypothesize that by 1465 Thieuville had married Sourdeval's daughter, the widow of Guillaume Carbonnel: BN PO n°46. A suit between Henri Carbonnel *chevalier* and Guillaume de Thieuville *écuyer* sr Guihebert ran at the *Echiquier* from the early 1450s to the late 1460s, by which time it had been taken over by their heirs, Guillaume Carbonnel sr Auxy and Robert de Thieuville: *Echiquier* 1453 p130, 1454 p122, 1462 p175, 1463 p160v°, 1466 p141, 144, 1469 p171. The Carbonnel were intent on imposing obedience to a *marchie de bourse et lignage* in respect of property in V Arques upon the Thieuville. Guillaume was sr Maisy and Guihebert, and held other lands in right of his wife Marguerite Suhart, who was dead by 1453 when he was acting as the ward of their son Richard: *Appointements* 1453 p417. He was a landowner in the Aure valley east of Bayeux. His brother was Henri de Thieuville sr Sainte Marguerite: *Echiquier* 1463 p164. In 1469 his

surviving sons, Jean seigneur de Claes, Robert and Thomas were litigating over their *partage*: *Echiquier* 1469 p224: the cadets' portion was to be worth *L*40 rent. Robert was to serve in the Cherbourg garrison under Jean du Fou in the 1470s.

Durandin de Thieuville was serving in Flocquet's garrison at Honfleur by 1453, and remained there through the 1460s and 1470s. He may be a younger son of the *démourant* Durant de Thieuville. In 1474 Durant de Thieuville *écuyer* sr la Houssaye aged 48 gave evidence to a viscomital inquest in the Auge: *DLN/11* p65.

c) Sr Gonneville (V Auge).

Jacques, Jacquemin de la Tour, born c. 1425.

a) V Arques 1450-1461: *GR*6061. P. Jean Blancbaston (*qv*) resigned the V into the hands of the chancellor in order that it could be provided to la Tour in April 1450; he took possession in September but was immediately allowed exercise by lt (Denis de l'Arbre) for one year in favour of his services 'ou fait de ses guerres', and because he was then in the service of Jean Bureau *trs* France on the marches of Gascony.

His *pr*'s at the *Chambre des Comptes* were Pierre de Lailly and Jean Thomas: *DLN/17* p11. He or a homonym (his son?) was overseeing works in the château of Arques in 1483: *BN Clairambault* 473 p199.

b) A common name. Arques was Torcy's stamping ground, but Jacquemin may have been connected with Dunois *hda* Philippot de la Tour. His homonym Philippe de la Tour *chevalier* settled in 1462 with the heirs of Henry de Fours *chevalier* over the seigneuries of Saint-Martin-d'Estrepagny, Batiermesnil and Heudicourt. La Tour claimed the lands by transport from Katherine de Saint-Martin, Fours by inheritance from her sister Perrette de Saint-Martin and her daughter Katherine de la Fontaine: *Rouen* 10 Jun 1462. Qualified *chevalier* sr la Tour-Millenc the same man witnessed an accord between Jean de Rebetz *écuyer* *cp* of the Palais of Rouen and Jean le Villain of Gisors: *Rouen* 31 May 1468. A few days later he purchased rents from Denis de la Mare (*Rouen* 8 Aug 1468). Pierre de la Tour was Charles VII's *valet d'hôtel* in 1452: *DLN/75* p183.

c) Sr Mases: *DLN/11* p27.

Jean Toustain

a) *Reç aides* Montivilliers 1453, 1457: *BL Additional Charters* 12425; *Rouen* 9 Jan 1456/57. Members of the lineage were certainly *demeurant* but he resumed properties around Caudebec on the Reduction: *DLN/13* pp269-73. He acted as *pr* of a clerical brother Guillaume in the latter's struggle over the abbey of Bec with Pierre de Vierville after 1468: *Pezet* 1854 p64. Louis Toustain

b) Guillaume Toustain was *élu* Caudebec (1470), *pr* Rouen and attended the Norman Estates of 1470; later he became LV Rouen 1475-80: *ADSM Fonds d'Anquin* 100 J20, unnumbered piece; *DLN/23* p394; *GR*19404. Louis Toustain was a royal secretary involved in organising the siege of Pont-Audemer in 1465: *DLN/24* p133. Jean Burdelot's wife was Louise Toustain of Tours.

c) Sr Blaville or Biéville.

Laurens Touzé, le Touzé, Toussé, Tousy etc.

a) In a letter to Louis d'Estouteville of Aug 1463 he was named as working hard for the Cardinal in the matter of the abbey of Montebourg:

Lorens le Tousse est dispose de s'en aller par della et l'est l'en venu querir combien monseigneur quil y fust enchor bien seant quer veritablement il a tres bien besongne et estoit bien mestier de lui pour le prouffit de monsieur le Cardinal quil y fust quer jour et nuit a besongne a mon avis plus soingneusement que ce ce est este pour lui et bien le savoit fere et est ung tres grant homme et bien congneussant la chose et le monstre bien ce quil a fait ... Des finances, ou ilz sont, come gouvernez ont este, qui y a habite qui ne y eust osse abiter ou est l'argent et tout Lorens vous comptera mieulx que nul ne saveret escrire, duquel vous prendrez creance ...: *Le Cacheux* 1935 p11-13.

One of the six *pr's* of Michel d'Estouteville baron de Gacé and his wife Marie de la Rocheguyon to negotiate the exchange of rents and debts of her grandmother Perrette de la Rivière in Dec 1463: BN PO 1083 *d'Estouteville* 24901, n°193. In 1465 he was paid by Michel d'Estouteville's receiver of Berneval for his expenses in travelling from the Caux to Michel at the château of Hambye. He certified to the same receiver that certain sums rendered had been accounted for. He is described as *élu* of Arques and it is clear from the *comptes* that alongside Pevrel and Hestray he is the core of the Estouteville council in the Caux in the 1450s and 1460s: ADSM 33 J 847, *Comptes d'Estouteville*. He appeared at the 1470 musters in the Caux: *Caux* 1470 p309.

b) Le Baudrain de Touzé was *hda* in the Honfleur garrison: appendix 1(d).

c) A petty Cauchois lord, sr Freulleville in the Bethune valley above Arques. The family may have been in trouble because of the devastation of the area: *Rouen* 6 Nov 1456, 10 Dec 1465.

Thomas Tribole

a) *Sécrétaire* of the Dauphin 1444, of the king 1446; *grenétier* de Sens 1452; *greffier criminel* of the *Echiquier* 1453; became an important servant of Louis XI.

b) Native of Sens: see the extended notice and genealogy in *Sécrétaires* n°651-52.

Hector d'Ussel *chevalier*

a) *Hda* of the Harfleur garrison 1452.1-1461.2. He was *lt* of Harfleur under Dunois: GR6430; and BN Ms fr 26089 n°275. He was nominated by royal letters to the captaincy of Meulan Nov 1465 after the brief tenure of Philippe Luillier, still held it in 1470 and described as resident of Meulan when he was excused the muster of the nobles of V Conches et Bretueil: *Evreux* 1470 p61. He held the office to 1474, when he was replaced by Olivier le Dain *valet* of Louis XI. He was compensated with L300.

c) Sr Longuesse, Lainville and Mazy. Also sr e.p. Bois Chevreul in *V Conches et Bretueil*.

Guillemot, Guillaume du Val

a) Vd Montfort 1453, 1454: *Echiquier* 1453 p13; 1454 p13. He was confirmed in the office in Sep 1461 as though it was a new grant, to hold 'tant qu'il plaira' Montauban as GMEF: *DLN/75* p259.

b) Pierre du Val was LGB Evreux 1443-1462: *GR12469*.

Sandre Valens dit Vollant

a) Hda Brézé GO 1451.3-1461.3.

b) Presumed kin (perhaps father) to Jean Valens *écuyer*, who married Marie le Cauchois, dame d'Esmainville c.1463. They were residents of Brescot in V Pont-Audemer, but she was cousin of Cauchois Brézé man Jean bastard de Gravelle (*qv*): *Rouen* 4 May, 6 Jun 1463; 9 Jul 1464. The couple were involved in 1463 with numerous other parties (including erstwhile Carbonnel man Jean Prieur sr Nytot) in a shuffle of rights in the fief of Frontebosc in the parish of Limesy; interestingly, Jean Gouel held the same fief or a portion thereof: *Rouen* 6 Jun 1463; *Frondeville* 1960 p36. The same couple came to an accord in a dispute with Robert de Dreux in 1464: *Echiquier* 1464 p45v°. Colin Volant was also hda of the company, serving under la Barde with the king at Paris in Sep 1465, who obtained the legitimization of his four daughters by his servant: *AN JJ 194* n°51.

Mathieu Vallen

a) LV Berneval for Estouteville 1460-61: *ADSM 33 J 845*, *Comptes d'Estouteville*.

Walquier de Valiquierville

a) Hda GO Dunois 1460.3-1461.3.

b) Walquier is a soubriquet which conceals which member of this Cauchois noble house is meant. The most likely candidates are its head in this period, Jean de Valiquierville *écuyer* sr dudit lieu or his son Robinet. Jean sold L10 rent in Jan 1470: *Rouen* 17 Jan 1469/70, mentioned in the Caux musters 1470: *VS46* p292. A genealogy is given in Delamare 1865 p295. This has Robinet's daughters marrying into the Durant, Longuenne, Richebourg and Mainemare families. Jean's eldest grandson Aubert de Valliquierville was a beneficiary of the testament of Jean Crespin: *Rouen* 2 Jun 1452.

c) Sr Valiquierville in the heart of the Caux.

Guillaume Vallée, de Vallee *écuyer*

a) Brézé GO hda 1456.2-1461.2. He witnessed Brézé's purchase of Guillaume des Hayes's portion of the fief of Touberville in 1457: *Rouen* 18 Jan 1456/57. He was cp Pont-de-l'Arche by 1460, when he gave consent for the redemption of a rent sold in 1456 to the Rouen chapter by Gilles de Roye *chevalier* and his wife Jeanne de Longueval. Vallée here appears in association with Denis de Brimeu, cr en cour laie at Pont-de-l'Arche, and his act was witnessed by Jean Gouel: *Rouen, marginalia* sub 30 Nov 1456, and 8 Nov 1460. Brézé's *il au fait de la guerre* at the time of Charles VII's death: *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Communales ... de Rouen* (Rouen 1887), I p62. He was granted the *châtellenie* of la Roche-Tesson in the *vicomté* of Coutances in October 1461, on restricted terms, up to an annual value of L400. After a viscomital inquest found the seignury worth only

L264 of rent, the grant was augmented, Vallée thereby becoming full seigneur of the place in *fiefferme*. He enjoyed these rights 'par longtemps' but died without heir: *DLN/2* p295; *AN JJ* 199 p522.

b) His wife was Catherine Tesson, who had an ancient hereditary right to la Roche-Tesson. His brother was Péan Vallée, who was involved in rent transactions with Pierre du Vieuchâtel in 1460. Guillaume redeemed these in 1467, obtaining a preferential rate for 'bonne plaisirs': *Rouen* 3 Jun 1467.

Robert Vallée was abbot of Bec-Hellouin on the English conquest and took the oath to Henry V: *Porée* 1901 II. Guichart Vallée was in the household of the count of Maine in 1441: *BN Clairambault* 816 p333. Antoine or Ancheauville Vallee witnessed rent sales by Jean de Belleval *écuyer* sr Monfraville and Tibouville in V Valognes in 1461 and 1462: *Rouen* 18 Apr 1461, 27 May 1462. Richard or Cardin Vallee witnessed a rent sale by Guillaume Payen sr la Pasnière in 1463: *Rouen* 21 Feb 1462/63.

c) Sr la Roche-Tesson. Resident in the parish of la Coulombe south of Saint-Lô when he proved his nobility to Monfaut in 1463-64: *Monfaut* p424.

Robert du Valvendrin, d.1455.

a) Sat on the panel with Brézé and Jean de Longueil which arbitrated the dispute between Jean Malet de Graville and his mother and sisters: *Echiquier* 1454 p56, and 1456 p41. He died between 5 Sep 1455, when he gave quittance for payment for having served as cr in the 1452 *Echiquier*, and 28 Jan following when his widow gave quittance for the same: *DLN/15* p311.

b) Henri du Valvendrin avR in V Pont-Audemer 1428, 1432: *GR19147*. Robert's (?) brother Guillaume du Valvendrin was a priest and can be shown in financial dealings with Cardot Malortie *écuyer* (see appendix 1). m. Marie du Val. His heirs *jure uxoris* were Robert le Prevost and Jean de Seglaz *écuyers*, and they had concluded a *partage* by 1463: *Rouen* 14 June 1463.

c) He was styled *écuyer* sr de la Couronne near Rouen, for which property there is evidence of war damage: *Rouen* 4 Jun 1451.

Alain de/le Vanier, Varlier, Banier *écuyer*

a) He witnessed the *partage* between Laurens de Boissay and his brother Jean in 1459: *Rouen* 19 Jan 1458/59. Cp (*châtelain*) and Vd Beaumont-le-Roger April 1465: *GR12820*.

b) Pierre le Banier priest witnessed a transaction of Pierre le Fliquier former V Pont-Saint-Pierre for the Roncherolles family: *Rouen* 3 May 1462. Martin Vanier pr for Guy de la Roche *chevalier* sr la Roche was administering the latter's fief of Roncheville in 1452: *Rouen* 12 Apr 1452.

Philippe de Vassy *écuyer*

a) Torcy hda 1460.4-1461.3. Hda Jacques de Brézé 1466-67. In Feb 1467 he was granted for services *au fait de la guerre* the wardship of the children of the late Jeanne Martel, by both husbands, Jean Martel and Jean Martel *chevalier* (*sic*), both now dead: *DLN/75* p289.

Robert de Vasuye

a) Cp Gournay in the service of the count of Tancarville; granted the wardship of the children of Jean Masquerel sr Hermanville *gratis* in Apr 1468 for services *au fait de la guerre* during the *Bien Public*: *DLN/75* p289.

b) Jean de Basuye was hda in Charles Desmarestz's Dieppe garrison.

Everard and Guillaume de Vatetot *écuyers*

a) Guillaume was Vd and *châtelain* Bretueil 1459, contesting the right in this office of Regnault de Cintray. It would appear that he was successful, for one Everard was Vd and *châtelain* Bretueil 1460-61. Can be shown as incumbent from Easter to Saint-Michel 1461: *Echiquier* 1459 p80; *DLN/15* p175.

Joachim de Velort, Velourt, d. by 1478.

a) Hda GO Dunois 1461.3, but had certainly been in Dunois's service for longer. He was qualified *serviteur* of Dunois when with Legier Arnoul (appendix 4) he witnessed a complex accord between Georges baron de Clères, the archbishop and chapter of Rouen, and the prR: *Rouen* 21 Sep 1454. If he was in Dunois's household this might explain his involvement in the Public Weal. In the remission granted July 1468 he was named as one of those who had persuaded Charles de France to flee the court at the beginning of the revolt and he entered Charles de France's household after the flight to Brittany: BN Ms fr 21477 p2-6, 8-20. He headed a list of Poitevin *Ligueurs* in the 1468 remission, also naming Pierre Budet, Guion Scolin, J Delaige (l'Aage), Gilles de Chezelles, J du Plessis-Saint-Martin and J Meneguy. A brother also in the duke's service (as *échanson*), Regnault, was executed in 1475: Guérin XI 121; Stein 1919; Cuttler 1981 p229. There is a biographical notice: Guérin XI 121n.

b) Son of Renaud de Velort sr la Chapelle-Bellouin and Meulles (on whose treason trial see Cuttler 1981 p229) and Simone Tison; by the mid-1460s he married Catherine de Lévis, she the widow of Antoine de Clermont seigneur de Surgères and daughter of Antoine de Lévis count of Villars vicomte de Lautrec and Isabelle de Chartres: they had sons Geoffroi, Artus and others.

c) He was a significant Loudunais lord, sr la Chapelle-Bellouin.

Jean Veron

a) Pr and rec of Louis and Michel d'Estouteville *chevalier* in the seigneuries of Berneval, Hlotot, Varengueville, Offranville, Espinay, Gueteville, Brametot in the 1460s. Also snl of Berneval etc.: ADSM 33 J 846 & 847, *Comptes d'Estouteville*. Sub pr of the Cotentin Dec 1452: *GR7243*. Described as resident at Dieppe in 1460: *Rouen* 5 Mar 1460/61.

b) Guillaume Veron was hda of Jean de Lorraine at Granville.

Jean de Versailles

a) Torcy hda and cp of the *francs archiers* of B Caen, 1453-54: ADSM *Fonds d'Anquin* C5 Etats n°11; 100 J20 (unnumbered piece); *DLN/23* p133-39. Lt of part of the company and cp Chalons in Champagne.

He married his daughter and co-heiress Claude to his comrade Quentin le Bouteiller in 1456: *Caen* 30 Nov 1456, p25v°.

Pierre de Vieuchâtel

a) Brézé hda and household man. Provided to the office of V Evreux in the 1440s, but never made the provision effective and ceded all rights to Jean Guedon in Nov 1449: *DLN/25* p83. He was qualified 'nagaires' élu Rouen in 1459; his lt having been Laurens Surreau: BN PO 2990 *de Vieuxchatel* 66413, n°4. He was an officer, perhaps *maître des requêtes*, in the court of the GS: BN PO 91 *Argouges* 1892, n°179. Louis de Beauvau described him as one of the 'gentis hommes de Monseigneur de Maulévrier' bringing news from England c.1463: BN Ms fr 20428 p22. After Brézé's death he became *maître d'hôtel* of Louis XI, and was so qualified when Guillaume Vallée sr la Roche-Tesson redeemed a rent obligation of his brother Péan Vallée: *Rouen* 3 Jun 1467.

b) Jean de Vieuchastel had been *clerc* of Jean Chantepie crR in the 1390s and then of Guillaume d'Orgemont trs des guerres in Normandy, managing sums 1415-17 from V Caudebec and the *grenier* of Caudebec: BN PO 2990 *de Vieuxchatel* 66413, n°2, 3. André de Vieuxchastel *écuyer* was marshal of the château of Montorgueil in 1463: Nicolle 1920; Lempriere 1924 p115.

Guillaume de Vieupont

a) Flocquet GO hda 1451.2-1460.4 (highest rank 5).

b) Younger brother of Laurent de Vieupont baron du Neubourg. Their father had been captured at Agincourt, and died soon after. The children (Laurent, the eldest, being nine) were taken to the Loire by their relatives and Henry V granted the lands after forfeiture to Thomas Montagu earl of Salisbury in Jun 1418. Thereafter the dower of Bedford's wife Jacquetta of Luxembourg was assigned upon it, and it fell thereby into the hands of Sir Richard Woodville: Plaisse 1961 p305, 309. Laurent recovered part of the barony in 1444, and in the *comptes* of that year he is qualified sr Vieuxpont, Courville (in the Beauce) and le Neubourg. Laurent made his normal residence at Chartres or Paris at this period, and reached an agreement with Woodville on the revenues of the barony in 1445: Plaisse 1961 p317-9.

Jacques Vigier

a) Member of the Harfleur garrison, 1452.1-1461.2.

b) Fleury Viguier had served under various captains including Gaultier, Pierre and Guiot de Brusac (*qv*), Jacques de Clermont (*qv*) and Brézé when in 1445 he was pardoned for a murder: Guérin VIII 221. Perrenot Viger was one of Brézé's archers. Guérin mentions families holding land in Poitou both Poitevin and Auvergnat: IX 119n.

Roger de la Villette

a) Qualified *docteur ès lois* when witnessing Jean de Montenay's sale of fiefs to Robert de Fontaines canon of Coutances in 1453: *Caen* 12 Jan 1452/53, p115. LGB Caen 1455-56: GR4281. gr of the town of Caen 1470: *Caen* 7 March 1469/70, p89; 3 May 1470, p120v°.

b) In 1471 mention of Roger and maître Roger, presumed his son: *Caen* 28 Jan 1470/71 p245. Guy de la Villette was a high ranking Lancastrian officer and pensioner of the duke of York, gr of the *court du conseil* at Rouen, *commissaire sur le fait de la reformation générale* 1448-49, and *Echiquier conseiller lai* 1448: *DLN/75* p231; BL Additional Mss 11509 p14v^o-15, 42v^o. On the Reduction he entered the service of the duke of Orléans as snl of his lands in V Falaise: *DLN/13* p137.

c) For discussion of his acquisition of the fief of Troismonts see chapter 1.

Tauppin de Vipart

a) Flocquet GO hda 1458.2-1460.4. Guillaume dit Tauppin de Vipart (d.1492) was head of an old Augeron noble family. He was knighted by 1462, LP in the Auge of B Rouen 1462-77, and d.1492: *GR*19004.

b) See the genealogy in Vipart 1751 p6ff. He was the son of Jean Vipart and Guillemette d'Estourmel; he m. (1461) Jacqueline de Morainvilliers daughter of Vexin lord Louis de Morainvilliers *écuyer* of Louis XI's cp of the château of Bourges 1466-67: *GR*4037. The genealogy has the Flocquet hda Jean, Guillaume's father. This is possible if Tauppin was a family soubriquet. It is also asserted that this Jean de Vipart was with Brézé in England in 1457, presumed a reference to the Sandwich raid, and used on occasional diplomatic missions to Burgundy. A Jeannet de Vipart was an archer in Flocquet's service in the early 1460s. This might be Tauppin's cousin Jean de Vipart sr Ifs, who married Anne le Goupil. He belonged to an important cadet line descended from Tauppin's uncle Jean de Vipart sr du Val, third son of Guillaume Vipart *écuyer* sr la Vipardière, Drumare, du Val and his wife Isabelle de Pitres. Du Val was *demeurant*, lt 1431, 1438 of Olivier Néel Lancastrian V Auge. In 1452 he possessed the fiefs of la Couyere at Mesnil-sur-Blangy (held of the bishop of Lisieux). In 1465 he was relieved of his military obligations on account of age. Robine his wife (called Jeanne by the genealogist) was daughter of Guillaume de Bethencourt *chevalier* and Catherine de Longchamp, resumed her fief Bondrouet (at Drucourt or Bosc-Drouet) in V Orbec after the Reduction. In 1469 he also held in her right a fief at Saint-Aubin-de-Scellon of the sr Auvilliers: Frondeville 1936 p86, 196n, 212; BN PO 3029 *Vipart* NN. Their eldest son Jean was in the service of Jean Blosset sr Saint-Pierre GS, purchased the barony of Bec-Thomas from his brother-in-law Thomas Pongnant, and died in 1475. A brother Nicolas was canon of Lisieux and Evreux. His sisters were married into important central Norman and Vexin families, the Mynee, Malortie, Pongnant and Tournebu.

c) Sr Drumare, la Chapelle-Hainfroy, la Fontaine-Trihan.

Vigor Vivien *écuyer*

a) Hda Estouteville at Mont-Saint-Michel 1461.2-1461.3. LB Cotentin (Aydie) 1455, 1458: *GR*7161. LPV Avranches 1457: *GR*7476. Lt in V Avranches of B Cotentin 1458 and ...1465-84: *GR*7186, 7192. He witnessed a document in the château of Bricquebec 25 Dec 1463, relating to the procuration drawn up for the men of Michel d'Estouteville baron de Gacé and his wife Marie de la Rocheguyon to negotiate the exchange of rents and debts of her grandmother Perrette de la Rivière in December 1463: BN PO 1083 *d'Estouteville* 24901, n°194.

b) In 1442 another Jean Vivien witnessed the quittance of an English messenger at Avranches, and a homonym was noble and resident at Saint-Loup in the Avranchin in 1464: *CMSM* II p144; Monfaut p411. Pierre Vivien

had been LB at Avranches 1444 (*GR*) and was attending at English musters with the V Avranches in 1433, probably in the same capacity: *CMSM* II p28. Jean Vivien would hold this office 1507: *GR*. Some men with this patronym were of more than local importance. Jean Vivien dit Viviani, *licencié en droit canon*, was vicar general of Archbishop Hugues d'Orges and his pr in entry into possession Apr 1431, still vicar 1433: Robillard de Beaurepaire 1868 p20ff. Gauthier or Gaucher Vivien was *général maître des monnoies* in 1443: *Ordonnances* XIII p371. Another Jean Vivien had been ay *intérimaire du roi* at the *cour du tresor* 1405-9; he held the same position at the *cour des aides* 1405 and became cr in *Parlement* in 1409; was dead by Jan 1439: Dupont-Ferrier 1936-37 p194 n°200. Richard Vivien of Rouffigny in the Avranchin failed to have his nobility recognised by Monfaut in 1864: *Monfaut* p413.

c) Resident at Avranches: *Monfaut* p411.

Louis de Vuydehan dit de Han *écuyer*

a) Vd Beaumont-le-Roger 1462: *DLN*/18 p254. Flocquet GO hda 1451.2-1460.4 (highest rank 4). A Flocquet hda since 1445 at least; with Jean de Mery (*qv*) he was from the summer of 1445 'commis ... a vivre et logier en la ville et chastellenie de Lucon': Plaisse 1984 p129. Dead by 1470 when his daughter was dame du Fay in V Conches et Bretueil: *Evreux* 1470 p64.

b) Jean du Han served as hda GO under Dunois 1452.1-1461.3.

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JJ 182	P 284
JJ 185	P 289
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220	473
221	782
234	816

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2604 Le Sage 57958
2828 de Thieuville en Normandie 62827
2843 du Tiercent 63099
2843 de Tillay de Tillay 63145
2902 d'Urfé 64550
3029 Vipart NN

Archiv⁵e Départementale⁵ de la Seine-Maritime (ADSM)

Echiquier registers: *Registres Manuels* survive for the following years:

Easter 1453 (1B 27)
Easter 1454 (1B 29)
Easter 1455 (1B 30)
Easter 1456 (1B 31)
Easter 1462 (1B 35)
Easter 1463 (1B 37)
Easter 1463 (1B 39)
Easter 1464 (1B 41)
St Michel 1466 (1B 43)
St Michel 1469 (1B 45)
St Michel 1474 (1B 47)

Many registers survive in draft copies in more or less difficult hands: the reference is to the clean copy. In the text are referenced in the form *Echiquier* (year)

Extremely valuable for procedure is the single *Registre des Motilx* which survives for 1463 (1B 39). This records in full if schematised form the arguments and replies of the various parties. The bulk of this part of the small register is concerned with the suit between various members of the

Carbonnel family and Jean de Husson titular count of Tonnerre over land claims in the Cotentin. It is bound with a *Registre des lettres faictes des causes expediees (et) des appointements*, containing letters and accords of the Vieupont du Neubourg, Harcourt-Bonnétale, Tournebu, Brézé, Thomas Basin bishop of Lisieux, Couvran and others. Other *Registres des Appointements* survive for Easter 1453 (1B 28) and St Michel 1459 (1B 33 and 1B 34). These are referenced as *Motilx* or *Appointements* (year)

Rouen *tabellionage*: in the text all references are given by pascal date without distinction being made as to register. The surviving registers are as follows:

2E 1/185 (Easter 1451 to Aug 1452)
2E 1/186 (Pascal year 1454)
2E 1/187 (1456)
2E 1/188 (1458)
2E 1/189 (1460)
2E 1/190 (1461)
2E 1/191 (1462)
2E 1/192 (1463)
2E 1/193 (1464)
2E 1/194 (1465)
2E 1/195 (1466)
2E 1/196 (1467)
2E 1/197 (1468)
2E 1/198 (1471: Easter to August only)
2E 1/199 (1472)
2E 1/200 (1474)

Fonds d'Anquin: all references are given in the original, somewhat chaotic, *côte* in which they were still classified in the early 1990s. This is not recapitulated here as having being superseded by the new system of single numeric classification with full proper name index. I have been fortunate in having briefly examined the *Repertoire* in draft: it is reliable and will greatly facilitate consultation.

C 2806, 2807, 2808, *Comptes de Longueville* 1458, 1458-59, 1467-68.

6E 13 *Notes de Beaurepaire*.

1ER 22, *Comptes de Tancarville* (Saint Michel 1464-65) (unpaginated *cahier*, paper)

G 3.

G 423.

G 881.

33 J 790 to 848, *Comptes d'Estouteville* (unpaginated *cahiers*, paper)

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A7-8 Registres des délibérations du conseil municipale.

Archive^s Départementale^s de Calvados (ADC)

Caen *tabellionage*: registers are cited by pascal date without reference to the individual register; the following registers survive for the years after the Reduction:

7E 91 (1447-51)

7E 92 (1451-53/54)

7E 93 (1454-56)

7E 94 (1456-57)

7E 95 (1459-60)

7E 96 (1462-64)

7E 97 (two registers: 1464-65, 1465-67)

7E 98 (1469-70)

A280 Comptes de la recette de l'apanage d'Orléans, vicomté de l'Auge (1461-71)

386 Edpt/33 *Comptes de Falaise* (Jan-Easter 1465)

E1, *Catalogue de la généalogie d'Harcourt*, 16th century

E209 (extracts from the *tabellionage* of Pont-l'Abbé 1446-54 relating to the fief of Amfreville)

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E500: lawsuits relating to Fontenay-le-Marmion.

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